DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 140 395	95	EA 009 536

TITLE	Assistance Strategies of Six Groups that Facilitate Educational Change at the School/Community Level. Final Report. Volumes I and II.
INSTITUTION	Center for New Schools, Inc., Chicago, Ill.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Office of Research Grants.
BUREAU NO	BR-4-0768
PUB DATE	15 Feb 77
GRANT	NIE-G-74-0052
NOTE	1,018p.; Pages 451-452 of the original document are copyrighted and therefore not available. They are not included in the pagination; For a related document, see EA 009 535
EDRS PRICE	MF-$1.83 HC-$54.25 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Case Studies; Change Strategies; *Consultants; *Consultation Programs; *Educational Change; Elementary Secondary Education; *Organizations (Groups); Program Descriptions; *Technical Assistance
IDENTIFIERS	AFRAM Associates; Center for New Schools; Creative Teaching Workshop Experiential Systems; Institute for the Development of Educ Activities; Rural Education Program; United Bronx Parents

ABSTRACT

This two-volume report describes the results of a study of six technical assistance groups (TAGs) that provide extended face-to-face help to teachers, administrators, parents, and/or students involved in attempts to improve local schools. The six groups chosen for study include AFRAM Associates, the Center for New Schools, Creative Teaching Workshop/Experiential Systems, Inc., the Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, the Rural Education Program, and United Bronx Parents. The study employed qualitative research methods of participant observation, interviewing, and document analysis to understand the internal functioning of each group, to document patterns in their assistance efforts, and to analyze the effectiveness of various assistance strategies and tactics in given circumstances. The report includes case studies of the six TAGs and also presents a comparative analysis of the TAGs, with a focus on identifying "critical activities" associated with effective functioning of the groups and with the delivery of effective technical assistance services. Volume 1 includes an overview of the study and individual case studies of the six TAGs. Volume 2 includes a comparative analysis of the TAGs, a discussion of the study's implications, and various appendixes. (Author/JG)

Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original.

FINAL REPORT
VOLUME I

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION PROJECT NO. 4-0768
GRANT NO. NIE-G-74-0052

ED140395

ASSISTANCE STRATEGIES OF SIX GROUPS THAT FACILITATE EDUCATIONAL CHANGE AT THE SCHOOL/COMMUNITY LEVEL

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Center for New Schools*
59 East Van Buren, Suite 1800
Chicago, Illinois 60605

February 15, 1977

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant from the National Institute of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgement in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official National Institute of Education position or policy.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF

HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

OFFICE OF RESEARCH GRANTS

EA 009 536

*Individual contributions described in Preface.

ABSTRACT

The study reported here focuses on the activities of six assistance groups aiding specific schools and communities in the process of improving local schools. The six groups studied carry out contrasting assistance strategies in terms of the role group to whom they provide primary assistance, the subsystems of school and community functioning on which they focus their efforts, and the substantive changes they seek to bring about.

The study employs qualitative research methods of participant observation, interviewing, and document analysis to understand the internal functioning of each group, to document patterns in their assistance efforts, and to analyze the effectiveness of various assistance strategies and tactics in given circumstances. Since the study is based on the premise that a broad analysis is needed about the functioning of a change strategy about which there has been little previous research, care is taken not to make broad generalizations about the effectiveness of the work of particular groups.

The report includes case studies of the six groups and then presents a comparative analysis of the groups, with a focus on identifying "critical activities" that are associated with effective internal functioning of the groups and with the delivery of effective technical assistance services.

PREFACE

The study reported in these volumes grew from our observations in the early seventies that there was a growing dissatisfaction with the results of educational improvement strategies based on the traditional paradigm of research, development, and dissemination. From many different perspectives, people concerned about educational change were seeing the need to provide direct on-site assistance to schools and neighborhoods interested in educational improvement. Those who were initiating change strategies based on direct "face-to-face" assistance were diverse in their values and priorities, ranging from open education advisors to community organizers. But it seemed to us that they faced many common issues in spite of their diversity, and that both similarities and differences needed careful analysis.

We viewed these varied attempts to provide on-site assistance at the local level as constituting a valuable emerging approach to changing schools that deserved the benefit of thoughtful investigation and analysis.

Developing this line of thinking, we sought funds to carry out the study of several groups who had been involved in providing direct assistance to local "school communities"; this study design is described in Chapter 1. A key aspect of our study design was to engage the six groups in the study as collaborators, rather than as objects to be studied. We sought to design the study in such a way that we would maintain our ability to be objective and critical, but maximize the productive dialogue between the research team and the participating groups, so that we could regularly get their perspective on our study design, the questions on which we were focusing, and the patterns we thought we were observing in their work. Thus, the study is deeply indebted to a large number of people, those from the participating groups studied and from the school communities they assist, those others who took the time to react to our ideas and initial drafts, and those on the research team.

It is impossible to thank specifically the many staff members of the groups we studied and those persons to whom they provide assistance who took the time to help us. These people gave freely of their scarce time to answer our questions and review our written products. We limit our specific acknowledgements of appreciation to the key contact people and leadership of the participating assistance groups who made our collaboration with them possible. They include Doris Beasley, Jim Wilkes, and Preston Wilcox of AFRAM Associates; Rosemary Ralph and Floyd Page of Experiential Systems, Inc./Creative Teaching Workshop; Jon Paden, Chuck Willis, John Bahner, and Samuel Sava of /I/D/E/A/; Carolyn Hunter, Jan Arends, and Rowan Stutz of Rural Education Program; and Lorraine Montenegro, Mattie Faulk, Richard Aguire, and Evelina Antonetty of United Bronx Parents. We appreciate the assistance we received from these collaborators in the study and several hundred others associated with them. We appreciate the special role that Jim Wilkes of AFRAM played in visiting Center for

New Schools and providing an outside perspective for the CNS case study.

In addition to those involved in specific groups under study, we express our thanks to those who served as consultants to the conferences that were an integral part of the study: Ben Williams, Kathleen Devaney, and Jerry Fletcher. Ben Williams and Matt Miles also assisted us greatly with helpful comments on the analysis of similarities and differences between sites that appears in Chapter 8 (the cross-site analysis). Center for New Schools staff members not part of the research team also provided invaluable commentary on case studies and the cross-site analysis, including Jay Schensul, Steve Wilson, Ada Skyles, Ularsee Manar, Frances Holliday, and Tom Wilson. Steve Wilson's ideas about qualitative research also exerted a basic influence on the design of the study.

On the research team, Donald Moore served as Principal Investigator and bears ultimate responsibility for the research study and its products; he played a major role in designing the research methodology, served as a secondary site researcher for site visits to AFRAM Associates and Creative Teaching Workshop, was the primary writer for case studies of Creative Teaching Workshop and Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, was primary writer for the cross-site analysis, and did extensive editing on all aspects of the report.

Emile Schepers was a major and decisive contributor to research design and methods; oversaw the processes of data collection and analysis; served as secondary site researcher for site visits to

Rural Education Program and United Bronx Parents; was the primary writer for case studies of United Bronx Parents, AFRAM Associates, and Center for New Schools; and developed the design for and contributed extensively to the cross-site analysis.

Manford Holmes served as primary site researcher for site visits to AFRAM Associates, United Bronx Parents, and Creative Teaching Workshop; was the secondary site researcher for site visits to Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, Inc.; and carried out the initial analysis of data from Creative Teaching Workshop, United Bronx Parents, and AFRAM. As the site researcher who carried out over half of the direct observation in the study, his skills of perception and analysis were invaluable in shaping the final product.

Kathy Blair served as the primary site researcher for site visits to Rural Education Program, analyzed the resulting data, and was the primary writer for the case study of Rural Education Program. She also oversaw the administrative procedures for data collection and analysis during much of the study.

Paul Shane was the primary site researcher for Center for New Schools and Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, Inc. Rachel Rosen conducted library research for the project and carried out supplementary data collection and data analysis for studies of Center for New Schools and Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, Inc. George Yates served as a consultant on the development of the computer system, as did Scott Pengally and

Ann Peterson.

Carol Taylor coordinated the second study conference and the production of the final report. Sylvia Smith and Eva Diaz typed the final report, while Darlene Turner, Hazel Domangue, and Abiiba Howell provided other secretarial and administrative support.

The United Bronx Parents case study was made possible through support from the "Legal Accountability of Public School Educators for Providing a Minimum Standard of Professional Services Project", N.I.E. Grant No. NE-G-00-3-0145 (another CNS research project). It draws on data collected for a case study of United Bronx Parents focusing on the uses of the law in monitoring educational performance. We deeply appreciate this support.

We owe a particular debt of gratitude to our Project Officer Frederick Mulhauser and his thoughtful colleagues at the Program on Local Problem-Solving at the National Institute of Education. We deeply appreciate his understanding, support, and constructive advice.

We hope that the collective efforts of so many who have contributed to this study can be made useful in achieving the goal to which all those studied devote so much energy--improving the quality of the lives of children.

Near the end of the study period, the groups being studied, consistent with their concern that the study be as useful as possible for improving education, asked the Program on Local Problem-Solving to describe their intent in funding the study. They responded as follows:

NIE PROCESS FOR SELECTING RESEARCH STUDY ON TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE GROUPS

In January 1974, the National Institute of Education decided to support field-initiated research in five broad areas related to education: Essential Skills; Relevance of Education to Work; Diversity, Pluralism, and Opportunity in Educational Systems; Efficiency and Productivity in Education; and Production and Utilization of Knowledge in Education.

To select research projects for funding in these areas, NIE held a two-stage competition open to anyone. Applicants first submitted brief prospectuses, which were screened by NIE staff during February, 1974. From the thousands that were received, only a few hundred survived this first review. Center for New Schools applied in the area of Knowledge Production and Utilization, and was among the fifty organizations invited to continue into the second stage of the competition, submission by April 5, 1974, of a formal research proposal.

Judging of the proposals in the final stage was done in early May by a review panel of non-Federal employees. The panel which considered the CNS application included: Ann Bussis, Research Psychologist at Educational Testing Service; Edward Glaser, of the Human Interaction Research Institute, Los Angeles; Milt Goldberg, head of Early Childhood Education Programs for the School District of Philadelphia; Mary Hall, Assistant Superintent, Oregon State Department of Education; Louis M. Smith, Professor at Washington; and Bernard Watson, Professor at Temple University, Philadelphia. Three members of this panel read each proposal, and the whole group discussed all proposals, taking into account the criteria of the significance of the proposed research, the quality of the proposed design and procedures, the qualifications of the investigators, the adequacy of the facilities, and the reasonableness of the budget requested. Of the twenty-five proposals reviewed by this panel, five were selected for funding after NIE's Director studied the panel's recommendations and other factors. (Another panel reviewed the other 25 proposals submitted in the general category of Knowledge Production and Utilization).

Reviewers made many favorable comments about both the importance and the design of the proposed CNS research. Reviewers found the proposed time and budget inadequate for such an important study, and on their advice, NIE added approximately $76,000, more than doubling the requested amount, to allow more extensive field study and data analysis.

Based on this revised budget, and CNS responses to other issues raised by the review panel, NIE awarded $128,269 for 18 months of research on "Technical Assistance Strategies for Five Education Linking Organizations" on May 22, 1974. The project was scheduled to run from June 20, 1974 through December 30, 1975. An extension of time at no additional cost was granted in 1976, so that the ending date become July 31, 1976. At that time a final report of the research and 100 copies of a summary report for a broader audience are to be submitted to NIE.

The NIE Group on School Capacity for Problem Solving, which has administered the grant since its beginning, has under way a number of action and research projects involving technical assistance to schools. The results of the CNS study will be of great interest to the staff of the program in refining plans for future work in large-scale development, teacher centers, network development, citizen involvement processes, and other areas. The study should have broad implications for Federal, State, and local education agencies which must make decisions about use of resources to assist local schools. The School Capacity for Problem Solving Group at NIE has a continuing interest in the relation of research to practice and policy-making, and has supported various efforts to bring research to the attention of those who could profit from it. NIE would welcome an opportunity to work with CNS and the TAG groups involved in this research, to make relevant audiences aware of the findings of the study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Volume I

ABSTRACT i

PREFACE v

TABLE OF CONTENTS viii

LIST OF FIGURES xvii

Chapter 1 - INTRODUCTION 1

- Rationale 4
- Study Methods 20
- Plan for Presenting Results 44
- Footnotes 46

Chapter 2 - EXPERIENTIAL SYSTEMS INCORPORATED/ CREATIVE TEACHING WORKSHOP (CTW) 51

- Overview 53
- History 57
- Internal Functioning 69
- Philosophy 102
- Technical Assistance Work 108
- Issues for the Future 146
- Footnotes 152

Chapter 3 - INDIVIDUALLY GUIDED EDUCATION /I/D/E/A 153

- Overview 155
- History 158
- Internal Functioning 168
- Philosophy 198
- Technical Assistance Work 216
- Overall Patterns in Implementation 235
- Issues for the Future 258
- Footnotes 265

Chapter 4 - UNITED BRONX PARENTS 269

- Overview 271
- History 275
- Internal Functioning 280
- Philosophy 308
- Technical Assistance Work 332
- Issues for the Future 363
- Attachments 371

(Volume I con't)

Chapter 5 - AFRAM ASSOCIATES (HARLEM) 385

Overview 387
History 391
Internal Functioning 402
Philosophy 413
Technical Assistance Work 431
Issues for the Future 443
Attachments 449
Footnotes 461

Chapter 6 - RURAL EDUCATION PROGRAM 463

Overview 465
History 466
Internal Functioning 477
Philosophy 532
Technical Assistance Work 537
Issues for the Future 625
Footnotes 634

Chapter 7 - CENTER FOR NEW SCHOOLS 637

Overview 639
History 643
Philosophy 669
Internal Functioning 681
Technical Assistance Work 704
Issues for the Future 744
Footnotes 747
Response to the CNS Case Study 749

Volume II Chapter 8 - COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SIX TAGs 1

Introduction 3
Forming the technical Assistance Group 10
Establishing and Maintaining Effective TAG Internal Management 19
Obtaining and Maintaining Funds 45
Developing Assistance Strategies 52
Carrying Out Specific Assistance Efforts 90
Effectiveness of TAG Assistance Efforts 138
Attachment: List of Critical Activities 149
Footnotes 163

Chapter 9 - SOME PATTERNS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS 165

The Nature of Educational Change 167
The Nature of Technical Assistance 172
Some Implications for Technical Assistance, Research, and Policy 197
Footnotes 207

APPENDICIES

Appendix A - Agreement with Participating Groups 209

Appendix B - Some Forms Employed in Data Collection and Analysis 217

Appendix C - Strategy and Specific Questions for Single Site Analysis 223

Appendix D - Cross-Site Analysis Questions and Cross-Site Analysis Form 259

LIST OF FIGURES

Volume I

Figure 2-1. Organizational Structure of Experiential Systems Inc. Creative Teaching Workshop. 82

Figure 3-1. The 35 IGE Outcomes and Their Relative Degree of Implementation Based on Self-Ratings by Staff Members in Schools Participating in IGE. 254

Figure 4-1. United Bronx Parents Organizational Chart. 287

Figure 6-1. REP Organizational Chart. 481

Figure 6-2. REP Decision Making Responsibility Chart. 496

Figure 6-3. Stages of the Community Change Process. 544

Figure 6-4. Assumptions of the REP Community Change Process. 547

Figure 6-5. Canyon County Project. 599

Volume II

Figure 8-1. Major Areas of TAG Operations. 6

Figure 8-2. Typical Patterns in the Formation of a Technical Assistance Group. 13

Figure 8-3. Possible Relationships of Written Codification of TAG Strategy and Shared Awarness of Strategy Among TAG Staff. 61

Figure 8-4. United Bronx Parents' Focus on Various Strategies for School Community Change. 71

Figure 8-5. AFRAM's Focus on Various Strategies School Community Change. 73

Figure 8-6. Center For New Schools' Focus on Various Strategies for School Community Change. 75

Figure 8-7. Rural Education Program Focus on Various Strategies for School Community Change. 77

(Volume II con't)

Figure 8-8. /I/D/E/A/ Focus on Various Strategies for School Community Change. 79

Figure 8-9. Creative Teaching Workshop Focus on Various Strategies for School Community Change. 81

Figure 8-10. Summary of the Six TAG's Focus on Various Strategies for School Community Change. 83

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION: RATIONALE AND METHOD*

---

*Editorial Note: To avoid the sexist connotations of the constant use of the word "he" in the text, we have chosen to use the words "he" and "she" intermittently at various points in the text, rather than to use such terms as "he or she" or "he/she."

This report describes the results of a study of six assistance groups who provide extended face-to-face assistance to teachers, administrators, parents, and/or students involved in attempts to change specific local schools. We call these helping groups technical assistance groups (TAGs) in this study, and we refer to persons or groups at the local level who are provided with such assistance as Receivers of Technical Assistance (RTAs).

The six groups chosen for study from a set of 25 groups who were seriously interested in participating are as follows:

1. AFRAM Associates (AFRAM). A Harlem-based group that has provided assistance to parents at eight Follow-Through Programs sites, in four states and Washington, D.C. AFRAM attempts to help parents become full partners in their children's education in terms of decision-making and day-to-day involvement in schools.

2. Center for New Schools (CNS). A group that has attempted a variety of assistance strategies for changing urban schools, with an emphasis on using qualitative research studies of successful change efforts as a source of information for assistance.

3. Creative Teaching Workshop/Experiential Systems, Inc. (CTW). An advisory group working with teachers and principals in several New York public schools with a focus on using concepts and techniques of direct experiential learning with both children and adults.

4. Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, Inc. (/I/D/E/A/). A group of educators who have developed Individually Guided Education (IGE). IGE is an approach to individualizing student learning programs that entails a changed approach to planning and carrying out instruction, on-going staff development, and social reorganization of the teaching staff. Having developed the change strategy and related materials, (I/D/E/A/) staff have trained staff from Intermediate Agencies such as state departments of education to provide on-going assistance for carrying out

the IGE program in over 1200 schools.

5. Rural Education Program (REP). A group developing a strategy for assisting rural schools and communities to carry out a systematic problem-solving process to deal with priority local school problems. REP is currently field-testing their approach through training and supporting local facilitators working in two rural school districts and is developing training and support mechanisms within state and intermediate education agencies to assist the change process at the local level.

6. United Bronx Parents (UBP). A group of parent activists in the South Bronx section of New York City who assist local parent groups in the area to increase their influence in local schools through training, acting as advocates for individual students, and community organizing.

The study focuses on the history of each group, their current methods of internal functioning, their philosophy of change and of their role in the change process, an analysis of two assistance projects carried out by each group, an analysis of the patterns of assistance work (including its effectiveness under varying conditions), and some issues related to future development. These topics are first analyzed in individual case studies of each group and then considered in a cross-site analysis of similarities and differences among the groups.

The balance of this chapter discusses three topics. First, we present the rationale for this study in light of existing research information on educational change. Second, we discuss the methods that we employed in conducting the study. Third, we outline the organization of the rest of the report.

Rationale

The decade of the 1960's was characterized by a high level of "innovative" activity in American education, including attempts to induce educational improvements through federal, state, and foundation support for new programs at the local level and through a sharp increase in research and development efforts intended to stimulate local educational change. As a growing number of research and evaluation studies show, these efforts have produced very limited results in comparison with the expenditures represented.[1] Research and evaluation studies of increased funding provided to local school districts generally indicate no effect on student performances (as reflected in achievement scores) and a high degree of institutional resistance to making the hoped-for changes at the local level.[2] The results of the major research and development efforts intended to change local schools also indicate a lack of intended effects.[3] The general tenor of the observed results is reflected in a study by Goodlad, Klein, et al., based on observation and interviews in 158 classrooms in 26 school districts nation-wide.[4] Their results indicate that in the late 1960's there was almost no evidence that the most popular innovations of the decade were actually being carried out in specific classrooms, even though school staff often claimed to have adopted them and to be carrying them out.

A pattern of similar results has stimulated researchers and theorists to analyze the reasons for these disappointing results and to pinpoint the characteristics of educational change strategies that might be more successful. This effort has included the review of existing studies of the change process in education and other fields, the application of organizational change theories from other fields to conceptualizing the process of educational change, and the initiation of new empirical studies concerning educational change. Work carried out before our study of technical assistance groups was started (and work reported since) indicate some characteristics of the educational change process that suggest the potential benefits of studying technical assistance groups in education. Below, we describe several major issues related to the educational change process that are especially pertinent to the study reported here.

Inadequacy of the predominant change model of the 1960's. Underlying the predominant change efforts of the 1960's was a rational and mechanistic model of the change process. It assumed that if new educational products were developed (curriculum packages, scheduling procedures, teaching machines, program descriptions, etc.), they could be easily "installed" in the schools. Schools tended to be viewed as machines into which new parts needed to be fitted. Thus, the parts could be prepared elsewhere (in research and development laboratories or in federal planning departments) and then disseminated to a passive adopting group in local schools.[5] One group of developers in this effort frankly claimed that they were designing "teacher-proof" materials.[6] One implication of this train of thought was that the formal adoption of a new approach by action of a school board or superintendent was equivalent to its implementation in the classroom. Mounting evidence points toward a radically different image of the school district and of the change process--an image of the school, school district, and communities served by the schools as complex interrelated social systems.

The social system perspective. Schools are complex social systems stabilized by strong social forces that have been analyzed by various writers in terms of such concepts as social norms, social roles, functional subsystems, routines, decision rules, and standard operating procedures.[7] These characteristics of organizational structure and process create a pattern of organizational stability that tends to resist change. And all but the most trivial intended changes imply some alteration of the school as a social system.[8] One of the clear patterns of case studies of change efforts is that even when school staff are enthusiastic about adopting a new approach, they often fail because they are not given the training and support to carry out the new social roles implied by the innovation.[9]

Further, several characteristics that seem to distinguish educational organizations from for example, business firms complicate the problem of bringing about change. Schools characteristically have multiple and unclear goals and no proven methods for reaching particular goals.[10] Thus, school personnel lack strong incentives to make basic changes in the way the schools function.[11] In periods such as the 1960's when "innovation" was positively valued, the school administrators' prudent course was to appear innovative by adopting many new ideas in name without following through in practice and encountering the resistance of well-established patterns of social functioning.[12]

Another characteristic of schools as social systems relevant to the change process is the notion that schools and school districts are "loosely coupled systems."[13] One manifestation of this characteristic is that changes in one school are seldom incorporated into other schools.[14] Another is that within a given school, changes in one classroom do not lead to changes in other classrooms and that changes in one functional subsystem (e.g. social control of students) do not lead to changes in others (e.g. classroom instruction). In other words, the relative independence of the social entities within the school system complicates the process of change.

Another important characteristic of the school as a social system is that it is interdependent with the larger school system, with other governmental agencies, and with the community it serves. This interdependence has been captured by some writers by referring to the "organizational coalition" of persons with interests in what happens in the school.[15] In this report, with a focus on locally-based change, we have conceptualized this organizational coalition as follows. We regard the local school, including the parents, students, teachers, administrators, and other local citizens who have a stake in the school as the "school community" and regard other important elements of the organizational coalition affecting a given school (e.g. the school district, state agencies) as significant aspects of the school community's environment.

In general, a social systems perspective on educational change and the barriers to change suggests the need for a careful diagnosis of how any intended innovation will affect the dynamics of the school community and its environment. There has been very little research aimed at pinpointing these dynamics, and thus a number of research groups have argued for the development of a "grounded theory" of educational change and have initiated research aimed at understanding various aspects of the change process at the school district and school community level. These include the study by Berman and McLaughlin of the implementation of selected federally funded programs in local school districts,[16] a study in progress by Miles of the process of planning new schools,[17] and the study of technical assistance groups reported in this volume.

Earlier research in education and other fields and early results of more recent research efforts highlight some additional aspects of the educational change process that illuminate the rationale for this study.

The key role of personal contact in the change process. Information comes to potential adopters and implementers of innovations in a variety of forms, including mass media, written and audio-visual materials, formal workshops, and informal and formal personal contacts of various sorts. What sorts of communications have impact on potential adopters of change? There has been considerable study of the diffusion of various technological innovations in other fields, e.g. refrigerators, radios, hybrid seed corn, and new medical drugs.[18] The clear pattern of results in these studies indicates that the role of personal contact in the change process is critical, i.e. that people adopt innovations that are recommended to them through direct contact with persons personally known to them.[19] House dramatically summarizes this evidence when he says:

> To control the flow of personal contact is to control innovation. As the flow of blood is essential to human life, so direct personal contact is essential to the propagation of innovation, and by tracing the flow of personal contact and personal influence, one can chart the likely course of innovation.[20]

A number of studies in the education field support this assertion. Carlson studied the dissemination of the new program among school superintendents in the Pittsburgh area and found that adoption was linked closely with friendship patterns among superintendents.[21] Lin, et al. found interpersonal communication to be the predominant mode through which innovations that were adopted were disseminated (73% heard first of innovations they eventually adopted through interpersonal contact and only 25% through other media).[22] Sieber, et al. found that the use of extension agents to gather existing research information for school staff on topics that staff identified as of interest to them greatly increased the use and impact of such information.[23]

Sieber's study describes one example of an approach to change that seeks to deliberately create new interpersonal links with school communities to stimulate and facilitate change, i.e. by establishing the role of the linker, advisor, or organizer who works directly with members of the school community. We use the general term "facilitator" to describe this role in this study. Some evidence from other fields suggests the potential of such a role in the change process, including, for example, the effectiveness of agricultural extension agents in farmers' adoption of hybrid seed corn and of drug detail men in convincing doctors to buy new drugs.[24] This face-to-face assistance role and the organizational context needed to support it is the focus of the current study.

The importance of implementation in educational change. While studies of innovation diffusion in fields such as medicine and agriculture can suggest dynamics of formal adoption of educational innovations, a number of writers have criticized the simple translation of evidence from these fields into the analysis of educational change. They point out that while in agriculture the adopter is an individual who will actually be using the innovation, the adopter in education is often the school board or administration, while the implementer of the innovation is the local school staff.[25] Further they point out that while innovations in such fields as agriculture are stable technological products (e.g. as a new reaper), educational innovations generally go through a process of considerable adaptation in the local setting; they are seldom carried out as originally planned.[26] For these reasons, Berman and McLaughlin and others have argued for emphasis on studying the process of implementing innovations and see many of the failures of change efforts stemming from a lack of effective implementation strategies and of concrete efforts to assist the school community in the implementation process.[27] Again, the thrust of Berman and McLaughlin's work is consistent with the philosophy of many of the technical assistance groups we identified for potential study, since a major thrust of their work is to provide concrete support in the change process at the local level.

Berman and McLaughlin have studied the process of implementing innovations in a number of school systems and have identified patterns associated with effective implementation. The patterns they have discerned indicate some specific aspects of a social systems analysis of educational change:

> ...we found that implementation was essentially an organizational process of mutual adaptation between the project design and the institutional setting, and that implementation strategies had a significant effect on the project outcomes. Implementation was most successful when based on strategies that fostered mutual adaptation or permitted it to take place, specifically: on-line planning efforts and continuing reassessment of project methods; provision of extensive pre-service and in-service training for all participants; frequent regular meetings of project personnel to discuss problems and share ideas; and the local development of project materials, as opposed to the utilization of commercially prepared packages. This latter activity provided an opportunity to "learn by doing" as well as a sense of identification with the project's goals and understanding of its precepts.
>
> In motivating participants, intangible professional and psychological incentives were more significant than tangible incentives such as extra pay or credit on the district salary scale, although these rewards were frequently used.
>
> Elementary school projects were more successful than junior or senior high school projects. Also districts with prior innovation experience were less likely to have implementation

> problems than those less experienced. But the existence of several innovative projects in a single district often detracted from the attention paid a given project, and thus from its chances of success.
>
> Other factors leading to more successful implementation included: the existence of a critical mass of participants in any given school who could provide each other with mutual support; strong administrative support from all levels of the system; a flexible administrative approach to unexpected contingencies; and classroom technical assistance to complement training or materials development components.[28]

As will become apparent to the reader in the balance of this report, attention to these types of dynamics are central to the change efforts of effective technical assistance groups.

One of Berman and McLaughlin's conclusions would appear to contradict the assertion that technical assistance groups are an effective stimulator for educational change:

> When an LEA adopted projects designed by outsiders, the quality of implementation suffered. District staff tended to distrust "outside experts" and had little patience for complex project rationales. In Coaltown, for example, a professor of occupational education, from 150 miles away, was hired to write the career education proposal and to run the project on a part-time basis. His notions of radical change and his lack of administrative experience so alienated the teaching staff with whom he had to deal, that he had to be virtually removed from the project....Similarly in Bikson, a local university group designed a model career education project and turned it over to the LEA to run. The district staff then proceeded to eliminate most of the project's key concepts because they were too theoretical.
>
> But an important exception to the disappointment of such "outsider" projects as Coaltown and Bikson occurred when the outsider's plan was brought into the district with very strong and explicit support and commitment from key district administrators. In Eastown, the idea and design for the Title III open-classroom project were brought to the district's attention by an outsider. She "sold" her idea to the director of elementary education, who in turn gathered the support of the principals and teachers of two elementary

> schools....After three years, the project is adhering quite closely to its initial design and apparently is successfully meeting its stated objectives.[29]

It appears from these accounts that the "outside experts" who failed in Berman and McLaughlin's study used inept techniques that would be shunned by the TAG groups we studied. Thus, one's status as outsider or insider is one of a series of contributors to a process by which one either builds local credibility or fails to. Also given the loose coupling in most educational systems, persons from within the school system (e.g. curriculum specialists) are often regarded as outsiders in local schools until they prove their competence. Thus, we see the major contribution of Berman and McLaughlin's study in relation to this study as identifying a set of dynamics in the implementation process that is quite consistent with the agenda of concerns acted on by effective technical assistance groups.

Importance of the user's needs and perspective in the change process. One aspect of the process of adopting and implementing educational innovations deserves special comment. Berman and McLaughlin found that innovations that were carefully planned and implemented were those that grew up in response to some locally-felt need, and that when a proposal for federal funding did not grow out of such a local need, it generally was not seriously implemented.[30] This emphasis on local needs as a stimulant for change is consistent with studies of organizational change in other fields. These studies suggest that organization staff tend to persist in employing standard operating procedures until they perceive a "problem" (e.g. as the result of complaints of people within the organizational coalition), that they then search for solutions drawing largely on a personal network for information, and that when they find a solution they judge satisfactory the search stops and the new solution is carried out.[31]

These results suggest that local perceptions of problems are a major stimulant for the change process, although the predominant change strategy ignores this fact and views the adopters and implementers at the local level as passive. Again, the strategies of effective technical assistance groups place strong emphasis on identifying and building on local needs.

The potential role of the school's clients in the change process. Organizations change theory developed in other areas suggests that changes often result from shifts within the organizational coalition that has an interest in the functioning of the organization.[32] Pincus argues that, in general, professionals within a bureaucracy are not likely to envision or implement innovations that alter the organization's fundamental social structure and process; a promising direction for change, Pincus argues, is to open the school system up to more client influence.[33] This contention receives empirical support from research by Gittell and Hollander on urban school systems indicating that major operational innovations have been the result of parent and community pressures.[34] Since a number of technical assistance groups exist that focus on increasing the role of parents in school operation and have had some success in this area, it seems that this approach deserves careful study.

Summary of the implications of other research. Our review of research on the educational change process prior to initiating this study suggested to us the value of understanding the functioning of technical assistance groups who appear to be acting in accord with the social system view of educational change that is quickly emerging. Research and theory that has been developed since this study was initiated (which also has been described briefly above) seems to strengthen the plausibility of studying such groups. To summarize the major patterns of the research and analysis describe thus far, we believe that those attempting to stimulate educational change must take the following dynamics of the change process into account:

1. The school community is a social system stabilized by strong social forces that can be analyzed using such concepts as roles, norms, functional subsystems, routines, decision rules, and standard operating procedures. Educational change inevitably entails altering some aspects of the school community as a social system.

2. Schools and school communities are loosely-coupled organizations, and this fact makes change more difficult.

3. Schools have multiple unclear goals and lack an established methodology for reaching these goals. Thus, the incentives for school staff to change are weak.

4. The school exists in an interdependent relationship with other systems, including the community it serves and the larger school system. Those who have a significant interest in the functioning of a school constitute the school's

"organizational coalition." A promising strategy for change is to shift the configuration of the school's organizational coalition by giving a larger role to parents.

5. Personal contact and influence is a key variable in the process of adopting and implementing innovations. There is some evidence that planned face-to-face assistance in education and other fields is helpful in the process of change.

6. Given the fact that most educational innovations entail changes in the school as a social system and that those formally adopting the innovation are often not involved in carrying it out, the process of implementing educational innovations is vital.

7. One characteristic of the process of adoption and implementation that is critical is the development or modification of innovations in light of locally perceived needs. Others include providing specific training and support for the development of new roles, on-going training and technical assistance providing concrete help in carrying out the innovation, and the local development of materials. Additional specific features of successful implementation can be gleaned from various research efforts focused on this issue.

Rationale for studying technical assistance groups. For a period of two years preceding the initiation of this study, we had been collecting information about the functioning and change efforts of groups providing long-term face-to-face assistance to specific school communities in an effort to facilitate local change. These groups were particularly promising as a focus of study since they seemed to be carrying out change strategies consistent with the analysis of the change process just summarized. As we described these principles at the time that we initiated the study, they were as follows:

1. They provide long-term face-to-face assistance to public school teachers, administrators, parents, and students.

2. They seek to promote changes in the social structure and process of educational institutions to which other more specific changes (e.g. the introduction of a new physics curriculum) are subsidiary.

3. They articulate long-term strategies for changing their chosen arena of action that take into account the objectives of all major role groups with interests in the schools.

4. They seek to provide assistance not only to "those in charge" and to teachers but also to parents and students, and they seek to increase parent and student involvement in the operation of schools.

5. They are concerned with understanding education as it is perceived by administrators, teachers, parents, and students; and with establishing two-way communication with these groups. They employ a variety of media for communication, including techniques for working with groups that are drawn from organizational development and community organizing the use of various audio-visual and graphic media.

6. They place great emphasis on practitioners' and citizens drawing on their own experiences and the experiences of other practitioners and citizens to solve problems, rathe than relying solely on solutions generated by research a development specialists.

7. They attempt to integrate research and evaluation with the process of technical assistance. A portion of this research and evaluation is oriented toward particular on-the-spot problems of those they are assisting.

8. They are introspective about their own work and frequently reassess their effectiveness in the light of feedback from experience and in some cases from formal internal evaluation.

The primary information available about such groups consisted of program descriptions or reports on past or present projects. Research and evaluation data on organizational functioning and effectiveness of TAGs was harder to find, although some existed at the time--for example:

1. The Affective Education Development Program of the

Philadelphia Public Schools has developed teacher training techniques and materials, student learning activities, and concepts of school organization that they have been implementing in a number of Philadelphia public schools since about 1965. Evaluations indicate that the learning environments that are part of AEDP are significantly more successful in promoting emotional growth than conventional learning environments.[35]

2. The Open Education Advisory of the Education Development Center in Boston has carried out on-site efforts to help teachers initiate the open classroom approach to education. Extensive anthropological investigation indicates that the program has produced basic changes in classroom teaching and learning patterns.[36]

3. Center for New Schools of Chicago has helped establish Metro High School, an experimental school without walls to which students are assigned randomly from volunteers. Comparison with a randomly selected control group drawn from the same pool indicates basic differences in school climate between experimental and control school situations.[37]

4. /I/D/E/A/ has initiated the IGE program in over 1200 schools through a national network of local facilitators. A variety of research studies indicate changes in school environment and in teacher, parent, and student satisfaction with the IGE schools, compared to control schools.[38]

This scattered evidence, coupled with site visits to a number of TAG groups and examination of written materials from them, suggested that TAGs following the types of principles described above were facilitating the changes in the social structure and process of schooling that research was indicating as critical to a successful change process. Thus, we decided to initiate a study of several such groups for several reasons:

1. We saw technical assistance as a promising avenue for bringing about locally-based educational change consistent with current knowledge about the change process.

2. We saw TAG groups who had been in existence for a number of years as a repository of valuable information about the dynamics of educational change.
3. Given the potential we saw in the efforts of many TAGs, we wished to make a contribution to strengthening their operation.

Thus, we felt that a detailed examination of the functioning of TAG groups and their assistance efforts would make a substantial contribution both to research and to practical efforts in the area of educational change.

Study Methods

The underlying issue of research method in this study appeared to us to be as follows: what research methods have proved most effective in studying organizations about which little is known? It was by answering this question based on a review of the literature on research methods that we developed specific research plans. Scott, for example, in a review of field methods for studying organizations, states that:

> ...the major source of knowledge about organizations has been the reports of researchers who were able to observe, at a greater or lesser distance and for longer or shorter periods of time, the functioning of naturally occurring organizations.[39]

Specifically, referring to the comparative analysis of organizations, Udy notes that the most productive comparative studies have been "exploratory" rather than hypothesis-testing studies due to the lack of explicit theory in organizational research from which specific quantitative hypotheses can be derived.[40] In our own studies of the development of an alternative learning environment, which employed multiple quantitative and qualitative methods, we also found the most productive methods to be qualitative observation and informal interviewing covering a number of areas of interest, rather than focused on a few hypotheses.[41] Our research has been decisively influenced by the concept of "grounded theory," the effort to build a theory from categories that grow out of direct observation of the phenomena under study.[42]

Also based on our past research, we were convinced that before broad assessments can be made of the effectiveness of TAG groups (both in comparison with each other and in comparison with other change methods), the internal processes of such groups and their processes of providing assistance should be carefully analyzed. We took this position for several reasons. First, we felt, based on our initial exploration of TAG work, that internal and external processes were closely linked. Second, we felt that technical assistance to local school communities was at an early stage in development and should not be killed off by premature summative evaluation, but rather strengthened through careful analysis of the process of assistance. Third, we saw a dearth of valid measures of effectiveness and felt that these can be developed only out of a careful analysis of the process of assistance, including the processes within the school community that are the focus of technical assistance.

Thus, we saw the emphases of the study at its inception as follows:

1. The study of the internal functioning of the individual TAGs.
2. The study of the processes by which individual TAGs provide assistance to RTAs.
3. The study of techniques and circumstances that lead to greater or lesser effectiveness in particular circumstances. Our emphasis was on short-term effectiveness of strategies in specific settings, not on broad generalizations about effectiveness of one TAG compared with another.
4. The comparison of similarities and differences among the TAGs in the areas of study focus.

Selection of Participants. Our plan was to select four additional TAG groups for study and to look at our own organization, Center for New Schools, as a fifth TAG. When the study was funded, we had accumulated a list of about 40 groups which seemed to fit the major criterion for a TAG in our study, i.e. that they were providing face-to-face assistance for periods of at least one year to specific school communities. We began a telephone search for additional groups which met this criterion, contacting people who might know of such groups and prospective groups themselves. We explained the study to possible participants and asked them about their work to determine whether they might fit the criteria for inclusion in the study (including the eight principles of TAG functioning discussed earlier). If a group seemed promising, we asked them to send us information about their program and indicated we would send them information on the study. Appropriate groups were then mailed a fairly detailed set of questions about their work. Ultimately, about 25 groups returned the completed questionnaire and expressed interest in participation. These 25 which expressed interest came from a set of about 60 we identified which seemed to fit the basic criteria for the study.

In explaining the study to potential participants we emphasized several points. First, we viewed the participating groups as collaborators in the study with us, not merely as objects of investigation. We felt that a collaborative approach would ultimately yield more valid information, and it is consistent with our own values. Second, there were several specific obligations that a group took on if it planned to participate: (1) to appoint a local coordinator to aid the study; (2) to insure access to TAG staff, to their RTAs, and to records of past work; and (3) to review the report of our study. In return, immediate benefits included a chance to participate in two conferences for sharing information with other TAGs and a payment of $1500. We emphasized that the payment would probably not begin to compensate them for the time involved.

In reviewing the literature of potential participants, we identified several types of groups which fit our basic criteria:

1. Organizational development. Grows from the planned change approach. Works on issues of organizational process such as communication and decision-making. Example: Center for Educational Policy Management, Eugene, Oregon.

2. Services to alternative schools. Assists alternative schools and seeks to strengthen an overall movement for alternatives or options for students. Example: National Alternative Schools Program, Amherst, Massachusetts.

3. Teachers advisories. Usually working within the open education framework, emphasizing specific help to teachers in a gradual process of change. Example: Teachers Active Learning Center, Oakland, California.

4. Assist with other specific educational innovations. A mixed group working on such innovations as Individually Guided Education, Individually Prescribed Instruction, affective education, student-initiated learning experiences in the community. Examples: I/D/E/A/, Dayton, Ohio; Affective Education Development Program, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

5. Community/parent organizers. Assist parents and other community members in gaining additional control of their local schools and in obtaining the types of changes they wish to see in them. Sometimes working on issues other than education, such as housing, economic development. Examples: Center for Community Change, Washington, D.C.; United Bronx Parents, New York City.

6. Formative evaluation and research groups. Carry out research and evaluation and seek to build on it to assist the groups they are studying through feedback of information and other assistance. Examples: Organization for Social and Technical Innovation, Lincoln, Massachusetts.

7. Groups focused on issues affecting a specific student population. Includes groups helping schools deal with racial conflicts and desegregation/integration, groups that deal with programs for special education. Example: Center for Program Development in Equal Education Opportunity, Evanston, Illinois; Technical Assistance Development Service, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

8. Networks. Seek to get a group of schools to share ideas and to help each other, rather than a primary focus on the relationship of the TAG group to the individual client. Example: League of Cooperating Schools, Los Angeles.

9. Resource centers. Don't see themselves as having expertise in specific areas. Seek to put people in touch with people who can help them. Qualify as TAG groups when they do this over an extended period for the same schools or communities. Example: Educational Exploration Center, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

10. Advocacy groups. Serve as advocates for children on such issues as legal rights. Qualifies as TAG group when focus of advocacy work is on specific schools and includes an effort to organize persons with common problems. Example: Combined work of Massachusetts Advocacy Center and Alliance for Coordinated Services, Boston, Massachusetts.

While one can see that some of these classifications are closely interrelated and some include very different groups within them, they are useful in getting an initial grasp of the range of TAGs that exist. These classifications reflected the interrelationships of a number of key dimensions on which we felt it was extremely important to obtain diversity among the five groups under study:

1. Specific focus or topic of intervention, including emphasis on specific content versus emphasis on process.
2. Role group served (e.g. teachers, parents, administrators) and extent to which TAG group employed a cooperative versus competing interests model with reference to various role groups.
3. Types of assistance methods employed.
4. Types of communities in which clients were located (e.g. rural, urban, Black).
5. Make-up of TAG staff in terms of social background and skills.
6. The role of analysis/research in their work.

Beside these key criteria on which we wished to generate a diverse set of groups, we established certain characteristics on which groups had to meet certain minimal standards to be included (in addition to those characteristics of a TAG group listed in the original proposal):

1. Length of existence: Since part of the study involved the retrospective analysis of projects, groups just coming into existence were not included.
2. Degree of development of strategy: Groups having an extremely diffuse or unarticulated approach were not included.
3. Prospects for continued existence: Groups which did not have a reasonable chance to maintain their existence during the study and beyond were not included.
4. Effectiveness: Groups which could not offer evidence of some concrete accomplishments in terms of facilitating

school community change were not included.

5. Groups which were not able to make the commitments of staff time or for which this study did not seem to be an important priority were not included.

In our final selection of groups we took into account all of the above described considerations and chose groups dealing with community/parent involvement (AFRAM, United Bronx Parents), with implementing a specific innovation (I/D/E/A/), with advising teachers (Creative Teaching Workshop), with organizational development (Rural Education Program), and with applied research (Center for New Schools). The selection of two groups which assisted parents (raising the total number of groups studied to six) resulted from a desire to look at the two interesting approaches to working with parents represented by the work of AFRAM and United Bronx Parents.* We successfully negotiated a contract with each participating group which specified our responsibilities and theirs in the study. A copy of this contract appears in Appendix A.

Initial Research Framework. We based our initial research framework on a set of concepts that we had found consistently useful in understanding the dynamics of educational change. They formed the basis for our initial analysis of documents, for our observations, and for our formal and informal interviewing.

The basic unit that is segmented from field notes for analysis is called a behavior episode, an action, interaction, or statement that is pertinent to one of the basic concepts. A behavior episode can involve reference to more than one concept. We view the school, community group, community, and TAG as social systems in intimate relationship with their environments. It is useful to view these social systems as built up from components which form functional subsystems which in turn interrelate to form the social system.[43] Components are individuals, educational materials, facilities, etc. within the social system. They are combined in various ways to form functional subsystems, groupings of components within a system that carry out the functions necessary for the system to maintain itself and move toward its goals. Persons working as part of these functional subsystems occupy various roles, sets of prescriptions defining what the behavior of the occupant of the position should be toward other related positions. There are certain rights and obligations associated with each role. The demands of various roles often induce several varieties of role conflict.

---

*The addition of an additional group was made possible by support from N.I.E. Grant No. NE-G-00-3-0145, as explained in the Preface.

Social systems can also usefully be viewed as being divided into subgroups, clusters of individuals who interact frequently with one another and share important values. The concept of subgroup overlaps with the concept of subsystem, and often the two may be synonymous. However, subsystems tend to have more to do with instrumental functioning of the social system while subgroups are based more around expressive functioning.[44] The functioning of such subgroups have proven particularly important in our past analyses of organizational change.[45]

As the picture of roles, subsystems and subgroups begins to emerge, several other important concepts become an important focus of the research, first with reference to the social system as a whole, but increasingly with reference to specific roles, subsystems and subgroups. One key focus is the patterns of interpersonal interaction among role groups, subgroups, and members of various subsystems. This concept is closely related to the larger concept of communication patterns and barriers. Other key concepts are also critical with reference to an emerging understanding of roles, subsystems and subgroups:

1. Behavior settings--environmental contexts within which particular sequences of behavior occur regularly.
2. Norms--shared expectations that a given set of behaviors within a specified context will be approved or disapproved.
3. Skills perceived as necessary to carry out functions
4. Involvement versus non-involvement in carrying out functions.
5. Trust.
6. Adaptability.
7. Goals, both manifest and latent.
8. Background characteristics.
9. Reward structure.
10. Interdependence.
11. Recruitment to roles.
12. Key values, including values related to organizational change.

The final major area of focus within the social system is related to *management* and *decision-making*. Our focus is on decision-making at the system and subsystem levels. The key concepts in this area are *organizational control*, *patterns of decision-making*, *leadership*, *power*, *conflict resolution*, *problem solving*, and *assessment procedures* (with reference to the state of the organization and its degree of success in attaining its goals).

Using these basic concepts, we wished to look at the following basic entities involved in the assistance process:

1. TAG group
2. School
3. Community or parent group
4. Community
5. TAG group environment
6. School environment
7. Community group environment
8. Community's environment

We also wished to look at the interface between some of these entities, especially the following:

1. TAG-school interface
2. School-community group interface
3. TAG group-community group interface
4. TAG group-community interface
5. School-community group interface
6. Community group-community interface

In looking at interfaces, we employed basic concepts for the interface of systems generally consistent with Havelock, including sender, receiver, channel[46], medium, manifest content, latent content, and barrier.

For each entity (e.g. community group) and interface (e.g. TAG-school), we developed an extensive set of questions using the basic concepts described above. We asked, for example:

1. What are the major functional subsystems within the TAG? Within the community group?
2. What are the major mediums of communication and major content of communication in the TAG-school interface?
3. What are the important informal subgroups within the school with respect to the changes the TAG espouses?

Using this approach we generated an extensive list of questions that were to form the basis for our initial site visits to TAGs. We saw these questions as a set of guidelines that would provide continuity in our investigation across sites and would give us a broad view of the functioning of TAG groups that would allow us to zero in subsequently on topics that showed themselves to be critical. We have not reproduced the full set of initial questions in this report. They are available to interested persons. A more focused set of questions produced later on in the study is contained in Appendix C and reflects the nature of our initial question list.

The basic method for gathering data on these questions was through qualitative data-gathering techniques, including qualitative observation, document analysis, informal interviewing, and formal interviewing. The fruits of all these data-gathering techniques were recorded on Field Data Forms (see Appendix B) on which the left hand column is reserved for a running account written as objectively as possible and the right hand column for comments, hunches, and questions. For each event observed, the site researcher recorded information on a special heading sheet for the Field Data Form concerning the participants, the place, etc. (see Appendix B). The data was then to be divided into behavior episodes (as defined earlier), and each behavior episode was to be coded with certain content codes related to our initial list of questions. To facilitate data analysis, we planned to employ a computer-based information retrieval system, which would function as follows:

1. The data would be divided into behavior episodes and each episode coded for the actors involved and the topics in our research plan to which the episode was related.
2. The data would then be entered onto a computer tape with its associated codes.
3. Data could then be retrieved by codes and combinations of codes to facilitate analysis.

Data Collection Phase. A primary site researcher was assigned to each site (Manford Holmes for AFRAM, United Bronx Parents, and Creative Teaching Workshop; Kathy Blair for Rural Education Program; Paul Shane for /I/D/E/A/ and Center for New Schools). Dr. Emile Schepers served as coordinator of the field work and consulted with the site researchers regularly during their site visits. He was also largely responsible for developing initial research questions. A secondary site researcher was also designated for each site, and he spent a week at the site with the primary site researcher so that they could contrast their initial perspectives.

The first major event of the data collection phase was a conference for the research staff and two representatives from each TAG involved in the study. The purposes of the conference were to allow the TAGs to share information about their work, to allow the TAGs to review the research plan, to allow the research team to gather some initial data from the TAGs, and to allow the research team to make initial arrangements with the TAGs for data collection.

After the conference the primary and secondary site researchers for each site made an initial visit, focused on understanding the internal operation of the TAG and its history. Each visit involved two to three person-weeks of time. After these visits were completed, the research team met to share high points of their initial data collection and to develop a more focused set of questions for the second round of data collection. The second visit was planned to focus on two current assistance projects and to involve visits to the projects and opportunities to interview RTAs and sometimes watch assistance activities in progress. The second visit was also intended to fill in "holes" in our information and to gather more data on some topics that were emerging as important similarities or differences among TAGs (e.g. leadership patterns, responses to rapid growth).

The second site visits were completed by summer 1975, generally according to plan. One major difficulty encountered in this process was related to differences among the groups. In cases where the core staff of the TAG trained a completely different set of people who acted as facilitators (as in the case of /I/D/E/A/), it was more difficult to carry out the depth of observation and interviewing necessary to understand RTA settings in depth.

In some cases we were tempted either by our own interests or by a special interest of the TAG being studied to focus heavily on a particularly stimulating aspect of the TAG's work. In general, we tried to avoid such a narrowing of focus, with the conviction that we should try to gather data across groups about a broad number of topics and leave highly focused investigation for subsequent research. Even with an effort to maintain this orientation, the case studies show that we have less detailed information on some of the RTAs than we would like. It is particularly difficult to tease out the role that a TAG had played in helping an RTA several years earlier, especially when some TAGs constantly attempt to downplay their contribution in the assistance process in order to build RTA independence.

We had hoped to make a third site visit to either the TAG's main base of operations or to one of its projects to gather missing information. However, we did not have sufficient funds to carry out this final visit. During the analysis phase some additional data collection was carried out through phone interviews to some TAGs and RTAs.

Data Analysis. Having completed at least five person-weeks of field work for each TAG, we began to review our data and to prepare it for entry into the computer system. The first step we took was for each primary and secondary site researcher from each site to read the data from their site and generate as many questions as they could think of that grew from their observations. This process generated over 1000 questions. Through a review of these by the research team and through a final classification process by the Principal Investigator, the research team generated a list of priority questions on which to focus for each TAG. This list of questions is contained in Appendix C. Also contained in Appendix C is a memorandum written at that time which outlines the logic lying behind the questions chosen. Without repeating the analysis contained in the memo, it can be briefly stated that the heart of the analysis focused on two sets of questions--one related to the internal functioning of the TAGs and the other related to the interface of the TAGs with their RTAs. By grouping and analyzing the large number of questions generated by the research team about the internal operation of the TAGs, it seemed that much important information about internal TAG structure and process could be analyzed profitably by viewing the TAG as an organization attempting to accomplish 21 internal functions:

1. Development of TAG philosophies, strategies, and major program directions.
2. Definition of roles, subsystems, and tasks.

3. Staff selection, promotion, demotion and, termination.

4. Internal social control, monitoring, rewards, and sanctions.

5. Staff training, development, and socialization.

6. Decision-making.

7. Fund and resource maintenance.

8. Publicizing the organization, its approach, and the services it has available.

9. Providing leadership (emphasis on the affective aspect) to the organization.

10. Development of materials and techniques for t.a. work and for other purposes (e.g. written reports for funders).

11. Communication among those carrying out these functions.

12. Carrying out applied research, evaluation, formal analysis, and/or informal analysis of the TAG's own work.

13. Understanding and analyzing theory, research, and experience of others for possible improvement of TAG's own approach.

14. Resolving internal conflicts.

15. Solving problems generated internally or externally that do not involve conflict primarily.

16. Day-to-day administrative procedures, such as personnel procedures, clerical work flow, equipment maintenance, etc.

17. Maintenance of individual and interpersonal emotional health among TAG members.

18. Financial accounting and management.

19. Planning and management of physical space.

20. Clerical work.

21. Non-TAG functions.

For each function we asked five general questions:

1. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function?
2. What roles are involved in carrying out this function?
3. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function?
4. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)?
5. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function?

The responses to these questions for each TAG formed the bulk of the analysis of internal TAG functioning, along with answers to additional questions about internal processes contained in Appendix C.

A scheme for analyzing the TAG-RTA interface did not emerge so neatly from the questions generated by the research team. 81 topics or "themes" emerged in the questions generated, and we decided to organize our analysis around the attempt to answer two basic questions about the 81 themes that seemed important across TAGs:

1. What are the patterns of activity in this project with respect to this theme? Include structure of the direct assistance function involved, structure of the school community involved, topics involved in the interchange, mediums involved in the interchange.
2. What implications does this pattern of activity have for the process of providing technical assistance, including issues and problems?

We prioritized these themes, making some themes optional and some required and eventually designating some of the required themes as more important than others. Again, this is only a partial explanation of our research strategy at this point, and a fuller presentation (which includes a number of additional issues addressed in analyzing assistance efforts) is contained in Appendix C.

Having focused on a set of priority questions for individual case studies, we prepared data for entry into the computer system. This effort encountered a number of difficulties. First, the preparation of the computer program itself, which sounded simple in concept, was more complicated and more time-consuming than orginally estimated. Second, the preparation of the data for entry into the computer system also involved a series of operations whose complexity was miscalculated by the Principal Investigator. These included dividing the data and comments into behavior episodes with unambiguous consistency, developing a rigorous set of computer codes for concepts in which the research team was interested, developing rigorous lists of participants in events and settings for events, reviewing concepts with the research team to gain the desired reliability in their application in the coding process, and actually coding the data. Third, the process of entering data and especially of checking its accuracy once entered into the computer was more time-consuming than anticipated.

The better part of the fall was largely absorbed with these activities, but it became apparent that the effort to use the computer would have to be abandoned or the project would run out of funds. The projected excessive expenditures were not primarily in the area of computer programming and operation but in the costs of people's time to code and enter the data. Another larger CNS project (Documentation and Technical Assistance) is developing and using a similar computer system, so that the utility of this approach is receiving a test.

Upon abandoning the use of the computer system, the site researchers carried out the process which the computer system was intended to support manually by consulting their notes, i.e. the generation of propositions responsive to the questions in Appendix C. Thus, for example, to analyze the topic of "dependency in TAG-RTA relations," the site researcher might generate the proposition that "AFRAM deals with the dependency question from the earliest contacts with RTAs by constantly reinforcing the idea that AFRAM will not solve their problems for them or become their leaders." Such propositions were entered on Proposition Analysis Sheets (see Appendix B) which also indicated the source in the data that supported the proposition and documented exceptions, alternative interpretations, etc. The primary site researcher for each site generated several hundred propositions in response to the questions in Appendix C for each of the six TAGs. Ideally, the site researcher should then have had sufficient time to develop short analytical statements linking propositions that would form the basis for case studies and cross-site analysis. However, because of the time absorbed in the attempt to develop the computer system, the writing process had to be centralized with the Principal Investigator Donald Moore, Research Coordinator Emile Schepers, and Site Researcher Kathy Blair. They did the major writing on the case studies, consulting with the site researchers for each site. A further complication arose when, at the beginning of the analysis period, the site researcher for /I/D/E/A/ and Center for New Schools left for Israel and was effectively out of communication with the research team. These case studies were written based on field notes and without the benefit of close interaction with the site researcher. To offset this problem some additional data was collected.

Drafts of the case studies for all sites except CNS were finished by May 1976 and distributed shortly before a second conference with representatives from the TAGs. At the second conference the TAG representatives reviewed the individual case studies and suggested changes or elaborations. The review process, specified in the original contract with the TAGs, was that they could review the drafts and suggest changes. If the research team believed the changes were appropriate, they were made. If they did not, the TAG had the option to write an addendum to the case study stating where they believed the research team erred in its judgment. A second focus of the conference was to review preliminary written analyses of some similarities and differences among the groups.

During the summer and early fall the analysis of similarities and differences went forward. Emile Schepers prepared a set of questions for cross-site analysis, basically a subset of the individual case study questions that had proved important in looking at several groups. Donald Moore and Emile Schepers then used the Cross-Site Analysis Sheet in Appendix B to summarize the characteristics of each TAG with respect to the cross-site questions. For each question they asked three key subquestions with respect to each group:

1. What is the current pattern of TAG activity with respect to this topic? What present situational factors lead to the maintenance of this pattern?
2. What are the social-historical reasons for this? That is, what interactions of forces in the past have led up to the situation described in the response to the question?
3. What are the implications of this? That is, what further effects can be noted that stem from the situation described in response to the question, and what future course of events can we predict?

These analysis sheets were then used to prepare a draft of the cross-site analysis chapter which was circulated to the TAGs, to the rest of the research staff, and to several outside readers. Based on their comments a final cross-site analysis was prepared.

The Role of Values in the Study. Value issues play a prominent role in the study in several respects. First, as indicated earlier in the introduction, we value locally-initiated change in schools and see technical assistance as one plausible means for stimulating it which bears careful examination, based on our observations to date. Thus, one orientation of our study was to provide information about the process of technical assistance and the functioning of technical assistance groups that might be useful in strengthening this approach to change. However, we attempted to look hard at how any particular TAG group or project functioned, seeing it within its own terms, and striving to be objective and critical in describing and analyzing what happened. We adopted a similar stance in earlier research on an alternative school we assisted, and the research we carried out questioned many of the assumptions on which the alternative school's operation was based.[47] We have tried to bring this same approach to looking at assistance efforts, including our own. Center for New Schools contends that all research has explicit or implicit value assumptions, and that we are merely trying to make our own general orientation explicit.

Beside the issue of our general attitudes toward the potential of technical assistance as a means for school improvement, we also confronted many specific value issues in conducting the study. Our attempt, in looking at specific TAG efforts was to ground any analysis in an attempt to see what was going on from the perspective of those actually involved and to portray these perspectives as objectively as possible. We tried to minimize the biases of individual site researchers and of the whole team by writing "bias papers" on our views about the groups we were studying and cross-checking each other's interpretations as much as possible. Generally, the members of the research team favor the key values reflected in CNS's own technical assistance work, such as the significant involvement of parents in educational decision-making. Though we have tried to minimize the role of our own values in the study, the reader should look at the case studies and the cross-site analysis in the light of the research team's value orientations.

Summary of the Strengths and Weaknesses of Our Methods. From the perspective of the Principal Investigator, the research effort had the following strengths:

1. The qualitative method employed was appropriate for maximizing the knowledge of TAG groups given the lack of previously reported research on them.

2. Although there were some failings, the attempt to focus and refocus the research at various stages of data collection and analysis in light of what was known at that point was generally successful.

3. The effort to involve TAG groups as collaborators in the research was a decided strength, leading to a rapport that resulted in asking more appropriate questions and gathering more valid information. TAG group members' feedback on drafts of chapters was invaluable.

4. In general, the field researchers carried out a high level of data collection in varied and difficult circumstances.

5. The use of standardized methods for recording and analyzing data through Field Data Forms and Proposition Analysis Sheets was an effective facilitator of both individual site and cross-site analysis.

6. The generally positive reaction as to the accuracy of the final versions of the case studies and the draft of the cross-site analysis from a diverse group of TAGs (even when the reports were explicitly or implicitly critical of the groups) was one indication that we were fairly successful in capturing some of the reality of these groups.

The diversity of groups studied increases confidence in the cross-site analysis.

7. Some important continuities of our findings with those of others using the "grounded theory" approach to study school change (e.g. Berman and McLaughlin, and Miles)[48] raises the promise that substantial progress can be made in the next few years in developing a useful grounded theory of educational change.

Again, from the perspective of the Principal Investigator, there were several weaknesses in the study methods:

1. The time-consuming attempt to use the computer retrieval system robbed us of time that would have better been spent in more direct methods of analysis. Our body of data was probably not large enough to justify the use of this system, even if it had been fully operational before we started (we still believe it holds great promise for analyzing larger bodies of data).
2. The related inability to involve the primary researchers from a site as the major authors of the case study both decreased the quality of the case studies to some extent and was a frustrating experience for the research team.
3. Frequent underestimation of time to complete various steps resulted in a high degree of pressure on the research team.
4. The effort to attain a wide overview of technical assistance, which we believe was basically appropriate, meant that our data was thin in some areas, especially with respect to the process of change that had taken place in some of the specific TAG projects.
5. The departure of one of the site researchers at the beginning of the analysis phase hurt the study.

Plan for Presenting the Results

The balance of the report consists of six case studies of individual TAGs (Chapters 2-7) and the analysis of similarities and differences between groups (Chapter 8). For each individual TAG we include a brief introductory overview, highlights of the TAG's history, analysis of internal TAG functioning, analysis of two TAG assistance projects, analysis of patterns of the TAG's assistance work, and an analysis of issues the TAG is confronting in facing the future.

Our originally intended outline for writing the case studies called for us to follow fairly closely the outline for analysis in Appendix C to present the results. However, it soon became apparent that to follow that outline (to discuss separately, for example, all 21 internal TAG functions) led to excessive repetition. Thus, the case study writers were asked to cover the major topics in the analysis plan but to vary the organization and format in a way that best suited the group they were analyzing.

The case studies are relatively concrete and detailed, both because there has been little research on the specific types of TAGs we studied (e.g. on teachers' advisories) and because we wish to establish a clear base for the cross-site analysis. In presenting fairly extensive case studies, we are dealing with the common dilemma of establishing the credibility of conclusions in analyzing qualitative data.

The cross-site analysis generally follows the same major topic headings as the case studies. Its specific organization is discussed in the beginning of Chapter 8.

Our study has emphasized the critical interdependence between the internal operations of TAGs and the nature of the services they provide to RTAs. It has also emphasized the power of early events in the TAG's development in shaping present activity. Thus, both the case studies and the cross-site analysis contain extensive discussions of internal TAG functioning and of TAG history. The reader who is primarily interested in focusing on our analysis of the assistance process itself can use the Table of Contents to move immediately to those sections discussing the assistance strategies and activities of the various TAGs.

FOOTNOTES

1. See, for example, H. Averch, *et.al*. *How effective is schooling? A critical review and synthesis of research findings*. San Monica: Rand Corporation, 1972. See also, M. Fullan, "Overview of the Innovative Process and the User", *Interchange*, Vol. 11,, Nos. 2-3, 1-43.

2. Ibid.

3. S. Lindemon, S. K. Bailey, *et.al*. *Some Aspects of Educational Resear[illegible] and Development in the United States--Report for the OECD Review.* Policy Institute, Syracuse University Research Corporation, Final Report, Office of Education, Bureau of Research, Project No. 8-0515. Syracuse, New York: December, 1969.

4. J. Goodlad, M. Klein, *et.al*. *Behind the classroom door*. Francestown, New Hampshire: Jones Publishing Co., 1970.

5. P. Berman and M. McLaughlin. *Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change*. Santa Monica: Rand Corp., 1974.

6. Fullan, *op*. *cit*.

7. See, for example, C. Bidwell. "The School as a Formal Organization." In J. March, Ed., *Handbook of Organizations*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965. See also, J.P. Crecine. *Report of the Study Group on Organizational Change and Adaptation to the National Institute of Education*. Mimeographed. 1974.

8. Fullan, *op*. *cit*.

9. Fullan, *op*. *cit*. See also, N. Gross, *et*. *al*. *Implementation of an Eduational Innovation*. New York: Basic Books, 1971. See also, L. Smith and P. Deith. Anatomy of an Educational Innovation. New York: Wiley, 1971.

10. Schmuck, Richard A. *et.al*. *Handbook of Organization Development in Schools*. Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1972.

11. J. Pincus. *Incentives for Innovation in the Public Schools.* Rand Document No. P-4946. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1973.

12. Ibid.

13. K. Weick. "Educational Organizations as Loosely Coupled Systems." *Administrative Science Quarterly*. 1976, 21, 1-19.

14. Ford Foundation, *A Foundation Goes to School*. New York: Author, 1972.

FOOTNOTES (con't)

15. Crecine, *op*. *cit*.

16. Berman and McLaughlin, *op*. *cit*.

17. M. Miles, *et*. *al*. *Designing and Starting Innovative Schools: A Field Study of Social Architecture in Education*. NIE Prospectus No. 400109. 1974, In progress.

18. R. Havelock, *et*. *al*. *Planning for Innovation*. Ann Arbor, Institute for Social Research, 1969. See also, E. House. *The Politics of Educational Innovation*. Berkeley: McCutchan, 1975.

19. Ibid.

20. House, *op*. *cit*.

21. R. Carlson. *School Superintendents: Careers and Performances*. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1972.

22. Nan Lin, *et*. *al*. "The Diffusion of an Innovation in Three Michigan High Schools: Institution Building Through Change." Michigan State University. Mimeographed. 1966.

23. S. Sieber, *et*. *al*. *The Use of Educational Knowledge: Evaluation of the Pilot State Dissemination Program*. Final Report. Final Report. Office of Education Contract No. OEC-0-70-4930. 1972.

24. Bauer, R. and Wortzel, L. "Doctors' Choice: The Physician and his Sources of Information about Drugs." *Journal of Marketing Research*, 1966, 3, 40-47. See also, E. Wilkering. "Roles of Community Agents in Technological Change in Agriculture," *Social Forces*, 1956, 34, 361-67.

25. Berman and McLaughlin, *op*. *cit*.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Crecine, *op*. *cit*.

32. Crecine, *op*. *cit*.

FOOTNOTES (con't)

33. Pincus, *op. cit.*

34. T. Hollander and M. Gittell. *Six Urban School Districts: A Comparative Study of Institutional Response.* New York; Praeger, 1968.

35. W. Gollub. *Affective Education Development Program: Research Report* 1970-71. Mimeographed. Philadelphia Public Schools, 1971.

36. A. Busis and E. Chittenden. *Analysis of an Approach to Open Education: Interim Report*, Princeton: Educational Testing Service, 1970

37. Center for New Schools. *A multi-method study of the development and effects of an alternative high school learning environment.* (4 Vols.) Report on National Institute of Education research Grant No. NEG-6-00-3-0094. Chicago: Author, 1975.

38. C. Willis. *What We have Learned about the /I/D/E/A/ Change Program for Individually Guided Education*. Dayton: Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc., 1974.

39. W. Scott. "Field Methods in the Study of Organizations." In J. March, Ed., *Handbook of Organizations*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

40. S. Udy. "The Comparative Analysis of Organizations. In J. March, Ed., *Handbook of Organizations*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

41. Center for New Schools. *A multi-method study of the development and effects of an alternative high school learning environment.* (4 Vols.) Report on National Institute of Education research Grant No. NEG-6-00-3-0094. Chicago: Author, 1975.

42. B. Glasser and A. Strauss. *Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago: Aldine, 1967.

43. Schmuck, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*

44. A. Etzioni, "Organizational Control Structure." In J. March, Ed., *Handbook of Organizations*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

45. Center for New Schools. "Strengthening Alternative High Schools." *Harvard Educational Review*, 1972, 42, 313-350.

46. Havelock, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*

47. Center for New Schools. *A multi-method study of the development and effects of an alternative high school learning environment.* (4 Vols.) Report on National Institute of Education research Grant No. NEG-6-00-3-0094. Chicago: Author, 1975.

FOOTNOTES (con't)

48. Berman and McLaughlin, op. cit.

CHAPTER 2. EXPERIENTIAL SYSTEMS INCORPORATED/CREATIVE TEACHING WORKSHOP (CTW)

Overview

Experiential Systems Incorporated/Creative Teaching Workshop is an advisory group working with elementary school teachers and principals in the New York City schools. Their aim is to develop a model for learning for both children and adults that has direct experience as its basis and to test this model through providing advice to public schools. CTW is an independent non-profit organization whose founder and present director is Floyd Page.

CTW grew originally out of Mr. Page's involvement in a resource center for assisting schools in East Harlem (operated by Teachers College of Columbia University) and his resulting affiliation with the Education Development Center of Newton, Massachusetts. Education Development Center (EDC) is a major research and development center for educational materials stressing inquiry learning and active experimentation and involvement with physical objects in the learning process. EDC is, in a real sense, a descendent of the progressive education movement in the United States and the philosophy of John Dewey. It has also been influenced by the open education movement in England. Creative Teaching Workshop began as an affiliate in New York City of the Education Development Center. In its early functioning, it was typical of many teacher centers in the United States stressing experiential learning. It functioned largely as a learning center for individual interested teachers. CTW offered workshops stressing active involvement in learning, and interested teachers came to participate.

Generally, the workshops were offered at CTW's headquarters, but sometimes CTW was asked to provide a workshop or series of workshops for the staff of a specific school. In the past few years, CTW has moved in several directions that have not generally been followed by other teacher centers. First, under funding from the Carnegie Corporation, CTW sent advisors to work on a regular basis in three elementary public schools in Brooklyn. The purpose of this effort was both to develop CTW's ideas about experiential learning and to apply this model in working with a total school, instead of working with self-selected individual teachers. Later, and as an outgrowth of this school advisory work, CTW became more and more convinced that the key to change is the educational leadership offered by the school principal. Therefore, in spring 1975 they began providing advisory help to school principals.

The basic tenets of CTW's work grew out of its involvement in the inquiry learning movement, based on Dewey's concepts of the learning process that results from learning through concrete materials and experience. They have also been influenced by the English open education movement. Thus, in terms of the kind of education they would like to see in the classroom, CTW stresses the development of interest centers, careful observation of children in building a curriculum that grows out of children's interests, the use of concrete materials as a central part of the learning process, and a breaking down of the divisions between different subject areas and time periods during the school day.

Within the experiential learning tradition, CTW stresses the critical importance of experiential learning not only for children but for adults as well. For example, CTW workshops for school staff almost always include such activities as constructing educational materials, working with clay or other artistic media, carrying out science experiments, or working jointly to construct classroom furniture or equipment. CTW feels that breakthroughs in human relations occur when people engage in physical activity together that can seldom occur through intellectual discussion. They feel that staff must directly experience the power of active learning if they are, in turn, to work with children in this way. Second, CTW stresses that there are subtle systems that need to be developed in the classroom to support learning. Spontaneous experiences and creativity can only be fulfilling in an educational program that nurtures them systematically through planning, hard work, and discipline. They are, at the present time, interested in distinguishing themselves from open education and experiential learning advocates who focus only on the development of interesting individual projects and learning devices. They emphasize the need for an underlying organization in the classroom and relationships between teachers and the principal to support educational change.

During the period of our study, CTW was operating from a headquarters in the Soho section of lower Manhattan. When one enters the door of Creative Teaching Workshop, one is confronted with an enormous room that has been designed with extreme care by CTW staff. It consists largely of storage units and other structures that hold a wide variety of educational materials, books, supplies for making materials, and live animals in cages. In the design of this room, CTW has attempted to embody its philosophy of experiential learning. The workshop's main room also contains desks, and work areas for CTW staff. At the time of the study, the staff consisted of seven members, including the Executive Director, Floyd Page, five program staff members involved in working with teachers and principals, and an office manager. Their work at the time of our visits focused on four major areas:

1. Providing advisory assistance to teachers in three public elementary schools.
2. Providing advisory assistance to the principals of six public elementary schools, as part of an effort to refine a research and development model for such assistance.
3. Conducting workshops for teachers on a short-term basis, either at CTW headquarters or in individual schools.
4. Assisting schools and other organizations with the design of playgrounds, classrooms, teachers centers, and other spaces for learning.

The Director feels that underlying all these specific areas of activity is the effort to develop a model organization whose internal functioning and advisory services are consistent with the philosophy it espouses.

History

The development of Creative Teaching Workshop is tied closely to the experiences of its present director, Floyd Page. Floyd Page was born and raised on a farm in rural Louisiana. He feels that the experience of growing up on a farm (which is full of natural resources to be investigated) and [illegible]tinctive influences of his father and mother formed the basis for his later involvement in experiential learning. His father, he says, was a man who could fix anything and expected Floyd to acquire these same skills, while his mother was a teacher who stressed inner discipline. In his early school years, he developed an interest in dramatics, science, and art. He attended a southern university for several years, but found the curriculum abstract and stultifying, except in the area of art. In 1964 he moved to New York, and held a range of jobs including freight elevator operator, art specialist in a youth detention center, and case worker for the welfare department. He then took a job in a resource center in East Harlem that was being operated by Teachers College of Columbia University, as a research assistant. The center was intended to help schools in the East Harlem area by putting Teachers College resources in touch with them. The Director of the Teachers College Center became interested in the work of the Education Development Center in Newton, Massachusetts. EDC had been a major research and development center using federal funds to develop materials and curriculum units stressing inquiry learning. Its funding was a response to

Sputnik and the resulting impetus to involve top scientists and other academics in curriculum reform in public education. For example, it played a major role in developing elementary school materials that actively involve young students in the process of experimentation and investigation. Some key people at Education Development Center later became interested in the open education movement in England, and saw open education as consistent with their own approach and offering ideas for realizing the goals of inquiry learning in public classrooms. EDC was, at that time, also interested in establishing centers outside the Boston area. Therefore, through an agreement between the East Harlem Center and EDC, Floyd became affiliated with EDC as a consultant. Floyd spent time at EDC learning about the approaches they had developed, and he returned to New York to conduct workshops and train people based on what he had seen. One of his skills, commented on by several people who work with him, is his ability to observe what someone is doing in education that is consistent with his own direction, analyze the techniques they are using, and adapt these techniques to his own work. Floyd returned to the East Harlem Center and began to hold workshops using many of the EDC materials and techniques. In particular at that time, EDC was involved in the use of tri-wall cardboard as a material for making educational equipment and furniture cheaply and easily. Floyd's workshops on the use of tri-wall generated many requests for help and some media interest. According to Floyd, the success of this work also caused some resentment among his co-workers, who raised questions about whether his primary loyalty lay with the East Harlem Center or with EDC. He felt his work situation had become untenable, and in January 1969 he agreed to establish a separate outpost of the EDC in New York.

In January 1969 Floyd started a teachers center in space provided by a private school in Manhattan. He began to hold workshops and provide materials for teachers from the New York area interested in experiental education. Teachers in the private school itself generally showed little interest in the experiential education approach. In addition, the private setting created what Floyd saw as a misleading image for the center. It gave people the impression that experiential education was only relevant to white, middle class student populations. Therefore, in March 1969 Floyd moved from the private school to a storefront location in Lower Manhattan.

At that time, the Center was viewed as a place where people could come to make educational materials, to discuss and share with others the philosophy and techniques of inquiry learning, and to see on display aquariums, games, and projects that exemplified the experiential education philosophy. For the balance of 1969 and 1970, the Center--now called Creative Teaching Workshop--continued to hold workshops for teachers interested in experiential education. At that time, the Center staff consisted of Floyd Page, an experienced teacher who assisted him with workshops, and a secretary. In the Spring of 1970 Creative Teaching Workshop sponsored a national conference that brought together some important figures in experiential and open education. At this conference, Floyd had the opportunity to work closely with Francis Hawkins of Boulder, Colorado. She and her husband David were two of the leading figures in the experiential education movement. Floyd was particularly impressed by her emphasis on the need for close personal rapport among those carrying out experiential education and the need for careful thinking and planning that has to underlie effective experiential education. During the summer of 1970 Floyd had the opportunity to spend time with the Hawkins in Colorado, and regards this as one of his most significant learning experiences. Also at this time, he developed a relationship with Tony Sharkey, who later became an important figure in the development of Creative Teaching Workshop. Tony was an artist and skilled designer and producer of education materials. He had worked on material design at Educational Development Corporation and had reached an agreement with EDC that allowed him to start a design laboratory in Denver. Thus, while working with David and Francis Hawkins, Floyd also worked with Tony Sharkey.

In the fall of 1970, Floyd returned to New York, with a feeling that he could be very effective in carrying out the ideas he had refined through his contact with the Hawkins. The interest in experiential learning and open education was rapidly expanding in the New York area, and CTW was one of the major centers of this interest.

It was for a time the only large center of its kind in the city, and soon about 300 teachers a week were coming through CTW, either for planned workshops or to make materials.

This was a critical developmental period for CTW. Since EDC was operating under stringent budget controls, CTW was forced to seek more local funding to remain in operation. CTW was given a trial period to provide workshops for two Headstart Centers. Feedback on these workshops was positive, and thus CTW was able to obtain some Federal funding for its work in these centers. This was the first time that CTW had raised a substantial portion of its own money.

In addition to the need to raise money, a second critical problem faced CTW at this time. Floyd Page saw himself primarily as a talented person in program and idea development, not as an organizational manager. Therefore, CTW was disorganized at the operational level. For example, materials needed for workshops were often not ordered in sufficient supply or could not be found in the disorganized headquarters space.

In spring 1972, Floyd began to talk with staff members of Carnegie Corporation about the possibility of funding. Carnegie agreed to fund CTW for its development as an organization and for work in three public schools in New York. CTW's main contact at EDC had, by that time, set up a separate organization called the Advisory for Open Education. Thus, CTW was funded by Carnegie for its New York work, as an affiliate of the Advisory for Open Education. With this funding, Floyd expanded his staff to include several other people whom he felt would be effective advisors. He also began to involve experienced people who had impressed him in the past as consultants to CTW. In selecting three schools to work with, CTW built on contacts they had already developed with groups of teachers or with principals and teachers of various schools. CTW advisors began working two days a week in P.S. 330, P.S. 369, and P.S. 152. Their major strategies for beginning to work with these schools were to set teacher resource rooms where teachers could see and construct materials, to build rapport with individual teachers and begin to assist them in the classroom, and to hold in-service workshops. CTW advisors speak of the traumatic shift that they experienced in moving from work with teachers who had come to them with an interest in experiential and open education to work with teachers in a typical urban school where most were initially indifferent or hostile to their ideas. The success of this work varied. After a year of effort at P.S. 330, CTW terminated its activities, because they felt that while they were helping individual teachers, the principal was largely unspportive of their efforts and blocked any real development of the school as a whole in the directions that CTW valued. In P.S. 369 the advisors were also successful in supporting the efforts of individual teachers in moving towards experiential education. However, the effort in this school was weakened by the fact that CTW placed four different advisors in this school over a period of three years.

CTW's approach has depended strongly on the individual rapport that the advisor is able to develop with principal and staff, so that this advisor turnover has significantly limited their effectiveness in this school, P.S. 152 represents an impressive success on the part of CTWs' advisors that has achieved national recognition. With CTW help, the principal and professional staff have helped bring about a basic change in the functioning of this school, so that the basic educational approach in this school as a whole is now largely consistent with the experiential education philosophy. This success, in the opinion of the CTW staff and the staff of the school, is due largely to three factors: The quality of the advisory help provided by Valerie Jameson and Tony Sharkey of CTW and other CTW advisors, the leadership provided by the school principal, and the fact that a core of teachers were already committed to experiential education. CTW advisory work moved from a focus on the principal and a small group of initially interested teachers to an increasing involvement with the school staff as a whole. This was a long and frustrating process, and it was not until two years of work in the school had been completed that the advisors began to see widespread change in this school at the classroom level.

Experience in the advisory program has shaped CTW's thinking in a number of fundamental ways. One lesson that they draw from this experience is that it is important to begin working with teachers on whatever projects or topics interest them. The advisors stress the need to make connections with teachers on a personal level, to understand the informal clique structure among the teachers and to build on it in a positive way, and to begin working with teachers in the way that CTW suggests that teachers work with children, i.e. by starting with those topics in which teachers are initially interested. In this process, CTW feels that involvement in physical activity - building shelves, creating educational materials - is a key pathway to break through in relationships with teachers. A second critical perceived lesson of the advisory experience is that the principal of the school is the single most decisive influence in shaping the structure and possibilities within that school, and that without his or her active support and collaboration, CTW can at most help a few individual teachers to change their classrooms.

Thus CTW's thinking has most recently focused on how they can encourage principals to play the type of advisory role in schools that CTW advisors now play. They want school administrators to become educational leaders within their school, rather than spending most of their time dealing with bureaucratic administrative issues. Thus, in the spring of 1974 CTW successfully gained funding for the Principal Leadership Study from the ESSO Foundation. This program was planned as a year-long training experience for six school principals that would be based on many of the same strategies that CTW has found successful in working with teachers. The first activities in the Principal Leadership Study were in progress during our period of observation.

During the period from summer 1972 to the spring of 1975 when CTW was developing and carrying out both the Advisory Program and the Principal Leadership Study, issues of internal organizational development occupied a great deal of CTW staff energy. The addition of new staff for the Advisory Program strained the organizational structure even more. Floyd Page had up to this point focused primarily on the development of creative ideas and had paid limited attention to the development of CTW as a viable organization. Thus, the advisors in the school were largely on their own working within a broad commitment to experiential education. Looking back on this period, Floyd Page feels that the conception of experiential education generally acted on during this period has been much to narrow and prescriptive--that the advisors tended to focus too much on fostering the use of certain specific classroom materials and techniques, rather than acting on the broader premise that you have to begin with people where they are and that there are many different pathways for experiential learning, both for children and adults.

Another limitation at this time was that the support system provided by the central headquarters was erratic. Floyd's style of leadership at that time, as he describes it now, alternated between letting people do their own thing until a crisis developed and then intervening in a highly authoritarian way. He did not consult people before making decisions in any systematic way, and the result was a high level of resentment on a staff that valued participation. Confronted with these problems, he contacted a friend he had met in his work with the East Harlem Center several years before. The friend, Jerry Bernstein had a wide range of experiences in assisting organizational development of groups working in the field of educational and social change. Mr. Bernstein became an advisor who worked both personally with Floyd and later with the staff as a whole. In an effort to improve the internal functioning of the organization, Floyd fired an advisor who had been key in the organization since its beginning but also a person with whom he had developed irreconcilable conflicts. With Jerry Bernstein's assistance, he began to think about his leadership style and how it affected the rest of the organization. He began to attempt to carry out a leadership style that was based on careful planning and that encouraged more participation and team work among the staff.

Another change that took place during this time was a move towards constituting CTW as an organization separate from the Advisory for Open Education. This added further complexities to the operation of CTW, since financial matters had been, to that time, handled through Boston. With the help of Jerry Berstein and several business people, Floyd took the steps necessary to form CTW as a separate non-profit organization, a process completed in June 1974. Also, during the summer of 1974, CTW moved its headquarters to a new space in the Soho district in Lower Manhattan. In contrast to the cluttered disorganized "artist loft" atmosphere of their former headquarters, the new headquarters on Spring Street was set up with a great deal of care. The new headquarters was intended to exemplify the kind of environment for learning that CTW hoped to create in schools. Also during the summer of 1974 three additional staff members were fired in disputes with the director and new people hired to replace them. The Director attempted to choose people who would be able to work more effectively as part of a CTW team. During the fall of 1974 a series of crucial meetings facilitated by Jerry Bernstein helped the staff make progress towards functioning more effectively as a team, and Floyd Page began to articulate a more precise definition of his role in the organization as its leader. By the time of our visit in spring 1975 there was a consensus among the staff that while many of the underlying tensions that had caused conflict in the past were still present to some degree, the staff had made great progress in dealing with the issues that had kept them from functioning as a team.

Reviewing CTW history, the director sees it as an attempt to put into practice a broad conception of experiential learning, seen as a way of understanding one's experience that is relevant to both children and adults, rather than a set of materials and techniques for working with children. Thus, the principal who examines how he is spending his time is learning experientially; so is the traditional teacher who reflects on her daily experience to see how she can be more effective in teaching math whether or not she adopts some of the specific techniques valued by the current open education reform movement.

Internal Functioning

Physical Environment. The headquarters of ESI/CTW is located in the Soho section of Lower Manhattan. Soho was at one time an area of light industry. It is currently one of the centers of artistic activity in New York City, and the many former factories and storefronts have been converted to artists lofts and galleries. There are proportionally few schools in the area, since the population consists of older people who have lived in the area for a long time and young unmarried people drawn by the artistic atmosphere. CTW has not worked with schools in the immediate area to any great extent. The Soho location is convenient in that it is near several major subway routes. Thus, it is hard for teachers to drop into CTW after school, given the size of New York City, but it is relatively convenient to reach CTW for special activities such as workshops. CTW staff members feel that the location in the center of artistic activity is consistent with the style and image of the organization. The director also points out that people from all parts of New York can come into the Soho area with a feeling of relative safety.

The headquarters is located in a Soho storefront. CTW occupies the ground floor and basement. This physical space has been developed and improved with great care by the staff consistent with theories about the importance of physical environments in shaping people's activity and with CTW's commitment to make the CTW headquarters an embodiment of their philosophy of experiential learning. The ground floor room of CTW is enormous-80 feet long, 35 feet wide, and with a 16 foot ceiling. Open storage bins for educational materials have been arranged as room dividers. These storage and display cabinets are made from pressed wood and contain written materials, displays of childrens projects, live animals and fish, craft work, and homemade educational materials in such subject areas as science, math and language. The front of the headquarters also contains a lounge area that is defined by a rug and furniture. The back third of the ground floor is the office area, in which room dividers and desk carrels create work spaces for staff members. The basic materials used in all construction are pressed wood, tri-wall cardboard, and masonite. Staff members emphasize that the desk units and storage cabinets they have built can be constructed cheaply and simply, and allow CTW to arrange and rearrange its office in the light of changing needs. Thus, the physcial space itself demonstrates some of the design possibilities that CTW wishes to see schools adopt. The basement of the building includes shop areas for the use of various types of woodworking tools, and an area for making pottery. Parts of the basement have also been set up for the personal artistic projects of CTW staff members or have been rented to other artists. CTW has spent considerable time, then, accumulating tools and resources necessary to follow through on their philosophy of experiential learning and has attempted to created an environment in which the use of these resources is as convenient as possible. This space is in marked contrast to the space formally occupied by CTW, which was noted for its disorganization and clutter. The staff is now firmly convinced that if it is going to ask teachers and administrators to create new environments within schools, its own environment must exemplify CTW ideals and must easily support their own work. For example, the materials and tools needed to create a balance scale during a workshop must be readily available. The organization of the current headquarters is one manifestation of CTW's emphasis on creating systems that support learning. The headquarters design in itself is seen as a major contributor to the credibility of the organization. Teachers who come to CTW are generally encouraged to wander around, examining things that interest them and asking how they could adapt some of the materials and projects on display for their own classrooms.

Staff Characteristics. The staff of Creative Teaching Workshop in spring, 1975, consisted of 7 members. These included the Director, Floyd Page, five staff members who worked with teachers or principals, and an office manager. The staff members, chosen largely by the Director, exhibit several patterns that run fairly characteristically through their backgrounds. The Director and the five advisors (whom we shall call the Program Staff) have all had at least two years previous teaching experience and have generally worked in one or more consultant roles in helping public school teachers to change their teaching practices. All but one of these staff members has taught in urban schools, and all staff members, before coming to CTW, have had some advisory or consultant experiences in working with urban schools. In their training or prior work experience, all Program Staff members have had extensive practical experience with the concepts of experiential learning. Two of the staff members have taught in the British schools where the open education concept originated and have, previous to coming to CTW, sought to apply this philosophy in teaching or advisory experience in American schools. Two others have taught as open classroom teachers in American schools. And as mentioned earlier, Floyd Page and Tony Sharkey have had extensive experience in materials development and assistance to teachers through their association with Education Development Center. Most staff members have highly developed artistic talents in some area, including art, design, music and writing; and they apply these talents regularly in their work with teachers. Several of the Program Staff describe themselves as initially entering the teaching field by accident or necessity, changing an original intention to pursue a career related to their artistic talent. Most have travelled widely in this country and in other countries, and the New York city environment in which they presently work is fundamentally different from the environment in which they grew up. All have B.A. or M.A. levels of training in education, the humanities, or the arts. Their ages range between 28 and 39. The Director is Black, and the rest of the staff is White.

Taken as a whole, then, the staff is highly skilled in terms of past experience in the experiential learning approach to teaching and familiar with the techniques necessary to be an effective teacher in this tradition. Further, the staff is experienced in the consultation process and workshop process for working with teachers in this tradition. They generally know the ins and outs of these helping processes in a way that gives them confidence. They know, for example, what types of resistance they are likely to encounter from a teacher being introduced to experiential learning and strategies for overcoming this resistance in the course of a workshop or consultation in the classroom. One characteristic style of functioning as a professional is to compartmentalize one's life, separating one's background and professional responsibility from one's personal life. In contrast, both the personal styles and values of the CTW Program Staff and the norms of the organization generally support a close integration of personal and professional concerns. Staff members are generally in close touch in an emotional way with the interrelationships between their experience as children, their present personal lives, and their professional activities.

When asked, for example, to describe previous personal experiences that might have an impact on their present work at CTW, staff members characteristically talk openly and without probing for periods of 30 minutes to 90 minutes. One staff member described, for example, how her feelings about her own father affected her work with principals, whom she saw as father-figures.

Reflecting a CTW style which encourages the integration of personal and professional concerns, CTW is often referred to as "a family," and several staff members have analyzed the dynamics of CTW at various times by comparing issues in the functioning of the organization to issues that are characteristically faced by families. There is a group norm which emphasizes comitment to CTW in a way that blurs the distinction between professional and personal life. The issue of inclusion in the group in terms of who is living up to this norm is a major topic of discussion among staff members. For example, one staff member was confronted during the period of observation because she had refused to attend a staff social gathering that other group members felt was an important part of their work together. Discussions centering around inclusion in the group often take on the intensity of family disagreements.

Center norms and the creative characteristics of the staff members often create a warm and informal environment within the headquarter. Staff members often stop work one or two times a day to listen to music, talk informally together, or work together in making materials or equipment.

Since CTW staff members feel free to allow their professional and personal lives to interact, the atmosphere and morale on any given day can be strongly affected by discussions of personal lives and the reactions of other staff members to the issues that people are facing.

Key consultants. Playing particularly critical roles in the development and operations of CTW are two consultants who also serve on CTW's Board of Directors. Charity James is an Englishwoman in her late sixties who has been one of the intellectual leaders of the open education movement, and who has worked extensively as an advisor on open education in the American schools during the past ten years. She is the author of several respected books about open education. Jerry Bernstein, whose role in CTW was described initially in the review of CTW history, is an experienced consultant to social change oriented organizations. One of his main activities at present is as a consultant to the Navaho Nation in their attempt to fundamentally reconstitute their relationship with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other Federal agencies. He is currently making a transition from working with organizations to working as an individual thereapist and is being trained in the Jungian approach to therapy. Charity

James is respected by all staff members as a highly knowledgable person about the process of advising teachers and principals and as an important contributor to the development of CTW's philosophy. There were at the time of the study, some ambivalent feelings about her role among staff members, who felt that she was often too dominant in planning sessions.

Jerry Bernstein is admired universally and without reservation by CTW staff members. He is regarded as being largely responsible for helping the staff to work more closely as a team, to assist Floyd Page in strengthening his leadership style, and to work out conflicts between staff members. During his past association with CTW, he has been, in his view, "a heavy" who was brought in when CTW was faced with difficult problems or decisions, such as termination of work with a school or termination of a staff member. He is regarded in his actions as exemplifying and moving staff members toward the ideal to which they aspire, and in contrast with all of the staff members and consultants, he was never mentioned by any staff member as acting from personal needs or motives. Participation of the consultants at CTW is structured around an organizational schedule in which Wednesdays are set aside for staff meetings and staff development activities, and regular advisory work in the schools is not scheduled. On these Wednesdays the consultants regularly come to CTW.

Several other consultants play important roles in CTW program development, although their role is less entwined with the organizational life of CTW on an intimate basis. Notable among these is Edward Chittendon of Educational Testing Service, an experienced and respected researcher concerning open education.

In general, the CTW consultants are highly valued by the members of the staff. Their contributions to program planning, program implementation, internal staff development and assistance with difficult decisions is highly valued. A generally young staff respects the experience reflected in those consultants who have worked with CTW most regularly. The major concern expressed by staff about CTW consultants is that staff may be developing too much of a dependency on consultants, so that a feeling has grown up both on the part of staff and on the part of consultants that consultants must be in on all decisions. A second reservation expressed by one staff member is that because of their heavy role in program planning, they may develop programs which they as consultants have the skills to carry out but which the CTW staff itself may not be able to implement.

Development of CTW Philosophies, Strategies, and Major Program Directions. The content of CTW's philosophies and strategies will be discussed in more detail later. We briefly summarize them in order to discuss their origins and patterns of development. The two major themes of CTW's approach to education at the time we studied them are summarized in the following quotation from its Principal Leadership Study proposal:

> Two underlying themes structured the design of the program. The first is the view that schools are "whole-entities or gestalts." Within this gestalt, the principal as an educational leader is in a key position to initiate and sustain an on-going change dynamic that insures educational change and growth... The second theme central to all our work in education is what CTW calls experiential learning. An experiential learning situation would be for example, for educators studying water to explore freely the properties of water, formulating their own questions, hypotheses, tests and answers...

> CTW believes that educators who learn experientially are capable of greater awareness of and sensitivity to the learning process from the perspective of students. Most adults have self-limiting preconceptions about their own learning horizons; they have learned to be non-exploratory and accomplishment-oriented, to strive for quick mastery of materials or other situations. Children on the other hand, often enjoy exploring things without having any particular goal or purpose in mind. This free exploration without the goal of achievement is in fact an essential phase of the work of creative minds at any age. Out of this develops new extensions; hypotheses to be tested, questions to be asked, ideas for communicating experience, plans of action to be undertaken...[1]

The major sources of these ideas are apparent in the history of CTW recounted earlier. Stated simply, CTW's ideas emerge from the experience of its staff members before joining CTW, the collective experience of CTW as an organization in working with schools, and the ideas of consultants who have worked with the CTW program. The development of CTW's key ideas have grown for example, from:

1. The experiences in the arts and design of Floyd Page and Tony Sharkey and other CTW staff members.
2. The experiences of Floyd Page and Tony Sharkey in working in collaboration with Education Development Center, a group emphasizing experiential learning and at the same time dealing not only with classroom teachers, but also school principals and administrators.
3. The previous experiences of other CTW advisors both in the arts and in working in the area of open education.
4. The early experiences of CTW as a teachers' center and later as an advisory group working with first teachers and then principals. In this stream of experience, a particularly critical activity was the highly successful assistance to P.S. 152 in Brooklyn.
5. Contact through Education Development Center with some of the key philosophers and practitioners in the the area of experiential learning, including Frances and David Hawkins.

6. The involvement of a series of both highly respected and effective consultants who assist CTW in planning and carrying out its work.

Having listed these influences, one must still explain why CTW has not remained in the characteristic teachers' center mold, i.e., working with individual teachers already predisposed to open education. One major influence can be traced to the personality of the director. He enjoys convincing people at all levels of the school system that CTW's program is appropriate to their needs. He is highly effective in interacting with people to explain the program.

A second possible influence is the relationship between CTW and Education Development Center. EDC was influenced strongly by the experiential learning and open education movements, but was first and foremost a center with a mandate to serve public schools. When it became apparent that many of the materials they were producing were not being used in the classroom, they were under significant pressure to become more actively involved in working with schools.

The resulting styles of operation in convincing schools to use EDC approaches were something that Floyd Page and Tony Sharkey learned from. Also of special importance, was the relationship that CTW developed with the consultants. On the one hand, Floyd Page was especially talented in interesting prominent consultants in assisting the efforts of a Black educator to carry out some of their experiential learning ideas in the City of New York. On the other hand, the Director was open enough to allow such "heavyweights" to become closely involved in the operation of CTW.

Those persons that he chose to involve as key consultants were those figures in the experiential learning movement emphasizing the need for a carefully thought out philosophical base for experiential learning and the need for careful structure and planning in carrying it out in the classroom and school.

When one moves from philosophy to strategies and program directions, basically the same set of factors can be cited in accounting for CTW's direction. One sees the critical role of the same influences cited earlier. For example, it was this constellation of people who initially developed the plan for the Principal Leadership Study.

One aspect of CTW's development of philosophies and strategies that should be emphasized is that there is still substantial disagreement within the organization about what directions the program should take and what CTW's philosophy means at the concrete level of helping teachers and principals. Historically, CTW advisors have operated largely on their own within a broad mandate to implement CTW's goals. Some advisors have emphasized the development of materials. Others have emphasized a more intellectual approach with a subgroup of teachers who responded to ideas about open education at this abstract level. Still others had seen themselves more as political organizers and had become involved in political issues in the schools such as women's rights. Success at P.S. 152 was important in solidifying CTW's approach to advising teachers, and since then Tony Sharkey has become the coordinator of the advisory program and some of the new advisors have had a brief apprenticeship experience with him. However, the advisors are still pretty much on their own, and at the local school, CTW is synonymous with the particular advisor who works with them. The Principal Leadership Study represents a leap into a relatively new area for most of the staff. Thus, once again, the interplay of initial plans with actual experience produces a diversity of analyses. One of the current strengths of the organization is that it appears to honestly confront its experience and to modify its program through the analysis of that experience.

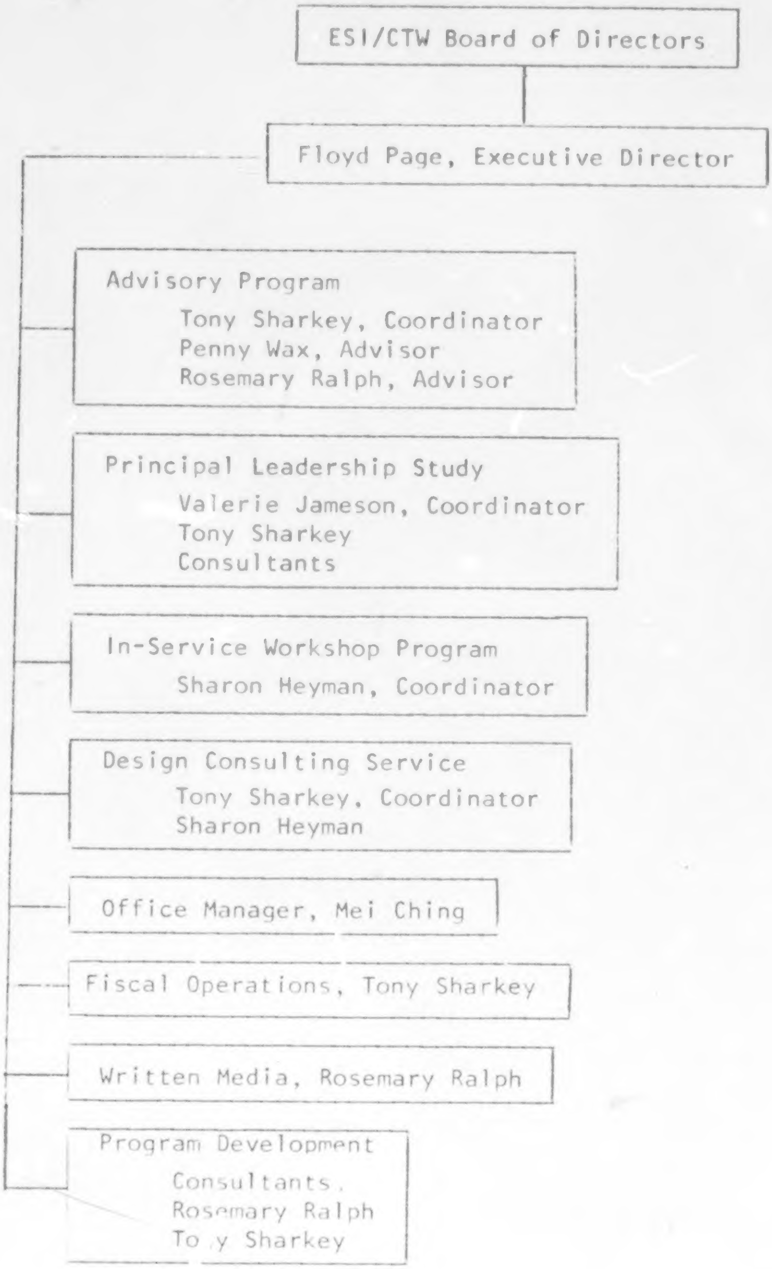
A final important influence on the philosophies of several CTW staff members and consultants is their involvement in various forms of Eastern and African religion and philosophy. This philosophical tradition emphasizes the systematic and interrelated nature of the universe and human activities and fits well with notions of experiential learning.

Staff Role Structure. Legally, Creative Teaching Workshop is incorporated as Experiential Systems Incorporated. It is governed by a Board of Directors consisting of ten members, including Floyd Page and Tony Sharkey of the CTW staff and Jerry Bernstein and Charity James, who have been previously mentioned as key CTW consultants. In practice, the Board of Directors delegates much of its responsibilities for the operation of the organization to its Director. Several board members have played key roles in the incorporation and development of CTW as a separate entity. And they are particularly concerned about the fiscal management of the organization, a topic about which they now monitor the work of the Director closely.

The CTW Program at the time of our visits was focused on eight areas of activity. Characteristically, the work of CTW in each area is carried out by a small group (two to four staff members, plus consultants) with either Floyd or Tony or both directly involved in the activity. Also, within the period of our observations, Valerie Jameson, who had been with CTW for about eight months, was taking an increasing leadership role in the organization as coordinator of the Principal Leadership Study and as an informal consultant for all CTW advisors working with teachers.

As Figure 2-1 shows, four of these activities involve CTW's work with RTAs, including the Principal Leadership Study, the Advisory Program, the In-Service Program, and the design consulting service. Four of the activities relate primarily to organizational maintenance and development, including office management, finances, written media, and program development. In the areas of finances, the advisory program, and the design consulting services, Tony Sharkey takes a major leadersip often with Floyd's involvement. In all other areas, Floyd Page plays a key directing role. Thus, the responsibilities for management, are largely shared by Floyd Page and Tony Sharkey, with Floyd Page as the ultimate decision-maker. There are no clear rules in practice designating the limits of authority of persons responsible for various aspects of the program. Thus in practice, the Director exerts final authority in all areas.

Figure 2-1 Organizational Structure of Experiential Systems Inc.
Creative Teaching Workshop


ESI/CTW Board of Directors
Floyd Page, Executive Director
Advisory Program
Tony Sharkey, Coordinator
Penny Wax, Advisor
Rosemary Ralph, Advisor
Principal Leadership Study
Valerie Jameson, Coordinator
Tony Sharkey
Consultants
In-Service Workshop Program
Sharon Heyman, Coordinator
Design Consulting Service
Tony Sharkey, Coordinator
Sharon Heyman
Office Manager, Mei Ching
Fiscal Operations, Tony Sharkey
Written Media, Rosemary Ralph
Program Development
Consultants
Rosemary Ralph
Tony Sharkey

The major responsibilities of the other five staff members are as follows:

Valerie Jameson: Coordination of the Principal Leadership Study. Plays an important role in general in thinking about CTW advisory work, because of her extensive previous experience as an advisor.

Penny Wax: Teacher/Advisor in P.S. 422.

Rosemary Ralph: Teacher/Advisor in P.S. 369. and writer for CTW funding proposals.

Sharon Heyman: Coordinator of In-Service Workshops.

Mei Ching: Office Manager

These roles have in large part been determined by Floyd Page and Tony Sharkey, although staff members themselves have played an important and increasing role in deciding what their responsibilities will be. For example, when one staff member felt uncomfortable in her role in the Principal Leadership Program, job responsibilities were shifted as a result of negotiation among several people. The most critical responsibility for role definition however continues to rest with the Director, and people rely on him to intervene for role clarification:

Tony: We need the type of index we had at EDC.

Valerie: Do we have time to do this?

Floyd: That's Mei's job. It's an administrative support system Mei and I have to work out.

Largely because of the pressures of funding, people's roles can be changed or overloaded quickly.

The resulting role structure is thus one in which people usually work individually with the backup support of a small group or work directly in small groups on the major internal and external tasks of CTW. Informal interaction or lunch meetings often turn into problem analyses or decision-making discussions. In addition, these groups meet more formally, usually under the leadership of Floyd or Tony, and sometimes with the involvement of outside consultants. In addition, Floyd will often meet individually on either an informal or formal basis with every staff member.

Important issues that affect the entire organization are referred to Wednesday staff meetings. The staff meeting was originally intended not only as a time for discussion, but also as a time for internal staff development. However, the present demands of making the program work tend to crowd out staff development activities. Chairmanship of these meetings rotates, and people are encouraged to express their opinions about issues that come up--for example, the most productive way for CTW to develop a membership program. In these discussions, a number of courses are followed. Sometimes a consensus is reached, sometimes the Director makes a decision, and sometimes issues are referred back to either an existing subgroup or a new one created to deal with the problem. A common activity in meetings is brainstorming to deal with a problem, and the creative talents of both staff and consultants are exercised and encouraged in this process:

> We've got to give the principals some way of visualizing the whole scene. We get lost in helping them discuss their various problems. Maybe we can spend some limited time on specifics but work on the overall picture. Even have a system of coloring the board in.
>
> They need to somehow compare notes visually. I am in favor of brainstorming. We tend to think of brainstorming in words, but the best is done in images.
>
> I had a tremendous flash--have each principal take a hundred pictures, share them and put them up. And do it with a real pictures and material from a learning magazine. Each would bring a photo and organize them by category.
>
> If they cut pictures out of magazines, we can get at their fantasies.

Such interchanges within the staff are common, in which one person's idea is built on by several others in an intuitive way rather than people feeling the need to censor and evaluate. As the field researcher commented, "I am really impressed by the way this group casually throws out an idea and thinks of ways to develop it and expand it rather than coming up with reasons why a particular idea should not be used."

There is a definite value placed at CTW on going out and working with the school staffs. People whose jobs are split between external and internal responsibilities tend to value their external responsibilities more. However, since the staff is structured so that everyone except office manager works to some extent directly in schools, major conflicts between "internal" and "external" people do not exist, and a person's work inside the headquarters is illuminated by direct experience in the field. One of the goals the Director articulates is that staff members should gain a greater appreciation for ways in which work at headquarters is absolutely essential to support work in the field.

Staff Overload. As in other TAG organizations, the problem of staff overload is significant at CTW. Most members frequently discuss what the organization can realistically expect of a person. Staff positions on this issue range from those who work most nights and weekends to one person who stated that she had been involved in an all-consuming job before and intended only to work during regular CTW hours. Differences of opinion about this issue become subsumed in the larger issue of whether a person is fulfilling staff norms and therefore deserves to be regarded as a member in good standing of the group. The mechanisms for dealing with work overload included voluntary offers to help other people out with their work, the assignment of staff members to help other staff members by the Director, and alteration of deadlines. The last step was generally taken only with the Director's approval.

The issue of overload has a strong emotional history to it. In the time when expectations for individuals were much less clear than at present, there were feelings that some members worked extremely hard while others did virtually nothing or worked only in spurts.

Monitoring and control. The salary levels for CTW staff approximate those given to experienced teachers within the New York public school system. Thus, the financial rewards of the advisory work are considered quite adequate, given the fact that advisors have the opportunity to engage in work to which they are strongly committed. The opportunity to work in schools in an advisory role was highly valued and a definite reward at CTW, given the values and previous experiences of the staff. Another major reward for appropriate action at CTW is inclusion in the group, a feeling that one is fulfilling the obligations of the CTW family and is therefore an accepted member. Also of special importance is positive evaluation by the Director and by Tony Sharkey as the two most experienced members of the organization. On the other side of the coin, the group can exert enormous pressures on members they feel are not acting up to its norms. Also the displeasure of the Director is especially feared, because of times in the past when staff felt he became unrelenting in his criticism when dissatisfied and because of organizational lore about the firings of earlier staff members. Thus fear of termination was somewhat more marked at CTW than at other organizations we studied.

The small size of the organization, regular conversations with the Director, and regular work group and staff meetings all contribute to a fairly tight system of monitoring of activity within the office. Further, since three staff members are working closely together on the Principal Leadership Study, their constant interaction and analysis provide an effective feedback mechanism. The one important aspect of the program that is not monitored at this point is the work of the advisors, since they are working individually in separate schools and since much of the energy of the organizational leadership is currently invested in the

Principal Leadership Study. Regular meetings are held among advisors to discuss ideas and problems, but there is no regular system of visitation to assess the work of the advisors. The individual orientation of the advisory work, coupled with uncertainty over CTW goals, raise issues in the minds of several staff members concerning how effective their individual contributions are in terms of organizational goals.

Hiring and Termination. Issues surrounding the hiring and termination of staff have been a major concern at CTW. Hiring has been done primarily by Floyd Page with input in some cases from Tony Sharkey. The types of staff characteristics that have been sought in the hiring process have been described earlier. As mentioned earlier, general staff commitment to experiential learning has masked wide divergences of opinion about specific advisory techniques among staff members. Further, it appears that until last year, only a minimal amount of thought was given to the orientation of new staff members. Thus, staff in the field have developed divergent conceptions of what their role should be in the schools. These differences in opinion, coupled with the often tense interpersonal atmosphere among the staff members, have historically resulted in a high level of friction. More recently, new staff members undertaking the advisory role have served as interns for several weeks with Tony Sharkey at P.S. 152. Further, new advisors have asked more experienced advisors to visit their schools and give them advice, but this appears to occur based on personal relations rather than through a planned system. The small size of the staff compensates somewhat for the lack of a formalized staff orientation program, particularly with the improvement in staff relations in the past year.

As mentioned earlier, a rather large percentage of CTW staff have been fired or have resigned in a situation involving a high level of interpersonal conflict. The Director acknowledges that the need to fire people was generated in the past in part by a lack of careful screening and staff orientation and the lack of team support among staff members, and he sees it as part of the syndrome he is currently trying to change. As in other high conflict situations within the organization, the Director has often consulted with Jerry Bernstein in making decisions about terminating staff members.

The termination of an advisor is a particularly difficult political issue. Because the effectiveness of the CTW advisors depends so much on the interpersonal links they build within the school, the need to replace an advisor represents a major setback for the effectiveness of the advisory program. In addition, any advisor develops strong links with at least some people in the school where he or she works. Given the fact an advisor works alone in a school, CTW becomes synonymous with that advisor's presence. Thus, the termination of an advisor can raise strong objection from within the school and can make the work of any advisor succeeding the person terminated extremely difficult.

The Dilemmas of Leadership and Group Development. The earlier overview of CTW history indicated how the success and growth of CTW posed for the Director increasingly complicated management problems. The history also indicated that the Director initially saw himself as a creative person rather than an organizational leader, but was convinced otherwise by his experience and by particularly by the advice of Jerry Bernstein. As Bernstein puts it,

> "I have had a major impact on Floyd. Floyd is a very talented person. I've taught him that his talents aren't worth a damn unless he leaves something tangible behind that is of some benefit to people."

In seeking to translate his talents into a viable organizational structure, Floyd is confronted with a number of difficult dilemmas typical of the TAG groups we have studied. As the leader of an organization that has developed to a substantial extent around his talents and ideas, he is involved at the present time in the following areas of activity that are vital to the organization's well-being: the development of organizational philosophies and strategies, the planning of new program directions and fund-raising, the monitoring of on-going assistance, the coordination of the staff, providing individual and emotional support to staff members, decision-making, the development of group teamwork, and the fiscal and administrative operation of the organization. To meet the challenge of these demands, he sees himself as having in the last year undertaken some important changes in his leadership style:

> "I used to work from an insecure laissez-faire style until things fell apart, then became a dictator. Jerry saw it as a fascist style--trying to impose my own ideas on other people rather than developing it through their own experiences. Spouting opinions rather than focusing on what we see and do. I am now trying to develop the program in a participatory way. I have tried to develop a good organizational chart for programs. One of the problems I had before was that I gave people responsibilities but then immediately usurped them. I have learned to work with each person to realize their style. When Jerry said "You are to blame," I said, "Show me." He said, "Look at the tools of your trade, decision-making for example. Get organized so that you can use them." Everyone in the shop has to know the nature of their tool board. Your thoughts have to be shaped by reality and not insecure emotional problems. I relate a lot of it to my childhood in the South - wanting to have the power but also wanting to keep people happy. I wanted the role of Director, but was a poor actor. I realized I needed to study the part. I need to play a very subtle character. Jerry said again last October, that I was the problem. In a meeting dealing with scheduling, Jerry said there was another agenda. He jumped on me and said, "Let me repeat what these two people are saying. You didn't hear it." He was right. Then he helped build trust for people to deal with the issues....
>
> How can I be supportive as an educational or administrative leader? I found that I had poor routines. I was spending 80 to 90% of my time on adminstration because systems were weak. Since September, I've worked on ways of supporting the staff and getting them to see themselves as a team. There were too many prima donnas in the past. Jerry helped on the psychodynamics; Charity on the research and education. We are only as good on the outside as we are on the inside, both in terms of our environment and in terms of our teamwork...
>
> We used to have no clear rationale for what we did. We did things and they would work, but we didn't know why. We've been trying for the past two years to find ways to support creative ideas programmatically."

In seeking to act on these ideas, Floyd has taken a number of steps. First, he has given Tony Sharkey the main responsibility of fiscal management. Second, in training a new office manager, he has attempted to make importance of her role clear. The previous office manager had done much to improve the operational functioning of CTW, but had also felt mistakenly that she was an administrator who had authority over Program Staff. Third, he has begun to delegate some responsibility for the operation of various CTW internal and external activities, although as Figure 1 and the accompanying discussion show, he is still heavily involved in many of these activities, and the authority of people to act in areas where they are given some responsibility is still not clear. Fourth, he has attempted through individual work with staff and through developing a more effective process in Wednesday staff meetings, to involve staff in planning and decision-making. However, he still retains the authority to make final decisions in these meetings and will cut discussion short or on some occasions go against the majority if he feels the best interests of the organization will be served. As mentioned earlier, an important improvement in the process of decision-making and communications has resulted from involvement of Jerry Bernstein in several critical staff meetings.

Jerry Bernstein sees a vivid change in CTW in the last year:

The shift in CTW in the last year has been nothing less than

> phenomenal. They have pulled together as a program rather than as a collection of staff members doing their thing. They have developed a pride and confidence that makes an enormous difference in the way they relate to people.

While it is apparent that the communication and decision-making processes have improved, the tensions of previous experiences still remain. Some group members continue to see Floyd's leadership style as capricious. These issues are further aggravated by the CTW norms in which CTW is likened to a family. Given this orientation, feelings about an issue can be raised to a flash-point very quickly. Another area of difficulty is the continuing overload on the Director. He feels a need to be heavily involved in many aspects of CTW functioning, because he is trying to help CTW develop in a coherent direction and he feels that he has the best overall sense of the underlying issues involved. However, this places a difficult overload on his time. Among the many competing demands, perhaps the most difficult ones are introduced by the need to maintain funding. Work to maintain and improve the consistency of CTW efforts in the field and work to develop the internal structure of the organization must often give way to new program development for fund maintenance, proposal writing, and courting funders. Currently, the Director must spend an inordinant amount of time on getting the Principal Leadership Study in operation, in an attempt to insure that current one-year funding will be extended.

Carrying out research and analysis of the TAGs Work. The methods for analysis of CTW work have been greatly strengthened in the past few years. In the past, individual school advisors have kept extensive notes on their activities, but these have not been systematically analyzed by the group. The increase in teaming among the advisors as well as the team approach to the Principal Leadership Study increases analytical work on a day-to-day basis.

In addition, the involvement of CTW with David Hawkins and Edward Chittendon has introduced into CTW a conception of research congenial to their own values. This approach as articulated by Chittendon, for example, questions what it sees as the dominance of behaviorism in educational research leading to a preception of the ideal teacher as a machine reproducing closely monitored stimuli that lead to predictable learning responses. He argues that the behaviorist model poses an ideal for education totally at odds with the realities of teaching. He argues instead for a phenomenalogical approach in which the researcher attempts to understand the characteristics of effective teaching in real situations, a strategy for improving education through studying the best practice. In this spirit, CTW developed its program for working with principals as a research study closely involved with their own analytical efforts to develop and alter the program in light of experience. The Principal Leadership Study then was conceived as an effort to understand how to work effectively with principals that included careful documentation of process and pre and post interviews with the principals involved by an independent researcher.

CTW has attempted then to initiate a program in which regular analysis of process and results by program staff is closely tied to a congenial research strategy. Funding limitations in the Exxon grant for the study meant that the formal research aspect was limited to the principal interviews. In general, the funding of the Principal Leadership Study as a research study runs into the reluctance of research funders like the National Institute of Education to support what NIE sees as the programmatic aspects of a project being studied.

Publicizing the Work of the Organization and Building Its Credibility.

The major responsibility for publicizing the work of the organization among the school staffs who are potential CTW clients falls on the Director. He has in the last few years spent considerable time meeting with District Superintendents, principals and central staff of the school system to explain the CTW program and to try to convince the school administrators that the school system should pay CTW for its services. At this point, it appears that CTW would have little problem gaining access to a large number of schools if its work were independently supported, but the suggestion that the school system pay for CTW services meets with strong resistance because there are already many people employed by the school system who are supposed to be performing the services that CTW offers. In addition, the current New York City fiscal crisis has resulted in the elimination of so many school system jobs that it is difficult to conceive of the system hiring additional people on a consultant basis. The following are major contributors to CTW's credibility in its effort to publicize its services:

1. Reports from previous CTW advisory work or individual workshops.
2. The talents of the CTW Director in presenting the CTW program in a forceful and clear manner.
3. The ability of CTW staff members to provide concrete specific demonstrations of their skills, for example, in making materials.
4. The use of nationally-known consultants as important members of the CTW team.

CTW also faces problems in attempting to establish its credibility. First, veteran school administrators and teachers can use the fact that CTW staff are young, mostly white, and haven't held administrative posts in the public schools as grounds for questioning their competence. Second, it is hard for CTW to communicate those aspects of its philosophy related to "systems for learning," so that to many people CTW is indistinguishable from a number of teachers' center that are primarily oriented towards the production of specific materials. Besides an organizational brochure, CTW has produced little written or visual material but explains and illustrates the unique aspects of its approach. The lack of such materials is a concern often discussed by the CTW staff.

Funding. The maintenance of funds has become in the past few years a major dilemma at CTW that takes up a large portion of the Director's time and sometimes monopolizes it. The initial association with Educational Development Center and funding from Carnegie Corporation with a few strings attached provided CTW with several years of basic funding that made possible the development of fundamental CTW ideas through experience in working with school staffs. However, CTW is currently facing a common dilemma of technical assistance organizations. People see CTW as having been given a nest egg for development and now expect it in some way "make it on its own." The question is constantly raised "Why don't you get school systems to pay you for your services? If Xerox can sell to schools and textbook publishers can sell to schools, why can't you?" The Director has expended great energy in attempting to convince various people in the New York City public school's administration that they should purchase CTW's services. CTW succeeded in having itself built into an internal proposal for teachers' centers within the public school system, but this proposal was cut from the school system budget. District administrators and principals have been approached with the idea of paying CTW for its services, but the current fiscal crisis in the public schools makes such possibilities unlikely. Another possibility that has been explored and on which initial action has been taken is that either individual teachers or schools buy memberships in CTW and are entitled therefore to services at the CTW headquarters or at the schools. CTW envisioned foundations providing matching funds for money that could be raised through such memberships. However, without school (as opposed to individual) memberships, which are made unlikely by the New York fiscal situation, it is unlikely that this program can generate much money.

The funding direction attempted with the Principal Leadership Study has been to emphasize the research component of the program and thus see the project as an integral combination of advisory help and research analysis. This idea was initially presented to the National Institute of Education, but they did not fund it. The Principal Leadership Study was finally funded for one year by the Exxon Foundation. However, delays in funding and a reduction in the size of the grant from what was originally requested, have forced CTW to shorten the PLS program. In addition, in seeking to sell the proposal it appears that CTW has been pressed to make claims for cost-effective and rapid effects of their work with principals over a year's time, when their own experience has shown that it takes several years to bring about the types of fundamental changes they envision. Further, when the Principal Leadership Study was funded for one year, the staff felt compelled to put more time in on PLS than was budgeted in order to help insure the success of the program and thus its subsequent funding.

Keeping Informed of the Work of Others. The major mechanism employed by CTW for keeping informed of the work of others is through the regular visitation of consultants. Since persons who consult regularly with CTW are in contact with groups around the country who share many of CTW's goals, the reports of consultants provide a major mechanism for keeping track of other people's work. Given the demanding nature of maintaining the organization and providing services, it does not appear that CTW staff members are able to spend a significant amount of time reading and analyzing the work of others.

The Director has in the past made efforts to bring together groups in the New York area interested in open education, and it was remarked by Valerie Jameson that one of the reasons she considered coming to CTW was that she had been impressed by Floyd's willingness to share information with her in the past. However, rivalries between groups, including the fact that they are competing for scarce funds and suspicion of CTW's motives in initiating such conversations, meant that attempts to build a communications network in New York met with limited success.

Materials Development. As indicated earlier, CTW has few written materials which describe the nature of its program. Thus, in marked contrast to IGE for example, written materials do not play any major role in its work with schools. CTW does make some use of slide show presentations to describe the nature of its work. Further, specific educational materials that have been produced by CTW staff or teachers assisted by CTW or by students in classrooms emphasizing experiential learning play important roles in establishing CTW's credibility with teachers and principals and illustrating to them the possibilities of experiential learning. The dislike of CTW staff members for packaged educational materials and kits has militated against the development of elaborate systems of materials. However, in light of CTW's need to distinguish itself in talking with other people from the typical teachers' center, staff members spend considerable time discussing ways that they might effectively get the CTW message across through additional written or visual materials. One example of such materials that has been produced is called "The Bankbook," an account of how a classroom project was developed based on student interests in a classroom at P.S. 152.

Day to Day Administrative Functions. Payroll, bookkeeping, typing, mailing, ordering materials and supplies are part of the role of the CTW office manager. Past history of CTW has demonstrated that if these activities are not carried out smoothly, the resulting confusion ends up absorbing large amounts of Program Staff time and decreases the effectiveness of the staff in the field. This lesson was learned through hard experience, after repeated problems. An issue in the past has been that a general feeling that the office manager's responsibilities were menial. Thus, Program Staff did not follow through on procedures; the former office manager herself began to see her role more as that of a program administrator and resisted carrying out clerical tasks. Thus, Floyd Page has spent considerable time in orienting the present office manager, both to the specifics of her responsibilities and to their importance in the functioning of the organization.

Philosophy

The CTW philosophy toward assistance to schools is an emerging one, not fully codified. Thus, for example, in working as advisors to schools, the staff began with a general commitment to apply their ideas drawn from experiential learning and open education to an attempt to work with an entire school faculty. Much of their philosophy about how this should be done was not pre-specified but emerged from their own experience. In the same way, the Principal Leadership Study began with some broad ideas, but these ideas were evolved and refined considerably in the course of carrying the program out. One characteristic of the CTW that should be emphasized is that at the time of our study, the CTW staff was acting on a strong commitment to analyze both its past and present work, and to learn from this experience. Thus, in reviewing CTW history, one has a sense of clear progress, in that present programs emerged from past organizational experience as analyzed both by staff and by consultants. It thus seems truer to the nature of the CTW organization to list the main principles of its philosophy briefly, and then to expand on them fully in discussing the main experiences in the field that have allowed CTW's viewpoint to develop.

1. The director constantly emphasizes that CTW's strategy is

evolutionary, not revolutionary. He feels that conflict-oriented strategies only produce counter measures on the part of the school system. He sees CTW as an independent organization that becomes closely involved in the inner workings of the school system at all levels. The CTW philosophy stresses gradual change and growth.

2. As has been mentioned earlier, CTW stresses two key ideas. First they emphasize the importance of experiential learning, not only for children but also for adults. Second, they emphasize the need for subtle systems to support learning in the school. These ideas have been explained earlier, and they will be developed further in later parts of the case study. Therefore, we will not further attempt to define them here.

3. CTW strategy is focused almost exclusively on the school's professional staff, including the teachers and the principal. It is to the development and activities of the teachers and principal that CTW primarily applies its notions of experiential learning and systems to support it. Of course, it also espouses the importance of these ideas with respect to children's learning, and strongly emphasizes in its day-to-day work that the beneficiaries of CTW ideas should be children in the schools. For the teacher, CTW advocates an approach to teaching that emphasizes the use of experiential learning and careful systems of classroom organiza-

tion in working with students. For the principal, CTW stresses the need to become an educational leader in the school, rather than an administrator, and helps the principal analyze his own experience so that he can develop systems that will support his movement in this direction. The thrust of the CTW program with respect to both teachers and principals is highly individualized and gradual. In marked contrast to IGE, for example, CTW does not project nearly as defined an image of what the teacher's role or the principal's role should be. Change and growth are seen as a network of varied possibilities that can open up consistent with CTW principles.

4. Little attention is focused on working directly with parents, and CTW does not focus, as a high priority, on analyzing the nature of the community in which the schools they assist exist. In general, CTW supports increased involvement of parents in the schools, but energies and skills are focused primarily on the development of the professional staff, and not on working for any basic increase in the involvement of parents. The skills and interests of the CTW staff lie primarily in working with school professionals.

An example drawn from a CTW workshop will help clarify the nature of their approach. One of the CTW advisors was asked to lead a workshop for experienced teachers that was part of a program at the City University of New York. While traveling to the workshop she told the field researcher that she had several possible experiences in mind for the workshop, but would wait until she saw the group before she decided exactly what to do. The group consisted of five people, including three teachers, our observer, and another CTW staff member. Upon coming in the door, one of the teachers explained that she was required to attend a certain number of workshops for university credit, that this was the last night that she could come, and that this workshop "had better be good, or I am going to put a bomb in the place." The advisor began the workshop by showing the group a toy from Haiti in which a bird-shaped, wooden object balances on a stand. She explained that the same toy could be constructed using a bottle and a coat hanger, and she showed them one she had made previously, then allowed people to figure out how to make their own. She further explained that the way she was working with them was the same way she worked with children. She would ask them to make a similar balance, and then experiment with it to try to understand how it works, and how different lengths of the balance arms and different weights attached to the ends of the arms affect its operation. The objective of the workshop, she said, was to help people be more observant in the scientific process—not to come out with a number of answers but to come up with a series of questions.

The woman who came in saying that "The workshop had better be good," started out by asking a series of questions: "Why are we doing this?" "What is the answer?" "How can I use this with my children?" In most cases the advisor threw these questions back to her and others in the group; she would say, "I don't know what we can learn from this." Then someone in the group would attempt to answer. They would often answer with scientific terms they had learned in the past. The advisor emphasized that she did not have all the answers, yet she was still able to guide the group toward working together with the materials to ask questions. Further, she was able to get the group to focus on its own learning and experience, rather than to retreat into questions about how this experience could be employed with children. As the workshop progressed, questions in the group moved away from those directed toward the advisor only. People began to share with each other principles that they thought they were deriving from the experience. The teacher who had been asking the most for the "right answers" began to try hard to find out how the balance worked and why. At first, she knocked some things over and called herself a "bull in a china shop," and "a real klutz." Near the end of the workshop, she began to ask questions focused on the balance itself; "Why does it have to have arms longer than the body?" "What does the weight do?" At the end of the workshop she said, "I really enjoyed this. It was not just one of those workshops where you make something and

and take it home. I feel I really learned something. I really enjoyed this."

After the workshop, the advisor pointed out a number of things that had happened that were consistent with CTW's approach. She emphasized the types of defenses that teachers and principals have when they begin to work experientially, including an anxious search for the right answers, the attempt to explain an experience through formal theories learned earlier rather than focusing on the experience itself, a demand for an immediate application to work with children, and expression of incompetence and clumsiness. In working with this teacher over a period of time, she indicated that she would return again and again to ask the teacher to reflect on this learning experience, so that the teacher might become aware of her own learning style and later think about how this experience might be reflected in the learning styles of her students.

Of course, all CTW workshops are not as successful as this one. However, it does illustrate concretely some of the important principles that CTW espouses. It illustrates especially well CTW's attempt to go beyond the making of materials to delve into the teachers' systems of inquiry.

Technical Assistance Work

As mentioned earlier, CTW was given during the summer of 1972 a grant from the Carnegie Foundation to place school advisors in three New York schools. The main rationale underlying this project was to apply many of the techniques of open education and experiential learning that CTW had formerly used with some selected teachers in an attempt to change the functioning of an entire school. In 1972, CTW began work in three public schools in Brooklyn: P.S. 330, P.S. 152, and P.S. 369. In the fall of 1973, work with P.S. 330 was terminated. Work with the other two schools continued, and in the fall of 1974, P.S. 422 was added to the Advisory Program, thus bringing the number of schools back up to three. We will recount, briefly, the history of CTW involvement in P.S. 330, 369, and 422. We will discuss in greater detail the history of CTW's efforts in P.S. 152 since it has been the successful work in this school that has contributed greatly to the CTW analysis of advisor's roles and strategies.

P.S. 369 is located in a section of Brooklyn that is approximately 75% Black and 25% Puerto Rican. A substantial percentage of the building in the area have been demolished through urban renewal, giving the area what several staff members describe as a "bombed out" appearance. It is difficult to reach the school from CTW. The trip takes over an hour and requires three subway transfers. The school has slightly more than 900 students and 59 staff members including para-professionals.

The continuity of CTW work at P.S. 369 has suffered both from tha turnover of CTW advisors and from turnover among the school's administration. From fall 1972 to spring 1975, there have been a succession of four CTW advisors at the school. The second advisor was fired in a dispute with Floyd Page, and a number of teachers who had grown attached to her in the school developed an extremely hostile attitude toward CTW as a result. In fall, 1974, the fired advisor was replaced by Valerie Jameson. At the same time a new principal was appointed to the school, having been promoted from his work as a music teacher elsewhere. He was the fourth principal at the school in five years. In mid-year, Valerie became director of the Principal Leadership Study, and she was in turn relpaced by another advisor. During the 1974-75 year, the main activities of the advisors has consisted of rejuvenating a teacher resource room in the school, which serves as a center for teachers to meet informally; giving terrariums, salt water aquariums, and plants to teachers as a way of establishing contact with them; working with individual teachers on projects of interest to the teachers; acting as a sympathetic listener and sounding board for the principal's ideas and problems in his first year; and helping teachers start a school newspaper. The advisors have seen this as a year of cautious rebuilding, because of the hard feelings about CTW firing their former advisor. Brief visits to some of the classrooms in the school suggest that a small group of teachers are employing some of the techniques that CTW values, but that the predominant mode of learning in the school would be seen by CTW as traditional and non-experiential. Harry Schwartz, the principal of P.S. 369, participates in the Principal Leadership Study, and some further discussion of his school will appear in the section of PLS.

P.S. 330 is an all-Black school in Brooklyn. Its principal heard about the CTW advisory program through his District Superintendent, and agreed to participate in the fall of 1972. CTW began work with several teachers in the school during that year; however, it became apparent to CTW advisors that the principal saw CTW merely as one of many programs in the school and that he was not about to adopt CTW philosophy. The events at P.S. 330 were one of the key experiences that convinced CTW that it could not work effectively without the active support of the principal. In the fall of 1973, the CTW staff, assisted by Jerry Bernstein, visited the school to assess the situation. In a meeting with the principal, a mutual agreement was reached that termination of the CTW role in the school was the most sensible course of action.

P.S. 422 is located in an old school building in Harlem. It has approximately 600 students and 32 staff members, including para-professionals. At the time of our visit the principal was preparing for the transfer from this school to a new school building that is being built using the open-space concept. At the time of our visit, he had to administer the old school and develop educational plans for the new one, including decisions about which teachers from the old school would be transfered to the new one.

He became involved in CTW advisory through the recommendation of his District Superintendent. The District Superintendent recommended CTW after the principal indicated that he was seeking some advisory help to determine how the program in the new school building should be operated. Thus, in fall 1974, a CTW advisor began working in the school two days a week. She has set up in the school an attractive educational resource room, which has many of the characteristics of the CTW headquarters in miniature. It is in a little-use section of the building through which few teachers have to pass, but the room is frequently visited by teachers, especially at noon time. The advisor has made a special effort to develop contacts with as wide a range of teachers in the school as possible. She has sought out a number of teachers who were not initially attracted to her. She has used the CTW strategy of making saltwater aquariums and terrariums for classrooms as a means for building rapport with individual teachers. She also has a positive relationship with the principal, who regards her as an effective advisor because of much positive comment on her helpfulness from teachers. On some occasions she acts as a sounding board for him on educational issues. Educational practice in this school is still primarily non-experiential by CTW standards, but there are a number of individual teachers who show definite signs of moving in the CTW direction. Further, the advisor seems to have established a credible role in the school that would over time allow her to help the school move in the direction that CTW advocates. The commitment of the principal to a new educational program for the new building provides some further support for this direction. The school's principal is a participant in the Principal Leadership Study.

P.S. 152 is located in a predominantly middle-class section of Brooklyn that is undergoing a racial transition. Families in single family dwellings and small apartment buildings are predominantly White, middle-class Jewish. Families in larger apartment buildings are predominantly Black and Puerto Rican. The school's racial composition is currently about 2/3 White and 1/3 Black and other ethnic minorities. The school principal, Herbert Shapiro, has been at the school since before 1970. He has, since that time, been extremely interested in introducing new ideas in the school and in 1970 was already encouraging his teachers to seek out and employ new ideas in the classroom. One of his teachers was already carrying out open classroom ideas in her teaching, and had had some contact with Creative Teaching Workshop. In the spring of 1970, she interested the principal in attending a CTW workshop. He was impressed by the experience, and reached an agreement with Floyd Page to hold a series of workshops at P.S. 152. During the school year, 1970 - 71, Floyd Page held a weekly workshop at P.S. 152 for the interested teachers. This workshop series was discontinued for the next year and in the school year 1971-72, the main contact between CTW and

P.S. 152 was that a few teachers in the school continued to attend workshops at CTW headquarters. For the summer of 1972, CTW received a joint grant with the Prospect School, a private school in Vermont. CTW reached agreement with P.S. 152 that it would support the attendance of a group of P.S. 152 teachers at this workshop if the school would underwrite the attendance of the principal. As an outgrowth of this summer workshop, CTW received Carnegie Corporation support for its Advisory Program. Thus, in the fall of 1972, CTW began advisory work in this school with two advisors involved, Tony Sharkey and Marcia Edelman. They set up a resource room in the school and began working with teachers, mostly a core group of teachers in the school who were already committed to open education. The styles of the two advisors were quite different. Marcia Edelman emphasized a more intellectual approach and was extremely popular with those teachers who were already predisposed towards open education. Her style was also more confrontative and challenging; she saw one of her key roles as raising important issues for the teachers. Tony Sharkey, in contrast, argued for a more nondirective and low-keyed approach. He was content to initiate small projects, such as the building of shelves with teachers and to attempt to move to larger projects through the rapport that was established. He felt that only a small percentage of teachers were reached by an intellectual approach-that, as he put it, few teachers ever change their way of doing things through what they learn from a book. Tony Sharkey feels that a party that the teachers held at the end of the term in 1973 was a key event in terms of an emotional breakthrough with teachers. It was through this party, where people "let their hair down", that he feels he began to be accepted as a close member of the teaching group.

In summer 1973, CTW ran a program in conjunction with local museums to help teachers of social studies. A few teachers from P.S. 152 came. In September, 1973, the advisors once again began to work with teachers, and Tony feels that an important transition began to occur. Teachers began employing materials developed in conjunction with CTW advisors as part of comprehensive learning projects, rather than just as gimmicks. This concept of "extensions" is critical in the CTW Advisory philosophy. In January 1974, Marcia Edelman was fired by CTW in a disagreement with the Director. This caused a setback in CTW's work with some teachers in the school who were closely alligned with Marcia; but because Tony was also respected as an advisor by most teachers, it appears that he was able to recover from this controversy.

In May 1974, the teachers decided that they would devote several weeks at the end of the school term strictly to the development of learning projects, after the regular curriculum had been completed. Tony sees this period as the major breakthrough in the work at P.S. 152, because large numbers of people saw "how exciting education could be when people became fully involved in projects." In September 1974, he was faced with a flood of teachers who wanted to help. It was apparent that a major shift had taken place by this time in the functioning of the school, with the norm being more toward experiential learning. In the 1974-75 school year, Tony has concentrated on reaching those teachers who were not as motivated. He also notes that the advisory is not as active because of the pressures to carry out the Principal Leadership Study.

It is clear that a key role in the change process has been played by the principal, who has consistently supported and encouraged his teachers to move in the direction of open education and experiential learning. It is also clear that a key role in changes at P.S. 152 has been played by a core group of teachers who have stayed in the school over a long period of time and who are strongly committed to the CTW philosophy. The principal estimates that the school would have moved in the directions that CTW favors anyway, but that the help from CTW played a decisive role in speeding up this process and improving its quality. An important aspect of the CTW Advisory role has been the close relationship between the principal and the CTW advisor. The CTW advisor is a respected source of advice and a sounding board for the principal's ideas.

In spring 1975, P.S. 152 had a variety of characteristics that distinguish it from the typical New York City school. On a day in which our site researcher observed, for example, he noted the following: There was a great deal of project activity going on that emphasized direct experience. In one classroom, students were repairing a cage for their rabbits, using a work bench that was located in a corner of the room. In another, students were preparing for a play, and making a ship, swords, and costumes. This activity spilled over into the hall, as an unsupervised group of students worked attentively in making paper maché logs and then painting them. In another section of the hall, a group of students were working, again without supervision, in constructing and creating games with blocks and figuring out variations in the rules. Students went through the halls unsupervised, on their way from one classroom to another or to the bathroom. The general loosening of the rules that govern typical city schools was noticable, but the most striking aspect of the program was the high quality of purposeful activity by students involved in projects, often without close teacher supervision. It appears that the school has gone a long way toward achieving in reality, the kind of balance between structure and openness that is described in the theoretical writings of open education philosophers. The field researcher estimated that typical activity in about 75% of the classrooms was congenial with CTW's philosophy.

Analysis of the Advisory Program. Drawing from our analysis of the advisory program in four schools, and especially in P.S. 152, we can derive an analysis of CTW's approach, in terms of a conception of the advisor's role, the strategies that one uses in developing an advisory program, the types of changes that are sought in the schools, the realities of the day-to-day advisory process, and the effects of advisory work. Topics related to these areas of interest are treated in turn below.

Overall Organization of the Advisory Function. The original CTW plan for advisory work called for putting two advisors in each school, but economics dictated that the plan could not be continued. Even in those schools with two advisors, the norm was one of individualism. Beginning with a broad commitment to CTW's princples, each advisor developed their relationship to the local school in terms of a highly personalized style. Thus, most teachers at a given school identify CTW with particular advisors involved in their school, and are somewhat suspicious of other CTW personnel. For them, CTW is the particular advisor that they work with.

Presently each CTW advisor is assigned to a single school, which he or she visits two days a week ideally. The individual advisors continue to make most of the day-to-day decisions related to their advisory work. For example, each advisor would make their own decision about whether or not they would respond to the request of a particular teacher in a given situation. Because of the success at P.S. 152, however, the experience at 152 is repeatedly cited as a model for CTW work, and the major P.S. 152 advisor, Tony Sharkey, is often consulted on advisory matters. Floyd Page and Valerie Jameson, because of their extensive past experience, are also influential in in shaping the advisory work. The present advisors have each had some opportunity to work with Tony Sharkey at P.S. 152 as an orientation to the advisory experience. Those involved in advisory work meet approximately every other week to discuss their experience. The content of these discussions usually consists of the analysis of problems at particular schools. On an irregular basis, one advisor might visit another advisor's school, either to help assess a specific problem, or to provide assistance in a specific school area, such as music, space planning or science. Thus, the advisory process has become somewhat less individual because of the experience at P.S. 152 and because of the increased sharing among staff, which also relates to the improvement of CTW's internal decision-making and communication procedures. However, the advisory process remains largely an individual effort that depends greatly on the skills the advisor brings to the job.

Assessing School Situations. Presently, the first major factor that CTW assesses in deciding whether to become involved in a school is the commitment of the principal to moving in the direction that CTW values. They would assess such readiness through interviews with the principal and an analysis of the social dynamics of the school. They would seek out evidence that the principal has in some ways reflected a commitment to change in his working relationships with the rest of his staff. As part of the initial decision-making process, CTW would also attempt to assess the informal structure of the school staff and staff attitudes towards their possible intervention in the school. They would not expect more than a small minority of teachers to be initially committed to CTW goals, but they might be influenced away from working with a school if their sounding out of teacher attitudes indicated that there was a highly organized opposition to the type of work they proposed to do. However, it appears to us that if they thought they had the strong support of the principal, they would work in such a situation, feeling that they could win teachers over in the long run. Since the assessment of informal clique structures and patterns of communications is crtical in CTW's advisory work with teachers, they would assess these factors carefully and use this information in later work with the schools that they selected.

The Role of the Advisor. Some strategies for open education change seek the creation of small subgroups of teachers who are highly committed to open education and work as a close-knit group. Based on their experience at P.S. 152, CTW tends to oppose this approach. They feel that by drawing together those few teachers who are influenced by open education initially, they alientate the large majority of the teaching staff. Therefore, the CTW advisory approach emphasizes gradual broad-based interaction with teachers over a long period of time to foster experiential learning and a willingness, initially at least, to work on various specific projects (such as the construction of educational furniture) that may seem to have tangential relationships to long term goals. As Tony Sharkey describes the advisor's role, he sees the typical school divided between approximately 5% who are extremely enthusiastic about experiential learning, about 10% who are moderately enthusiastic, about 10% who violently oppose this philosophy, and the large mass of teachers who are initially indifferent. He sees the critical aspect of the advisory process as being to move beyond the small core of committed teachers and involve those who are indifferent to experiential learning and indeed tend to be somewhat indifferent to teaching as a profession.

In beginning to work with a school, the advisors face a need to establish credibility. Their initial credibility is enhanced by the advisor's previous teaching experience. Indeed it seems that teachers and administrators are reluctant to listen to anyone who has not taught for at least three or four years. The credibility of CTW staff is further enhanced by their backgrounds in creative arts and in experimental educational programs. A liability to be overcome is the relative youth of the CTW staff. Because they are young they can be dismissed by some school staff members as inexperienced people with shakey ideas. To build credibility within the school, CTW advisors use a number of approaches. These approaches are described below.

Personal Relationships. In the first few weeks in a school, the CTW advisors seek to build informal relationships with principals and teachers. They make efforts to develop informal conversations with school staff in the hallway, in the teachers' rooms, and through sponsoring informal talk sessions with coffee and cookies. They present themselves as people who are anxious to help with the problems that teachers are facing and willing to support efforts on a variety of projects initiated by teachers. They initially seek short, informal interactions with a large range of teachers, and attempt to avoid being identified with any one subgroup of teachers. One advisor said that she had consciously sought out and sought to help the teacher in the school whom most teachers had identified as the worst one. In developing these relationships, the advisors seek to become aware of the informal clique structure and communication structure within the school staff.

The advisors seek to establish themselves as people who can be trusted to talk about problems, especially problems connected with teaching, but not excluding personal problems. They attempt to establish themselves as people who can be trusted with sensitive information and will not make people feel embarrassed or inadequate. They recognize that the major life concerns of many teachers may not primarily have to do with education, and they are willing to begin relationships with people that do not focus on educational issues.

In building such personal relationships, advisors attempt to assess the strengths, weaknesses, and interests of each individual that they work with. The following sentiments were expressed to us by several advisors:

> I see advisory work with teachers similar to what teachers should be doing with kids. When you find out they are interested in something, work with those interests. If they are initially interested in painting, work with them in painting and don't try to force them to also work on science. When they are involved, move through painting into science.

Another advisor states:

> I was very disappointed at the first response to the aquariums we helped the teachers make, since the teachers tended to treat them as displays or decorations in their classrooms, but didn't put them to any educational use. I then began attempting to get the teacher to do this but found it very slow going. There was a big breakthrough for me when I began to apply the same approaches in working with the teachers that I employed in working with the kids. There was one teacher who exasperated me because she was mostly interested in her makeup and dates. The only thing she showed a glimmer on was art activities connected with the aquariums. I decided to try to focus and build on this the same way I would in an open classroom with a child. I felt I was beginning to make progress in this way when I left the school.

The Resource Room or Learning Center. One of the first steps that a CTW advisor takes is to set up a resource room within the school building. The initial functions of this resource room are several, and receive different emphasis from different advisors. The resource room is a mini teacher center, with a variety of materials on display. It is a place where teachers can come to meet informally, and the CTW advisor encourages this activity by offering coffee and donuts. It is a place where teachers can come to work on lesson plans or make materials. It is a place where teachers can send particular students to do projects that are extensions of their work in the classroom. It is the home base for the advisor when he or she is in the school. It is a place where teachers can leave materials that they wish to share.

Advisors spend a great deal of time arranging and rearranging this room, so that it facilitates the accomplishment of the goals listed above. For example, the advisors are concerned that they display a variety of materials and projects, but that not so much material is displayed that the room becomes cluttered or overwhelming. These issues parellel issues of physical classroom design that CTW advisors work on with teachers.

Experiential Learning and the Role of Materials. Initial CTW interaction with teachers and also long-term relationships are in many ways centered around concrete materials. The field researcher was introduced to the concept on his first day of observing at CTW. When he arrived the staff was engaged in building cabinets for their basement storage rooms. The field researcher was invited to join in, and soon the construction work, supervised by Tony Sharkey, was proceeding with a great deal of conversation and joking.

In the course of this work, Tony commented:

> What we are doing today is exactly what we do as teachers. Teachers have been lectured and "kitted" to death. They are tired of packaged materials. We build a bookcase with them and extraordinary things happen. When people are working together building something they form relationships they never build with talking.

In the early stages of the advisory process, the advisor uses the materials on display in the resource room as a basis for initiating convervation about the interests of teachers. Teachers are encouraged to suggest projects relating to experiential learning that they wish to pursue. As an outgrowth of this dialogue, the advisor seeks out more appropriate materials either from CTW or from other teachers in the school. The advisor sees materials as something to work from, adapt, or build on for work with a particular client. Advisors stress that it is advantageous for teachers to make as many of their own materials as possible because homemade materials tend to be more economical; can be tailored to the individual needs of students; can be acquired more quickly; and that through the process of actually making them, a better understanding of their possible uses can be obtained.

An important element of CTW's initial use of materials is a strategy that they call "Greeks bearing gifts." For example, in one school, the advisor made terrariums for a number of teachers and gave these to the teachers for use in their educational programs. In another school, the advisor coordinated a trip by several classrooms to the ocean to collect saltwater animals and plants. The advisor then assisted these teachers in constructing saltwater aquariums for their classrooms. Such "gifts" are intended to develop a positive relationships with the teacher and to provide a concrete educational resource around which teacher and advisor can work.

The advisor also utilizes many of the standard techniques that have been developed by teachers' centers for helping schools obtain "scrounge material," such as the bi-products of industrial manufacturing and packaging or old typewriters or radios that students can learn from by taking apart. The advisor also finds out what kind of equipment and materials a school has that are not being used and suggests possible ways of using them. Characteristically the advisors observe that schools make poor use of the materials they have because they are either stored away or hoarded by individual teachers. The advisors will also critize material they see in the school that they feel is harmful to learning and suggest that it be eliminated.

A key part of the advisory role in working with materials is the concept of "extension." Extension means taking a set of concrete materials or a project and thinking of different ways that it could be found useful for children's learning. For example, CTW saltwater aquariums can be the source of many activities that require both artistic and scientific learning. The class's pet rabbit, cared for by the students, likewise becomes the focus of extension when the students draw pictures of it, observe and record its activities, write stories about it, or keep track of the costs of caring for it.

Teachers are thus encouraged to initiate specific experiential learning projects with advisory help. Within a traditional classroom, the individual project is planned with the advisor, so that ideally the teacher can experience the type of creative freedom that can be enhanced by careful underlying planning and structure. Teachers are encouraged to consider the possibility for extensions of the learning projects. They are encouraged to observe the children carefully as they participate in the project, to try to match individual strengths, weaknesses, and interests with further possibilities that can be built on the experience.

In beginning to interact with teachers around a specific project, the advisor often works directly with students. The advisor may use the resource room as a place where individual students can come to continue their work on a project begun in the classroom, or the advisor may work directly in the classroom with students, after establishing sufficient rapport with the teacher. The advisor thus, according to CTW, builds credibility with the teacher by showing that they just are not all talk, that they can practice what they preach.

Workshops. Workshops play an important, but carefully considered, role in the early phases in working with a school. Often, it is through a workshop that CTW has its initial opportunity to interact with teachers, before any long-term agreement is worked out with the school. The workshop represents a chance for CTW to show what it can do. As part of the ongoing advisory process, CTW continues to hold some workshops. An example of such a workshop was discussed earlier in illustrating CTW's philosophy. Workshops in the advisory process are usually carried at the request of a small group of teachers, ideally teachers who are already working on a given project to which the workshop relates. CTW advisors state that because of the extensive, compulsory in-service programs in the New York schools, and a deep resentment by many teachers to these programs, which often has no relationship to their own needs, CTW is very cautious about holding workshops. CTW resists being put in situations where teachers are attending a workshop under some sort of compulsion. They regard voluntary commitments to improve one's teaching performance as important to school change, and do not feel that teachers can be compelled to change.

Supporting Communication Among Staff. CTW sees one of the primary problems of public schools as being a lack of professional communication and mutual support among teachers and also between teachers and the administration. Unlike some other open education advisories, CTW does not propose a specific model for staff reorganizarion to facilitate sharing and team work. Rather, they try to increase informal and ad hoc arrangements for teacher communication, sharing, and team work. They encourage teachers to share ideas and material and to work on planning and carrying out projects together. They seek to inform one teacher about what another one is doing. They listen to personal problems and personality discussions as a means of building rapport, but they do not share such information with others, and over time they attempt to discourage such communication as the exclusive preoccupation of teacher interaction. They attempt to focus teacher communication more and more on educational issues. They also encourage teachers to initiate a dialogue with their principal in which they tell her frankly what they need to be more effective in carrying out their work. The advisor also attempts to build communication links beyond the school by hooking up school staff with persons in the outside world who can give them help or resources, in some cases including possible sources for funding.

Relationship with the Principal. The CTW advisor attempts to establish himself as a sympathetic and trusted listener for the principal's problems, ideas, and plans and a source of advice. CTW sees the typical urban principal as being in a terrible dilemma. On the one hand, the principal has usually received little useful training relavent to the complex set of tasks he must perform-including administering the school, relating to its teachers, relating to the community, and relating to the central board of education. Given the demands of the post and the external pressures, the principal usually becomes overwhelmed with routine administrative work and management by crisis. On the other hand, the principal is expected to know how to handle all of these problems by his superiors and by his subordinates, so that any questioning on the part of the principal is seen as a sign of incompetence. As one CTW advisor put it, "The principal is often a person who knows nothing but must pretend that he knows everything." Given this analysis, the advisor's role is one of having an open, friendly relationship with the principal that allows him to discuss his ideas and concerns in nonthreatening interactions. As one advisor put it, "My principal needs a friend he can talk to and say things like "last week at 4:00 I thought I wasn't going to come back here." The advisor also should become a source of ideas that are respected by the principal and are consitent with CTW philosophy. A key dynamic in building the advisor's credibility in the eyes of the principal is a positive input from teachers on the usefulness of the advisor's assistance.

It is a tricky matter to build credibility with the principal without compromising relationships with teachers. The advisors must establish with everyone concerned the fact that they can be trusted with confidential information that they will not share outside of a particular relationship. The advisor must be careful, for example, when the principal attempts to get her to carry the principal's message to the staff. When this happens, CTW advisory staff must clearly state their own position on the issue and encourage as much direct communication between principal and staff as possible.

Assistance to Parents and Para-professionals. Although CTW does not focus on working with parents, CTW advisors often assist those parents who are already actively involved in the school. They are also often involved in working with paraprofessionals and volunteers. The techniques and strategies for working with these people are very similar to those employed in working with teachers.

Later Stages of Advisory Work. Based primarily on the experience at P.S. 152, successful advisory work takes on additional dynamics in later stages. One role that the advisor has in these later stages is to draw in a wider and wider group of teachers. The advisor should, for example, according to CTW, focus particularly on those teachers who are isolated from or alienated from the experiential education approach, and try to figure out how to make a breakthrough with them.

If the advisory effort is successful, and more and more teachers begin to ask for advisory help, the advisor begins to face complex decisions about the best way to spend time. The advisor's fear is that she will become too involved with projects affecting only a small group of teachers or that she will become merely an errand girl to do work for the teachers that has no long range effect on their teaching style. In negotiating with teachers in such circumstances, the advisor will ask the teacher to do some initial work as prerequisite for the advisor's involvement. If the teacher is requesting that shelves be built in her classroom, for example, the advisor might suggest that the teacher involve students in drawing the plans for these shelves and trying to obtain the material. Also involved in such negotiations are the advisor's concern about not developing dependency. The advisor must intervene at crucial points, but encourage independent action so that subsequent projects can be done without her.

We saw the fruit of one such successful project activity at P.S. 152. Tony Sharkey had previously involved students in building a cage for their pet rabbit, and many classroom educational projets had grown out of this. The teacher and students had asked Tony to come to their room to help them repair the rabbit cage. They had tried to do this several times on their own, unsuccessfully. Tony showed them why some of their earlier attempts had not worked, and suggested a way to repair it so that the rabbit could not break out. Tony supervised the repair work, which was primarily done by the students. He gave them instructions for sawing and hammering that they skillfully carried out, using a shop center that was already in the room. Thus the advisor intervened at the crucial time to provide help, but his role had become minimal to the ongoing project in which students and teachers were building on well-developed skills.

Another shift in later advisory work is that the resource room becomes less and less the center of the advisory activities. Projects once carried out in the resource room are now carried out in the individual classrooms. Another role that CTW advisors play in later stages is that of providing observations and advice in critical planning and decison-making meeting. Before the advisor can take such a prominent role, a long period of trust building is necessary in CTW's view. From the beginning, one of the major dangers CTW advisors seek to avoid is to be viewed as an outsider trying to take over the school. Ideally, the CTW staff member would like to be seem as someone working on the same level as teachers, not above them. They seek to model many of the teaching practices and patterns of sharing and communication that they would like to see teachers adopt. The ideal of being "on the same level" as the teachers is not usually reached in practice; the advisors are often viewed as extremely bright people or young people with shakey ideas.

Decision-Making that Affects the Local School. Consistent with CTW's gradual and participatory approach to change, RTAs are almost always consulted or included in decisions that relate directly to them. Teachers are asked, for example, to help the advisor decide what is the best way to spend her time. CTW does not employ highly specific agreements with our RTAs--rather agreements evolve over time based on short term negotiation. The advisors encourage "getting things on the table" in their work with RTAs. If they are dissatified with the way things are going they will ideally confront the problem in an open way rather than merely drifting. As at P.S. 330, if the relationship is found to be basically nonproductive, they will terminate it. In the P.S. 330 case, they did this through negotiation with the principal and with as little conflict as possible.

Assessment of Advisory Work. Since many of the issues raised by the advisory work are also raised in the analysis of the Principal Leadership Study, an assessment of the effectiveness of the CTW approach in different situations will be put off until the Principal Leadership Study is discussed. One pattern might be mentioned briefly at this time however. The experience to date-primarily the experience at P.S. 152-has resulted, from our viewpoint, in a fairly specific strategy for change through advisory work. However, CTW has not yet stated the key elements of this strategy clearly, so that it exists primarily in the heads of those people involved in the advisory work. Further, it is difficult to separate the strategy from the personality of specific advisors (e.g. Tony Sharkey at P.S. 152). It remains to be tested whether this promising strategy can be used as the basis for training other advisors who can be effective in assisting schools.

Principal Leadership Study.

Early in 1974, CTW staff and consultants began to meet to consider the ways of obtaining additional funding for CTW work. One major idea that came to the fore grew out of the CTW's advisory experience—the idea that the key to change in the schools in which CTW had worked had been the leadership of the principal. Therefore, CTW decided to seek funding for an effort that focused on providing assistance to principals. At that time, the National Institute of Education was sponsoring a competition for research grants. CTW developed a plan for assisting principals in several New York schools, and developed a research plan that was to be an integral part of this effort. The research plan, which was heavily influenced by Edward Chittendon of Educational Testing Service, a long time CTW advisor, emphasized a process of analyzing advisory help to principals and measuring the effects of this assistance by comparing attitudes of principals, the climates of schools, and the nature of work children produced over the period of the advisory help. CTW was arguing, in effect, for an approach to research that was different from the norm and seeking to support the combined advisory and research effort through NIE funding. The program was not funded by NIE. A major disadvantage that CTW faced in the funding competition was that there were many educational organizations, faced with diminishing support, seeking to obtain program funding from NIE. Thus, any substantial emphasis on program support made a proposal suspect in NIE's eyes. CTW continued to seek funding for the program they had developed, called the Principal Leadership Study. Ultimately they received funding from the Exxon Corporation, which has been a substantial contributor to efforts to improve the New York Public Schools. Their funding was for one year, and the foundation granted CTW less money than they had requested. Funded in January, 1975, CTW was under great pressure to develop an operational program that would have some reality during the end of the 1974-75 school year. During January and February, CTW staff members met with key consultants to plan the program. In addition Herb Shapiro, the principal of P.S. 152, was asked to become involved in the planning. An excerpt from the original proposal proposal provides a good understanding of the basic ideas behind PLS:

> The Principal Program will involve six principals who will meet at CTW and in a special "laboratory" school (where there has been a CTW advisory for three years). These meetings will consist of workshops and discussion groups aimed at providing principals with the opportunity for exploring their own learning and, as a peer group, inquiring into the ways in which to facilitate their roles as educational leaders

> in their schools. Half the principals will have CTW advisors working in their schools at the same time they are involved in the program and half will not. They will serve as a control to measure the effectiveness and necessity (or lack thereof) of including an advisory group in school.
>
> Two underlying themes structure the design of the program. The first is the view that schools are "whole entities" or "gestalts." Within this gestalt, the principal as educational leader is in a key position to initiate and sustain an ongoing change dynamic that insures educational change and growth. CTW believes this dynamic can be generated from within the schools so that "outside" change agents such as advisors and other educational specialists are relegated to the role of resource people rather than necessary catalysts.
>
> The second theme central to all its work in education is what CTW calls "experiental" learning....Experiential learning serving as the foundation, the program will precede in the following phases:
>
> 1. Experiential learning from the perspective of the student,
> 2. Experiential learning from the perspective of the teacher,
> 3. Experiential learning from the perspective of the administrator....[2]

In January and February of 1975, the participating principals were recruited. They were six principals of elementary schools in either Manhattan or Brooklyn. The three new principals (added to to the three Principals CTW was already working with through the Advisory Program) found out about the program either through fellow principals already involved with CTW or through their district superintendents. The planning sessions held with CTW staff consultants after funding was secured focused on a number of themes and concerns:

1. The needs to focus the program on developing the principals as educational leaders and involving them in experiential learning, as opposed to merely providing a format in which principals could share stories and talk about immediate problems.
2. The need to involve the principals themselves in the planning of the program as it progressed.
3. Considering the research aspect of the program, the need to find ways to measure the impact of CTW's work on the schools that were both valid and within the cost limits that the program involved.

During this time period, Floyd Page and other key staff were spending far more time on this proposal than CTW was being compensated for. The rationale for spending this extra time was that PLS was critical to the future funding of CTW.

The group came up with a set of plans for interacting with the principals. These included the following:

1. Regular weekly meetings with the principals at CTW until the end of the school year.
2. Initial and regular visitation to each school, both to understand the immediate problems the school was facing and to provide advisory assistance to each principal.
3. A visit by all principals to P.S. 152, which was considered the laboratory school for the project.
4. Continued work in three of the six schools by the CTW teachers advisors.

The initial meetings with the teachers followed the experiential learning format that CTW has developed in its past work. CTW involved the principals in various "hands-on experiences," including pottery-making. They encountered many of the resistances that are typical when adults are initially involved in experiential learning. This initial experience was referred back to again and again throughout the spring by CTW staff and by the principals involved, both in terms of the patterns it revealed about people's learning styles and the importance of this experience in building the group. Over the course of the program in spring 1975, the principals engaged in some other hands-on experiences, but the predominant mode of the principal meeting was one of discussion. In these discussions there was a tension between the CTW priority on focusing on more philosophical issues of educational leadership and the principal's need to discuss immediate problems. The principals revealed both in their participation in meetings and in our interviews with them a strong need for an opportunity to discuss their everyday plans, concerns, and problems. The CTW meeting became a non-threatening neutral turf where they could say things that they couldn't say in their own schools or to their superiors without being regarded as incompetent. They discussed such problems as running the cafeteria, maintaining positive relationships with parents, dealing with incompetent teachers, and planning for the next school year.

An important priority of the CTW staff as the program developed was to help the principals analyze how they dealt with different areas of responsibility (e.g., educational leader, administrator, liason with the community, and liaison with the central office) and how responsibilities in these areas interacted each other. They wanted the principals to become aware of the ways in which they used their time, and to take actions to budget more of their time for other than administrative tasks. To this end, they asked the principals to keep careful track of their time over a period of a week and to examine their own priorities to see if the way they spent their time matched their sense of what was most important.

Gradually a feeling of strong ownership in the workshop developed among most of the principals involved. For the principals, coming to the CTW workshop was a major sacrafice in terms of allocating scarce time resources, and many of the principals mused regularly about whether or not this workshop was worth it in the light of the other things they had to do. Most decided that it was, and as the workshop progressed there was more and more of a group feeling among the principals. The principals themselves began to take turns in convening the workshop and leading the group. Another new approach as the workshop progressed was that each principal chose a particular project area in which they were interested, such as science curriculum in the early grades, and began to work with the CTW advisors on plans for improving this area of their school. At the end of our period of observation in June, there was a fairly strong group feeling among the principals. However, when CTW offered a summer workshop program for principals, the six participants indicated that it would be too difficult for them to attend, given the pressures that they were facing in their schools and the need to take a little vacation.

An Analysis of PLS--Some Key Issues. In addition to observing some of the PLS meetings, we interviewed each of the principals near the end of June. Our data shed some light on a number of key issues related to PLS.

It was a significant accomplishment to induce a group of principals to take time from the pressures of their work to participate in the program with fair regularity. Several factors appear important in establishing the initial credibility of CTW. First, in three of the schools the principals already had familiarity with CTW's work through the teacher advisor. Indeed, two of these three principals stated in interviews that it was primarily the advisory service they were initially interested in, and they participated initially in the Principal Leadership Study as part of the package for receiving advisory help. Among those principals who were not receiving CTW advisory help, the primary initial motivating factor appeared to be testimony from either a district superintendent or fellow principal that CTW did competent work. In the first few weeks and continuing throughout the program, principals expressed doubts about whether participation in the workshop was "the best use of my time" and thus resisted portions of the workshops that seemed to be philosophical or abstract. As one principal put it, "What am I doing here? Is this helping my lunchroom?"

Clearly the strongest incentive for participation as the program was developed was the opportunity to share immediate problems and plans with other principals. In our interviews with the principals, this aspect of the workshop was commented on by every one of them. For example:

> I really felt good about the fact that a lot of the problems that were on people's minds came out naturally in those sessions, even when they weren't always on the agenda.
>
> I have a need for someplace to go for help. I have to step outside of the situation and look at it.
>
> I see PLS as a way to go away from the school to examine my views.
>
> The group's relationship is a good one because you have a chance to find out that you are not alone.

Several aspects of the CTW approach appeared to contribute to those successes experienced in the program. First, tied to their success in setting up a neutral ground for honest exchange was the skill of CTW staff in relating to the principals in the same non-threatening way that they have developed for relating with teachers. Through this style, they succeeded in giving the principals a feeling of ownership in the group. A second important contributor was the use of experiential learning. Given the constant references back to the initial workshop experience involving pottery making, we would support the observation of one CTW staff member that "it was critical when we got them out of their coats and ties. When we got them to the potter's wheel. When their dirty hands were touching mine on the wheel, I felt I had really made contact with them for the first time." A third strength of the program was the direct contact of CTW with the day to day realities of individual schools, both through the advisors who were already present in three schools and through visits by the PLS coordinator to the schools. These visits allowed the CTW staff to develop a more personal relationship with principals, and to refer back in the workshops to specific problems that each principal was facing. Direct contact with schools also served as a reality check in the principal's discussions; there was someone else at the meeting who knew something about the principals situation, so he could not present problems in whatever way he wished. A fourth strength was that CTW attempted in many ways to show the principals how different aspects of their jobs and their use of time interrelated, and although we did not observe any profound changes in this area, we did observe a growing awareness of these issues and some tentative steps to change priorities and techniques. For example, it was pointed out to one principal that although he talked about democratic participation on the part of his teachers, when the teachers met he primarily spent the time lecturing them. This inconsistency between his stated philosophy and his actions was a revelation to him, and he states that he has been trying to behave more in line with his philosophy in the past few months. Another principal states: "PLS has given me a perspective on the staff relationships in the school. In September of this year I felt as though each problem I ran into was contained in itself. Now I can see how things interrelate." One principal expressed dissatisfaction with the CTW experience. He said that while he valued the chance to talk with other principals, he felt that CTW focused too much on getting people to lay their problems on the table and not enough on sharing successes that people can feel good about. It was noted by the field worker that this principal's school was one of those schools involved with PLS that had already moved farthest along in terms of the ideas that CTW values. A CTW staff member assessed this principal's work by saying that, while there were in fact many good things going on in his school, his main weakness was a lack of awareness of the interrelationships in different parts of the work, that he felt that if he only got certain administrative things done first, then he would have time to work on other issues, while these problems were all an interdependent system.

Another issue raised by principals was their impatience sometimes when they felt that CTW was getting "too abstract and philosophical." This feeling reflects the continuing issue of how much the program should focus on long range growth as opposed to immediate issues. It is our observation that one contributor to the principal's uneasiness with some of CTW's discussion has to do with the lack of clarity in the way that CTW talks about the systems in the school. We think that the CTW advisors are clear in their own minds about the concepts they are attempting to convey, but they have not yet developed a simple understandable way of speaking about these concepts, as they have with many of the concepts of experiential learning.

Another issue raised by the program is the role of other administrative and resource personnel in school beside the principal. There was continuing discussion in the PLS group of the need to involve assistant principals in the program. Conversations with some assistant principals at the participating schools reinforced the suggestion that assistant principals and other resource people, who are often more directly involved with teachers, should be receiving some of the same training that principals do. One issue that we would raise is whether the principal of a large urban shcool will ever have the opportunity to work directly with his staff in the way that a principal in a smaller suburban school in a small school system does. Our observations of innovative urban schools suggests that a substantial portion of the principal's time must be taken up in dealing with external relations. Perhaps a direction that CTW should consider is to train people for two leadership roles, one primarily concerned with management and external relations, but with full understanding of what needs to be accomplished educationally, and another primarily concerned with advising teachers.

Another issue that surfaced in our interviews with principals was that each one of the schools that had an advisory program valued it greatly and that participation in PLS was seen by several principals as the most important part of a package they were receiving from CTW. Thus the continuation of advisory help to the schools, if economically feasible, appears to be both an important incentive to principals and a valuable means for gaining first-hand knowledge of the dynamics of their schools.

The issue of maintaining advisory assistance raises a further dilemma that looms over the entire PLS program: the question of resources. Potential funders of CTW feel that the advisory work to teachers has been given sufficient start-up funding and should now stand by and large on its own. The Principal Leadership Study represented both a natural program development within CTW and an effort to secure funds for a new thrust that might be supported by developmental foundation or government money. An important consideration affecting the development of PLS was the perceived pressure received from funding sources to develop a more "cost effective" program--one that would require less long-term face-to-face assistance in schools. The PLS proposal speaks of a "multiplier effect" in which principals with whom CTW works in the PLS study will alter not only their own schools but also have an impact on other schools in their districts. The reality of the first six months of the program indicates that CTW was successful in establishing an important *initial* relationship with principals that could be successfully developed over a period of time into a change program that might basically alter their schools. This possibility would be greatly enhanced by the presence of a teacher advisor in those schools and continued on-site advisory help to the principal. But it is ironic that the type of change that CTW is now prepared to carry out will be very difficult to get funded.

Issues For The Future

We see four major issues that relate both to CTW's effectiveness and implications for its future work.

Strengths Of The Approach. CTW has moved far beyond most of those who have come out of the teacher center tradition, who have continued to work with a largely self-selected clientele with little impact on the social organization of urban schools. CTW has developed a novel approach to providing advisory assistance to an entire school, based on a philosophy of gradual individualized change for school staff consistent with CTW goals. Through its advisory work CTW has developed a set of specific techniques that are effective in service of these goals. These include techniques for building credibility and strong relationships with school staff through the development of personal rapport, the use of resource rooms and workshops, the development of individual projects with teachers and the extension of these projects into diverse areas of student learning, and the use of experiential learning in work with adults. The Principal Leadership Study has suggested further promising techniques, including the development of a mutual support group for principals, techniques for helping the administrator understand how he allocates his efforts to the tasks that confront him, and how these tasks are interrelated, and ways in which a principal can move more towards becoming an educational leader. We regard these as highly promising concepts that have worked effectively in one or more situations in which CTW attempted to render assistance. We believe that the strategies developed by CTW are worthy of careful testing over an extended period of time in a larger number of schools.

At the same time, it should be recognized that the CTW strategy has been developed primarily through highly successful work in a single school, preliminary or less successful work in several other schools, and the promising beginning of the Principal Leadership Study. Therefore it remains an open question whether several CTW advisors can be trained to carry out this strategy in a variety of schools. P.S. 152 represents the coming together of a committed talented principal, a core of committed staff members and a talented advisor. While we do not feel that CTW strategy will work only in this unusual situation, this remains to be put to an empirical test.

Conceptual Clarification of Strategy. We believe that a major step that must be taken if CTW is to continue to develop its ideas is the codification of its strategy so that it can be shared more effectively with CTW advisors, with other persons that CTW might train as advisors, and with school staffs who might be interested in working with CTW. There are at present no written documents that clearly and comprehensively describe the strategy, nor can the strategy be fully and concretely elaborated by any CTW staff member. We became aware of the potential underlying clarity of the strategy only through interviewing a number of staff members and deriving an overall view of their advisory techniques from their recounting of specific experiences and the lessons they saw in them.

Further, even for those aspects of CTW's strategy that are either clear in the minds of CTW's staff members or emerging with greater clarity, there is a problem of presenting CTW ideas in terms that the average principal or teacher can understand. For example, when CTW staff members talk about their notion of systems to support learning, the ideas seem fairly abstract and useless to many of their listeners. We are convinced that there is an underlying clarity that will allow the effective communication of these concepts if CTW will work in a comprehensive way to find effective tools for communicating their ideas. It would be helpful to separate the traditions from which CTW's strategy is derived from the vocabulary of concepts used in working with schools staff. For example, IDEA has been successful in taking social science concepts and translating them into clear statements for school staffs. In the same way, for example, CTW should (in our opinion) take concepts about systems that are derived largely from Eastern philosophy and translate them into terminology that can be understood by ordinary teachers and principals.

Internal Operations. As earlier parts of our case study indicated, CTW has faced serious difficulties in its internal operations in the past. There is a high level of awareness of most of these problems and a commitment on the part of a number of people to attempt to solve them. Great progress has been made for example, in regularizing the internal operation of CTW and the development of a physical learning environment at the headquarters that is supportive of CTW's goals. In addition, significant progress has been made in the area of building effective team work within the organization and the development of the leadership role of the director. These last two areas are areas where there is still some tension within the organization and which require continued work. Without repeating some of the issues involved, which had been discussed earlier, we offer two observations that might be of use in this effort. First, we feel that the clarification of the organizational ideology and strategies would assist in reducing internal tension. It appears that a significant amount of this tension grows up around disagreements about the organization's approach and a turning inward that results from a lack of shared agreement on organizational ideology and strategy. Second, we believe that the emphasis on CTW as a "family" should be critically examined in terms of its positive and negative effects on the organization. It has clear positive effects in building the cohesiveness and commitment of the staff. However, if also legitimates the build-up of disagreements within the staff to an intensity that is characteristic of family quarrels. Also it tends to focus the energies of the organization inward rather than outward toward those CTW is attempting to help.

The drain caused by internal disagreements on the internal CTW atmosphere is apparent day to day when it occurs. However, our interviews with CTW clients in the field also indicates the important toll that staff disagreements and firings have had on school staff's that CTW serves. Perhaps slightly more than other strategies being studied, CTW's strategy is dependent on the building of personal rapport between the advisor and the school staff. When it becomes necessary to remove a CTW advisor or such an advisor leaves, CTW's work in the field suffers a serious setback, and this setback is greatly magnified if the advisor leaves under conditions of dissatisfaction and conflict.

Funding. The area of funding, as we have repeatedly noted, is one of the most perplexing ones in relation to CTW. It is particularly perplexing because CTW, in contrast to many other teachers center organizations, has made sophisticated and varied efforts, using a talented staff and nationally recognized consultants, in an effort to secure funding. Thus many of the avenues which we might suggest for funding have already been attempted. We offer a number of tentative suggestions in this area. First, the clarification of CTW's philosophy and strategy in terms that can be clearly communicated to school staff would be of considerable benefit to the funding effort. Second, we feel that in the Principal Leadership Study, the goals that CTW projected were overly ambitious. They promised to deliver in a short time what our research indicates could only be achieved over a period of several years. Of course the funding strategies of all technical assistance organizations must be tailored to the realities of funding and funder objectives, while at the same time the TAG group attempts to achieve its own ends. However, we feel it would be helpful in CTW's funding efforts if short-term programs were presented with specific goals that could be accomplished, rather than ambitious and diffuse goals that provide in extremely difficult target for CTW to meet. Third, we suggest a possible funding approach that CTW may not have considered to this point, although we may have merely missed it. The approach is one of training as advisors key persons who are internal to the school system. By training persons whose salaries are paid by the school board and supporting them over a long period of time, CTW might be able to test its strategy with the types of human resources that are necessary to make it work, while still arguing that their specific efforts are contributing to a permanent change within the school system.

FOOTNOTES

1. Experiential Systems, Inc. The Principal Leadership Training Program. Mimographed. 1975.

2. Ibid.

CHAPTER 3. INDIVIDUALLY GUIDED EDUCATION: /I/D/E/A/

Overview

/I/D/E/A/, the Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, Inc., is a non-profit organization focused on educational improvement, that is the educational affiliate of the Kettering Foundation of Dayton, Ohio. One of three divisions of /I/D/E/A/, the Innovative Programs Division, has for the past eight years been working in a concerted program to develop and spread a program to improve elementary and secondary education called the /I/D/E/A/ Change Program for Individually Guided Education (IGE).

IGE entails a plan for reorganization of the school that has three major emphases:

1. Individualized learning: Students are taught through a cycle that includes preassessment of their present level of knowledge or skill, an individualized plan for achieving the next appropriate learning objectives for the student, and assessment of the student's resulting level of knowledge or skill. Teachers design an appropriate learning program for each student based on the student's level of skill, learning style, interests, and the most appropriate mode of instruction for the child. (small groups, individual, etc.).

2. Continuous staff development: IGE emphasizes the need for staff members to be involved in constant development of knowledge and skills relevant to their work. One source of this continuous development is the teaching team of which the teacher is a part. Another is a league of IGE schools which allows peers to share ideas. Another source of support is an IGE Facilitator, a university, a school district, or a state department of education staff member trained by /I/D/E/A/.

3. Multi-unit organization: To facilitate these changes, the school is organized into Learning Communities involving about 100-150 students who are taught by an instructional team consists of a team leader, 3-5 teachers and an aide.

These three areas of IGE focus are embodied in 35 "outcomes" that characterized an ideal IGE school. These focused outcome statements make IGE the most specific and elaborated approach to school change represented by the six TAGs under study. However, the focus of IGE is on instructional and social process; the /I/D/E/A/ approach to IGE does not specify the content of education, nor does /I/D/E/A/ develop curriculum materials.

In developing the concepts behind IGE, /I/D/E/A/ drew on many of the ideas of innovative professional educators that had been advanced during the late fifties and early sixties, such as team teaching, differented staffing, and individualized instruction. /I/D/E/A/ put these concepts together in an integrated approach focusing on the overall social organization of the school.

The core staff of The Innovative Programs Division of /I/D/E/A/ has had an unusual chance to work for eight years to develop an approach to school change because of the steady funding available through the Kettering Foundation. From 1968 to 1972, this staff provided direct assistance to elementary schools employing the early versions of the IGE approach. During this time, the /I/D/E/A/ staff was developing materials (films, slidetapes, and booklets) to assist elementary schools in carrying out IGE. They were also refining an approach to the widespread implementation of IGE in which Intermediate Agencies (state departments of education, local school districts, universities, and other agencies) employ facilitators who in turn recruit and assist schools implementing the IGE program. This plan has been carried out by /I/D/E/A/, and now the staff's primary attention is focused on recruiting Intermediate Agencies and training facilitators. In addition, /I/D/E/A/ has developed an IGE program and materials for middle and high schools.

One indicator of the development of the program is that there are presently over 1400 IGE schools served through the /I/D/E/A/ network.

The focus of our case study is on the IGE program at the elementary level.

History

In 1927, Charles F. Kettering incorporated the non-profit foundation that bears his name. Mr. Kettering's numerous inventions include the automobile self-starter, anti-knock gasoline, and the electric cash register.

In 1958, through Mr. Kettering's will, the foundation's assests and giving program increased substantially. In 1964, the foundation carried out a study to identify a second foundation priority--science and technology having been a priority from the beginning. It was decided that the foundation's second program priority should be in education and that work in this area should be carried out by foundation staff, pursuing a more focused set of activities than is the norm for private foundations.

Education was selected in 1965 as the second of the foundation's "missions." In education, /I/D/E/A/(Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc.) was created as the educational affiliate of the foundation, having three divisions: Research, Innovative Programs and Information and Services. The Research Division was headquarted in Los Angeles and directed by Dr. John Goodlad, who had been one of the key figures in earlier educational reform efforts such as team teaching. The Information and Services Program was headed by Dr. B. Frank Brown, another prominent educator. The Innovative Programs Division, with headquarters in the offices of the Kettering Foundation in Dayton, was headed by Mr. Eugene Howard, while the overall "organizing head" of the three divisions was Mr. E.H. Vause.

Although the three divisions might suggest the popular concept of a linked process of research, development, and dissemination, each of the divisions began a major and largely independent program in 1965-66. In Florida, the Information and Services Division initiated a series of seminars and a summer in-service program for educational leaders and began to produce films concerning issues the division perceived as keys to school improvement. The division has since continued a variety of such activities. Most recently, it convened a National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education, which issued a report in 1974 (entitled, The Reform of Secondary Education)[1] and has followed up this report with subsequent task force work. In 1966, the Research Division launched a major research study, called "The Study of Educational Change and School Improvement."[2] The research staff sought to stimulate improvement in a group of eighteen suburban elementary schools in Southern California--subsequently called the League of Cooperating Schools. As described in an article by Charles Willis, Program Officer of /I/D/E/A/, some of the guiding concepts underlying the study were as follows:

1. The school is the strategic unit for educational change. It contains all the elements for carrying out instructional and learning functions. Further, unless the school as a unit is supportive of change, individual attempts to change are usually frustrated.

2. The culture of the school is central both to understanding and to effecting educational improvement. Continuous school improvement begins by building an allegiance to norms and expectations that support the staff's search for improved methods.

3. Given existing social and educational constraints, most individual schools are not strong enough to overcome the inertia against change built into the typical school district. School district policies and procedures evolve into a system over which no individual has control. The school must reach out to other change-minded schools that can offer it professional and moral backing. As a new social system, the League of Cooperating Schools creates a positive press for change and for new expectations, roles, activities, relationships, and rewards.

4. Each school needs a process by which it can deal effectively with its own problems and effect its own change. Such a process, which

was developed during the project, was called DDAE-- Dialogue, Decision-Making, Action, Evaluation. It became the keystone of much staff planning.

5. Some screening, legitimizing and communicating of ideas beyond what individual schools might do informally must be built into the new social system. This function was filled by /I/D/E/A/ as the "hub" of the league.

6. Individuals asked to take risks are more willing when doing so is legitimized in some way. The league's relationship with the Kettering Foundation, /I/D/E/A/, and UCLA fulfilled this need.

7. Professional experts can't begin to fill all the needs for help and advice needed to reform American schools. Thus, a key concept of the League was "peer support," both within and between schools.[3]

These points have been detailed because the League project contributed significantly to the development of the IGE approach.

The Los Angeles division carried on other studies during this period, and following the termination of the League project in 1971-72, they launched a second major study, "A Study of Schooling in the United States."[4] This is a multi-year study of the nature and function of precollegiate education, funded by a number of foundations in addition to Kettering.

In 1966, the Innovative Programs Division began a demonstration school program that involved some supplementary support for promising projects in twelve public schools. The number was expanded to 36 schools in 1967. In addition, the Innovative Programs Division began in 1967 a "Unipac Project," focusing on the development of teacher-produced materials.

In September 1967, Dr. Samuel Sava was appointed Executive Director to oversee the three divisions of /I/D/E/A/. He was also appointed Vice President for Educational Activities of the Kettering Foundation, with a role in developing overall foundation policy. Dr. Sava came to Kettering from a position as Director of the Division of Higher Education Research and of Elementary and Secondary Research in the United States Office of Education. In this position, he had been in charge of all research efforts in elementary, secondary, and higher education. Earlier in his career, he had been a public school teacher and principal and had held several other important administrative positions in the U.S. Office of Education.

In the next year, he made two key appointments. Dr. Charles Willis was appointed Program Officer of /I/D/E/A/. In this position, working under Dr. Sava, Dr. Willis began to develop a role with respect to the Innovative Programs Division; he is in constant touch with the day-to-day functioning of the division and is widely admired for his ability to maintain positive relations with other staff and to recall complex details of meetings, workshops, etc. Thus, through Dr. Willis, Dr. Sava is closely tied to the day-to-day functioning of the division even though Dr. Sava spends much of his time on external relations or other foundation business. At about the same time, Dr. John Bahner was appointed Director of the Innovative Programs Division. Both Dr. Willis and Dr. Bahner had previous backgrounds in teaching and in public school administration. Dr. Willis had most recently been an Associate Professor of Educational Administration at Florida State University; Dr. Bahner had been the Associate Superintendent for Instruction in Dade County, Florida (which includes the City of Miami) and a leader in establishing innovative programs there.

They were both drawn from a loose network of progressive school professionals who had been interested in or experimenting with new educational approaches such as team teaching, differentiated staffing, and individualized instruction. The network included academics at several schools of education and administrators and teachers in several progressive public school systems.

As the Dayton staff was expanded over the next few years this network of progressive educational professionals continued to be the source of staff members. Of the nine present professional staff members in Dayton, including Drs. Sava, Willis, and Bahner, all nine have been public school teachers, seven have been school principals or served in some other public school administrative post, and three have had some association with the innovative school programs in Dade County, Florida. All staff members hired since 1967 have personally known some present staff member, except for one employee who was recommended for a position at /I/D/E/A/ by a person well-known to present staff members.

Dr. Sava came to /I/D/E/A/ with some definite ideas about effective ways to improve education. He states that his experience at the Office of Education had taught him the naivete of trying to change education through curriculum materials and model schools. It is interesting that the ideas he felt to be ineffective were precisely the ideas reflected in the projects of the Innovative Programs Division, i.e. Demonstration Schools and Unipac.

In Dr. John Bahner, Dr. Sava found an educator with impressive experience in developing the types of educational improvement efforts Dr. Sava felt were needed. Thus, reflecting a very high estimate of Dr. Bahner's abilities, he has given him autonomy in the development of the IGE Program. Their relationship appears to be one in which Dr. Sava has created a "space" in which Dr. Bahner is free to direct the development of the IGE Program, and Dr. Sava has placed a high degree of confidence in his ability to do so.

In 1968, several staff members associated with earlier projects left /I/D/E/A/, and the Demonstration Schools Project was phased out (Unipac was phased out a year later). In late 1968 and in 1969, five additional staff members were hired. Two had previously worked with Dr. Bahner in Florida. At about the same time, two new projects were initiated. The first was called Enhancing Differences and involved /I/D/E/A/ staff members in working directly in 20 elementary, middle, and junior high schools in Ohio, Florida, New York, and Michigan. /I/D/E/A/ staff provided direct assistance to the faculties of these schools with a focus on the peer intervention strategy derived from the League of Cooperating Schools and concepts of staff reorganization and individualized instruction.

A second project started in 1968 involved the /I/D/E/A/ staff in providing assistance for program improvement for American-sponsored schools overseas. This project, supported by the U.S. governemnet, foundations, and corporations, encompassed 76 schools in 53 countries by 1973.

In the period of 1968-69, the Dayton Division became interested in an effort proceeding at the University of Wisconsin to refine concepts of school organization and individualized instruction very similar to those valued by /I/D/E/A/. As a report by Dr. Charles Willis states:

> An early outcome of the Wisconsin Research and Development Center's "Project Models" (maximizing opportunities for development and experimentation and learning in the schools) was the creation of 13 non-graded instructional and research units as replacements for age-granded classrooms and schools of Madison, Jamesville, Milwaukee, and Racine, Wisconsin, beginning in 1966. This effort marked the beginning of the Multi-Unit Elementary School, which was subsequently tested in a variety of situations.
>
> Through an agreement in 1969, results of the Center's experience with the Multi-Unit organizations were combined /I/D/E/A/'s research and development efforts to prepare in-service materials relating to IGE. /I/D/E/A/ and the Center define their respective programs differently, however, and use different implementation strategies and materials. Both institutions use the term "Individually Guided Education."[5]

The nature of the resulting approach to education--IGE--will be discussed in detail in subsequent sections. Briefly, in 1969, the key ideas being refined by /I/D/E/A / were the concepts of "multi-unit organization" and "individualized learning." In the IGE plan for multi-unit organization, a school is divided into Learning Communities of approximately 100-150 students who are taught by a team consisting of a Learning Community Leader, three to five teachers, and an Aide. The purpose of this team with differentiated levels of responsibility is to provide individualized learning for students in the Learning Community. Individualized learning was conceived as follows:

> A basic consideration in helping children learn is the recognition that students differ in their learning aptitudes, talents, and interests just as they differ in height, weight, and physical strength.
>
> The challenge to/I/D/E/A/'s Innovative Programs staff was to find ways to help teachers take diverse student abilities and interests into account in the conduct of schooling. One aspect of the response was ways of group and regrouping pupils into appropriate learning activities regardless of their age or year in school. This allowed each student to progress through his learning program at his own pace. Another dealt with helping teachers adjust the medium of instruction in the classroom to accommodate various learning styles.
>
> Another point of focus for the work of the Innovative Programs staff sought ways to help teachers vary the instructional setting to meet different purposes for different students. Recognizing that a single instructional setting affords little individual attention, the /I/D/E/A/ staff worked with teachers to help them vary the instructional mode (large-group, small-group, tutorial, independent study) as well as the time, space, and place for learning.[6]

Two other concepts that involved linking and supporting schools that attempting to reorient themselves along these lines were critical in the thinking of the group at that time. First, drawing on the Research Division's Study of Change, /I/D/E/A / advanced the notion of a League of IGE Schools implementing IGE and providing mutual information and support. Each League was envisioned as consisting of 5 to 15 schools, either within a single district or cutting across districts. Second, each League was to be provided support through an Intermediate Agency (such as a local or state education agency, college and university, or other service institutions) who would appoint and pay a "Facilitator" for the League. The primary responsibilities of the League Facilitator, an employee of the Intermediate Agency, would be to recruit League members and to provide training and support for the staff of League Schools.

In 1969, the IGE staff began pilot work with schools, Intermediate agencies, and Facilitators in Wisconsin, Florida, and Colorado. Selection of sites in these states resulted from previous professional contacts there by the /I/D/E/A/ staff. An important aspect of this work was the development of a series of printed booklets, filmstrips, and films presenting the major elements of the IGE approach and discussing the roles of key individuals and groups in making it work. Thus, the /I/D/E/A/ staff, through its experience in working with schools, began to develop materials with such titles as Unit Operations and Roles,[7] The Learning Program,[8] and Principal's Handbook.[9] The bulk of the initial materials for elementary schools were completed in 1970. They were produced in a highly professional format, partially through subcontract with independent media firms.

In the period from 1970 to the present, at least five major strains of activity are apparent:

1. The development, testing, and implementation of programs for IGE at the middle school and high school level.
2. The development and strengthening of a training and support program for IGE Facilitators.
3. The rapid expansion of the program in terms of involving additional schools, Intermediate Agencies, and Facilitators.

4. The development of a system for monitoring of IGE implementation in participating schools.

5. The refinement of the IGE materials and strategies based on experience.

One reflection of this pattern of development is a summary list of some important dates during that period:

1970	Completed the bulk of the original elementary school materials.
1970	Began working in high schools to develop the Learning Community and Student Advisor concepts.
1972	First Clinical Workshops for IGE Facilitators.
1972	Revised training model used with Facilitators.
1972	Initiated evaluation of attitudinal effects of IGE implementation.
1973	First Clinical Workshop for Middle School Facilitators. First Clinical Workshop for High School Facilitators.
1974	Dayton staff reorganized to begin full-scale implementation.
1974	Started revision of elementary school materials.
1974	High school materials completed.
1975	Middle school materials completed.

Another way to chart the development of IGE during this period is to indicate the growth in the number of participating schools and Intermediate Agencies. At the elementary school level, the figures are as follows:

Year	Schools Participating	Intermediate Agencies Participating
1970	43	1
1971	218	24
1972	354	55
1973	683	66
1974	919	105
1975	1137	190
1976	1276	213

This brief historical overview should provide a context for understanding the more specific aspects of /I/D/E/A internal functioning and services to schools.

Internal Functioning

The Main Office. The main office of the Innovative Programs Division is located in a modern office building in the Dayton suburb of Kettering. /I/D/E/A/ shares a floor of this building with the Kettering Foundation, and the foundation and its educational affiliate share a common receptionist, reception area, and library. Also emphasizing the close identification of /I/D/E/A/ with the parent foundation is the partial interchangability of the terms "Kettering" and "/I/D/E/A/" (e.g. some /I/D/E/A/ staff members speak of having come to work for Kettering.) Each of the nine professional staff members has an office on the /I/D/E/A/ side of the building. The offices of Kettering's communications department, which does work for /I/D/E/A/, is located in the /I/D/E/A/ area. /I/D/E/A/ also has a media specialist on its own staff. Ten secretaries assist the work of /I/D/E/A/ and of the media department, and their desks are clustered in spaces outside the offices of the professional staff. The office is modern, well-furnished, and well-equipped.

Each professional staff member in Dayton carries out a variety of duties. Dr. Sava, Executive Director of /I/D/E/A/ and Vice President of the Kettering Foundation spends about half his time on external relations for /I/D/E/A/, 40% on internal management of the three divisions, and 10% of his time on Kettering Foundation business. Charles Willis, Program Officer for /I/D/E/A/, works under the supervision of Dr. Sava on /I/D/E/A/ program planning and budgeting, external relations, general administration, and maintaining close communications with the Innovative Programs Division. Dr. John Bahner, Director of the Innovative Programs Division, has overall responsibility for the development and implementation of the IGE program.

The other six professional staff members all have some responsibilities for the spread of IGE through recruiting Intermediate Agencies and training Facilitators. The country has been divided into geographical districts for this purpose, with each staff member responsible for a given district. Some staff members spend almost full time on this effort while for others their major responsibility is elsewhere. Four of the six have had some responsibility for developing the materials and strategies for either the elementary, middle school, or secondary programs, and they continue to be involved in the refinement of these ideas in light of field experience. Another staff member spends most of his time on monitoring the IGE program (research and evaluation) in addition to his responsibilities for spreading the program.

The present division of responsibility represents an important shift from the configuration of work that took place during the development phase, a time when the staff was heavily involved in conceptual development of the program, direct work with schools, and materials development. Length of association with IGE is correlated with the degree of a person's involvement in this development activity. Dr. Willis, Dr. Bahner, and one other present staff member came to the Division in 1968, two more present staff members in 1969, one in 1970 and two in 1972.

Staff Organization and Style of Decision-Making and Problem-Solving.

In terms of formal lines authority, there are three levels within the Dayton "Program Staff" or professional staff. Major responsibility rests with Dr. Sava, as overall director of the three divisions of /I/D/E/A/. Dr. Bahner is the Director of the Innovative Programs Division. The rest of the professional staff forms a team, carrying out varying related responsibilities and not organized into additional permanent supervisor-subordinate relationships. Dr. Willis serves as a link between Dr. Sava and the Division's professional staff. It is clear that all members of the professional staff have had some significant input in shaping the direction of IGE. However, it also appears that each of three major authority levels has played a distinctive role in the process.

As mentioned earlier, Dr. Sava found in Dr. John Bahner a person with whom he was in basic agreement concerning the strategies that needed to be developed to change education and in whom he had great confidence. Thus, Dr. Sava's role in IGE development has been to provide the context in which the Innovative Programs Division has been able to work without interruption since 1968. Dr. Sava has built and maintained the support within the foundation for continued operation of the division. Dr. Bahner's role then has been to provide leadership within the Division in shaping the IGE program.

The rest of the professional staff (including Dr. Willis, despite his special role) form a working team whose norms are very similar in many respects to those that IGE seeks to promote among the professional staffs of schools. Many of the qualities that IGE finds desirable in the teaching team of an IGE school are emphasized in the working relationships among the professional staff of the Innovative Programs Division.

Dr. Bahner's role as the leader of the Division fits this model in many respects. He describes himself as a devil's advocate to get people to think of consequences and alternatives, to help people pool their talents, and to help staff reach consensus. He says that he always attempts to see the staff reach consensus on issues, but will make the final decision when unanimity is impossible. Another staff member described him as a buffer between staff, who, when necessary, "staves off assaults." In meetings, he is observed playing a role that fits his own descriptions, coming to the aid of someone who is being pressed hard in a disagreement, listing areas of agreement and decisions reached.

The role that he plays in the team is, in many respects similar to the leadership role described for the school principal or the Learning Community Leader of a teaching team. Of the Learning Community Leader, the IGE materials state:

> The Learning Community Leader has to know how to organize and get things done. He shouldn't be a cloudy thinker or a slow mover. He must be capable of making decisions, keeping in mind that decisions are reached cooperatively within the Learning Community. The leader is not authoritarian, but he can't be wishy-washy either. Lead: to guide on a way--to direct the operations, activities, or performance of. Those are good words--guide and direct...[10]

Other consistencies appear between the functioning style of the Division's Program staff and the recommendations they make for school staffs. For example, a guidebook intended for school staff asks:

> "Can a small group of people successfully sit down together, calmly and effectively discuss problems of mutual concern and come up with workable solutions to the problems?"[11]

Consistent with this approach, one staff member stated, "I have never heard anyone raise their voice here in the last six years." In general, the group in its day-to-day functioning can be seen to be attempting to operate along the lines of a productive work group as laid out in IGE philosophy for school staffs. Some of these key principles exerting strong influence on the Dayton staff are as follows:

1. The concept of democratic leadership, which sees the group leader as a stimulator of action, guide, and operational planner, who seeks consensus whenever possible, but is not afraid to make decisions to move things forward.

2. The importance of striving for consensus rather than letting the majority rule and thereby creating a disgruntled minority.

3. The attempt to emphasize areas of agreement with others and perceived strengths of others, in greater proportion than areas of disagreement and perceived weaknesses.

4. The attempt to draw on complementary strengths in the process of group interaction--e.g. clarifying, summarizing, encouraging, initiating, and evaluating.

5. The attempt to use techniques derived from organizational development, such as brainstorming.

Of course, such ideals for functioning are not always adhered to. The tone, for example, of some parts of observed group discussions seemed to cross the line between open analysis and personal attack. However, such tensions might be expected in any group that worked together over a long period. Most group members most of the time seem to find the team both supportive and stimulating.

An additional method of internal functioning analgous to what IGE recommends for schools is reflected in the Program Staff's division of work. IGE school organization moves away from the teacher who works alone. Dayton staff are likewise not working exclusively on a single task, unrelated to others. Each person cited several areas of responsibility as part of their job. For example, one staff member spends 80% of his time on monitoring (research and evaluation) but 20% on program implementation. John Bahner requires all staff members to be involved in facilitator training, although several resist and dislike this activity. Subgroups work on tasks with one person in charge, but these responsibilities interplay with the responsibility of others and don't create permanent superior-subordinate relationships. Such past experiences do, however, appear to create more subtle status differences within the group; people who played key roles in the development of the original ideas and materials appear to hold a higher status and exert more influence than the people hired more recently.

These general dynamics of staff style of operation are useful in viewing a number of closely related internal functions, such as development of philosophy and strategies and assignment of roles.

Development of TAG philosophies, strategies, and major program direction. As described in the section of the history of /I/D/E/A/, the organization's approach grows out of the school improvement efforts of a network of progressive school professionals. During the early sixties, people who were part of this network developed and experimented with notions such as team teaching, differentiated staffing, and curriculum reform. Some who participated in or analyzed these efforts observed strong resistance to the implementation of such specific changes in the classroom. They concluded that the school as a social system or the culture of the school held the key to change. Thus, a critical notion behind John Goodlad's Study of Change was that "the culture of the school is central both to understanding and to effecting educational improvement." Similarly, Samuel Sava states that his experience in the early sixties convinced him that fundamental reorganization of the school held the key to change, not curriculum development or model schools. John Bahner had reached similar conclusions through previous work on team teaching in a cooperative program between Harvard Univeristy and the Lexington Public Schools and in his work in Dade County, Florida.

Two of the important influences on those developing the IGE program (Goodlad's Study of Change and the University of Wisconsin Multi-Unit School Program) indicate some key ingredients the Dayton staff saw as essential in an effective change program. Both were attempts to change the social organization of the school initiated by progressive schoolmen of high prestige within the professional education community. However, an additional factor seems critical. Both efforts involved an interplay between research and analysis (on one hand) and a major effort to carry out the new program in the environment of real schools over an extended period (on the other). When the Dayton staff had decided on the major ideas they wanted to refine for school improvement, they launched a similar cycle of conceptualization, development through direct involvement in working with schools, and refinement based on this experience. The use of this cycle of analysis and experience is itself an important aspect of the IGE program in its formative stages. It distinguishes IGE from many of the Research and Development activities that were being conducted under federal funding at the same time, since these efforts usually had minimal contact with typical schools and were focused on the development of materials and techniques that were not predicated on an understanding of the social organization of schools.

Further, the cycle of planning, field-testing, and refinement based on experience is a fundamental process espoused by the IGE system at all levels of operation. As indicated earlier, the

Study of Change grew to emphasize DDAE as essential to school improvement--Dialogue, Decision-Making, Action, and Evaluation. Variations on this approach have been strongly emphasized in the literature on planned organizational change. Such a cycle for rational problem-solving at all levels is strongly recommended by IGE, including the processes of prescribing appropriate learning experiences for students, improving educational programs, and fostering individual or group improvement of professional skills. The plan for individualizing a student's learning experience is described as follows:

> Once broad instructional goals...are adopted by the school system, the subsequent steps for the development of the IGE program K-6 are:
>
> 1. Adopt, adapt, or prepare a list of specific learning objectives, behaviorally stated, for each instructional goal...
>
> 2. Assess pupils to determine which objectives have been achieved. Once this is done, the pupil's next learning objectives are determined. Another necessary assessment is the teacher's perceptions of the child's individual learning style.
>
> 3. Build an appropriate Learning Program for each pupil to meet his objective. The Learning Program is a combination of teacher activities and learner activities, materials, equipment, and learning mode.
>
> 4. Schedule the activity.
>
> 5. After the learning activity, reassess each child to determine whether or not he has achieved his objective. If he has, he is ready for a new objective: if he has not, find another way to help him reach the same objective.[12]

Other IGE materials indicate that this sort of cycle has very general applicability. In a book discussing continuous improvement, the following appears:

> The basic improvement process is the same whether it is undertaken by an entire League, a school, a Learning Community, or an individual teacher.
>
> First, a set of expectations is adopted and used as the master criteria for performance. The 35 IGE outcomes form such a set of expectations.
>
> Second, the group or individual decides to focus on one of the expectations.
>
> Third, the present performance level is evaluated in terms of the expectation.
>
> Fourth, a plan to reach an improved level of performance is devised.
>
> Fifth, the plan is carried out.
>
> Sixth, the performance is reevaluated. Improvement is noted, and a new plan for further improvement is designed.[13]

As mentioned in the quotation above, "IGEness" as the Dayton staff calls it, is reflected in thirty-five stated outcomes that the IGE school should be moving toward. They are, for IGE, the ends toward which a school works through the six-step cycle described above. These thirty-five outcomes, which will be discussed in later sections, reflect specific conditions that IGE believes should exist in a school that is actually practicing individualized learning, learning community organization, and continuous professional development. These outcomes serve as the organizing scheme by which IGE material is presented to school staffs. Monitoring of schools by the Dayton staff is based on attempts to assess the degree to which each outcome is being carried out. School staffs, and Facilitators are asked to return questionnaires yearly assessing the degree to which each outcome is being realized in their schools. These materials are intended both to help Dayton monitor the program and to encourage self-evaluation among those who provide the information.

In developing the overall IGE program, the Dayton staff has followed the cycle of initial planning, direct experience, assessment, and revision of plans that it recommends to schools. The plans for IGE at each age level (elementary, middle school, high school) have been initially formulated, tried out in the schools with the associated development and refinement of strategies and materials, revised based on this experience, and finally implemented on a larger scale through the Intermediate Agencies. As these steps have progressed over time, more and more basic questions about the shape of the program have been settled (e.g. the high school program built on many of the ideas of the elementary program, in addition to being based on some concepts that respond specifically to the high school age group). As the period of expérimentation in the field passed and materials were developed, the basic direction of the program was set and staff members turned their concerns primarily to program implementation and to training others to implement it.

Among the Dayton staff there is a sense of having passed beyond the formative phase ("Most of the basic work is done. Maybe it's time for me to move on.") The Program staff is now devoting a substantial part of its energy to spreading the program through Intermediate Agencies. This orderly course of the development of a set of ideas is not typical of the TAG groups under study. Among the factors contributing to it appear to be the following:

1. Strong leadership in terms of a framework of ideas.
2. A clear conception of a set of phases leading toward completion of the project.
3. Sustained extended funding through the affiliation with Kettering.
4. The recruitment of a staff that is fairly homogeneous in terms of professional background and who had had direct experience in implementing new school programs, primarily as administrators.
5. The success of the program in terms of its rapid adoption. The number of current IGE schools is often cited as a reflection of this success.

The total effect of these factors is that the program staff as a whole has, in comparison with staffs of several other TAGs under study, a greater ability to articulate an organizational ideology about school change and a higher personal internalization of this philosophy.

Definition of roles, subsystems, and tasks. Allocation of human and other resources to activities/projects. The Innovative Programs Division has functioned for the past six years with funding from the foundation of roughly $400,000 per year. In addition, the Dayton Division benefits from support paid for the Overseas Program.

The Division has not sought other funds, and the association with Kettering, while making a certain level of funding reasonably certain, also acts somewhat as a deterrent to funding from other sources. Thus, the task of the Division has been to allocate a fairly certain but fixed level of resources to the accomplishment of the IGE objectives.

According to the Controller, 41% of /I/D/E/A/ funds are spent for staff salaries. There are basically two levels of staff positions: clerical and professional. Clerical staff are largely attached to individuals on the professional staff. They are not hierarchically organized, however, there is a strong pattern of influence on newcomers by those who "know how things are done." Secretaries (they are officially designated "staff assistants") take considerable responsibility in assisting with the activities of the Program Staff members with whom they are linked. Because Program Staff travel a lot, secretaries often work with little day-to-day monitoring by their bosses. However, it is highly unlikely that a person would be promoted from the clerical to the professional ranks.

The definition of roles on the professional staff flows from the team approach described earlier, involving an interplay between the members of the team and the Division Director. His insistence on people performing multiple and interdependent roles has already been described.

One aspect of the role definitions within /I/D/E/A/ that contrasts with other TAGs has been, since the development phase, a basic separation between those carrying out the support functions for technical assistance (the Division's Program Staff) and those providing this assistance (the Facilitators, who are employed by Intermediate Agencies). It is, of course, this division of function that allows the Foundation's investment in the support functions to be multiplied many times in terms of effort in direct assistance. Another implication of this division of labor is that the nature of interactions between people carrying out the support functions within the Dayton office are quite different from the interactions between support people and direct assistance people. Contact between support and direct assistance is limited to a series of carefully structured interactions for training, monitoring, etc. in contrast to the constant formal and informal interaction within the Dayton office. Also, since Facilitators are selected and by their own organizations, they are responsive to the organizational constraints and incentives of the Intermediate Agencies, which may in important ways conflict with those of /I/D/E/A/. Thus, the strategy represents a trade-off between close integration of the support and direct assistance functions (which was true during the development phase of IGE) and the opportunity to spread the program through a network of Facilitators who could not possibly be financed by /I/D/E/A/. The strong feeling of the Dayton staff is that the trade-off is effective.

With a core staff of fixed size to carry out support functions, variations in the demands on the organization sometimes create serious work overload problems. Group norms exist that support long work hours to meet such demands. In addition, the rewards of a high status and secure job in the field of educational improvment motivates staff members to deal with this overload through hard work. It is seen as part of the professional responsibility that comes with the rewards of the job. In meeting the work overload problems that come with expansion of the program in the schools, /I/D/E/A/ has paid persons trained as Facilitators to do some of the extra work (e.g. leading Facilitator training workshops) rather than expanding Dayton staff.

Staff selection, promotion, demotion, and termination. As mentioned earlier, staff have been selected from a network of progressive professional educators with previous successful experience in implementing changes in schools and almost everyone selected for the staff was known personally by a person already on staff. According to one staff member, the staff is a "closed shop" at this point. The staff is not going to be expanded, and no one is expected to leave. Consistent with the team concept, recent hiring has been done by the consensus of the present staff, with John Bahner and Sam Sava having a strong voice but everyone agreeing they could work effectively with those selected.

This selection process has had the effect of recruiting people who are homogeneous in background and professional experience compared to other TAGs studies and with a strong predisposition toward the approaches to educational improvement valued by IGE. Of the present nine staff members, most have backgrounds that include school administration in metropolitan, suburban or small city schools. All have a record of previous involvement in innovative programs similar to those espoused by IGE. Eight of the nine are males. All are caucasians. Their ages range from early 30's to late 40's. There is no formal promotion or demotion, because of the lack of formal hierarchy among the professional staff. People have taken on new job responsibilities as the IGE program moved from development to implementation.

Two professional staff members hired in 1969 have since left the organization, because they disagreed with other staff members about how quickly to implement the IGE program. They wanted to begin spreading the program when the Director and other staff felt it needed more field-testing.

Rewards and sanctions. The positive rewards of membership on the professional staff are substantial. Salaries were mentioned by several people as a definite inducement to work at /I/D/E/A/, although for most, comparable salaries might be obtained in other administrative posts in education. The opportunity to work in an educational change effort with stable financing and substantial salaries is, however, probably relatively rare. Other tangible rewards cited by staff were generous fringe benefits, opportunities for domestic and foreign travel (the latter through the Overseas Program), substantial support staff, and some latitude to spend time on projects of personal interest if the Director can be convinced that they are relevant to the objectives of the Division.

At least as important, in the views of most program staff, is the opportunity to participate in a program that is "affecting more schools than anyone else in the country." Also cited frequently is the opportunity to work on the Division's team, which allows both considerable opportunities for the individual to exercise his abilities and at the same time work closely with colleagues who are generally supportive.

The social organization of the Division's team also works to place clear sanctions or limits on the thinking and activities of the group. A well-developed ideology, similarities in staff background, regular interaction within the team and accountability to it, and the internalized responsibility that comes with the rewards of the job press staff members, for example, to work long hours and to strive for an excellent product as judged by the group. Further, these factors produce a degree of convergence in thinking--a sense of what is appropriate in the light of IGE philosophy, a sense that certain ideas can be dismissed because they are inconsistent with IGE philosophy--that is somewhat more marked than in the other groups we studied. We do not mean to imply that this convergence is necessarily a bad thing; our observations indicate strongly that failure to develop a high degree of shared understanding of and confidence in a strategy of technical assistance is a major impediment to delivering effective services to RTA's.

Fund and resource maintenance. /I/D/E/A/ contrasts sharply with other TAGs studied in its secure funding situation. In all the other TAGs getting and maintaining funds consumes substantial organizational resources. Three of the six TAGs studied have, at least at times, had a substantially higher budget than /I/D/E/A/; however, their funding is still uncertain from year to year and often must be pieced together from a variety of sources to maintain continuity of services to RTA's.

/I/D/E/A/ (which was separately incorporated in 1968) receives a grant from the Kettering Foundation, which in fiscal 1974-75 totalled $1,425,000.[14] Grants from other foundations for the Research Division, contributions for the Overseas Program, income from sales of materials, and fees for /I/D/E/A/ fellows increased the total /I/D/E/A/ budget to $2,381,300 for that year. Of this money, which supports the work in Dayton, Melbourne, and Los Angeles, about $447,500 supports the Innovative Programs Division, including their seven professional staff members, support staff, and direct expenses. Dr. Sava and Dr. Willis's salary are budgeted under central administration for /I/D/E/A/. The overall budget of /I/D/E/A/ for 1974-75 is down 12% from 1973-74 and is projected to be cut back somewhat again for 1975-76 because of the recession's impact on the Kettering assets. This cutback in funds has been dealt with by terminating a smaller program for educational administrators headed by Dr. Willis, rather than by trimming each division. Also there has been a slight cutback in support staff and equipment.

Within these constraints, the Innovative Programs Division has been able to operate with a relatively stable source of funds. The key determinant of this secure position appears to be the agreements and understandings between the foundation and Dr. Sava. He has been charged by the Foundation to develop its educational program, and as its director and a Vice President of the Foundation, he is given the autonomy to do so. He is accountable to three bodies that monitor /I/D/E/A/: Kettering's Board of Directors, the Foundation's Ad Hoc Committee on Education, and the Foundation's Planning Committee. However, Dr. Sava states that he has never been turned down on a proposal for a program he definitely wanted.

The ultimate accountability, according to James Schwartzhoff, Assistant Treasurer of Kettering, comes in terms of results: "Is the foundation receiving a good return on its money, rather than is this or that expenditure justified?" He cited the rapid spread of the IGE program in more than 1400 schools as evidence that Kettering is in fact getting a good return.

Therefore, the primary responsibility for fund-raising per se falls on the /I/D/E/A/ central administration, and the Innovative Programs Division doesn't have to exert substantial effort to write proposals, search for funds, respond to funders requests for information, and write reports specifically for funders, as do the other TAGs.

Publicizing the organization, its approach, and the services it has available. A key to the /I/D/E/A/ approach to publicizing its services is the legitimacy that it has built up in the eyes of many key decision-makers within the educational profession. This legitimacy is quite consciously fostered by the IGE staff. "The last thing we want to do is be considered far-out or radical. We want to emphasize that we are in the mainstream of American education." "We begin by accepting the system as it is, then trying to change it."

This legitimacy is fostered in several ways:

1. The legitimate source of the ideas for IGE is emphasized--research studies by prominent educators at prestigous universities and associated with prestigous foundations.
2. The consistency with the ideals of American education and with the aspirations of progressive educators for the past twenty years is emphasized. IGE materials stress that IGE is a way to foster the development of

each individual to his/her maximum potential, a basic American ideal. And they present IGE as the culmination of progressive experimentation since the late fifties with such innovations as team teaching and differentiated staffing. As two enthusiastic adopters of IGE state: "For the first time, we have an overall means to pull together the innovations of the past 20 years." "...we are putting into practice many of the concepts to which we have given lip service for many years. When you talk about individualized instruction, team teaching, individual assessments, you are talking about innovative ideas that have been around for a number of years. When you talk about the multi-unit school, you talk about an umbrella program that permits the practical application of these and other innovations that have never really made it into the school on a large scale."[15]

3. The experience-tested nature of the program is stressed. "IGE was developed by people who know your problems; it was field-tested extensively in schools"--this is the message IGE conveys.

4. The comprehensiveness of the IGE approach impresses educators interested in change. As one teacher put it, "I've been thinking about doing something like this all my life, and IGE organizes it, puts it all together for me." Some change strategies focus on a single aspect of school functioning; IGE has an approach to just about any area of concern. This sense of its comprehensiveness greatly contributes to its legitimacy.

5. The care and the technical quality of IGE materials of all types--films, filmstrips, books--also heightens legitimacy.

Given the content of IGE and the effort to present it as a legitimate avenue for change, what are the channels through which this information is communicated? Historically, the initial recruitment of schools for involvement in IGE was through a network of existing contacts with progressive school administrators, superintendents, and state agency staff members. Further, having been recruited from this network themselves, /I/D/E/A/ staff were thoroughly familiar with the channels of communication within professional educational circles that could be used to communicate and legitimate the IGE approach, including conventions and other professional meetings, professional publications, and mechanisms of local staff in-service. These have been employed by /I/D/E/A/ staff in communicating the IGE message directly to school districts and are still employed to some extent. However, the focus has shifted away from direct attempts to influence local school districts; the strategy of /I/D/E/A/ is now to recruit Intermediate Agencies who in turn recruit local schools. Again the notion of legitimacy figures strongly in the /I/D/E/A/ strategy. League Facilitators are chosen by their sponsoring agency and receive an initial two weeks of intensive training, as will be described later. When asked what happens if a prospective facilitator doesn't meet /I/D/E/A/'s standards at that point, one staff member explained, "The skills are not our primary concern; they can be picked up along the way. We are looking for people with prestige in their local area, who can recruit local schools for IGE." Thus, it is the Facilitator, as an influential person in local education, who is charged at this point with the primary task of recruiting schools. In doing so, they are supported by a number of strategies and related introductory materials developed by /I/D/E/A, as well as additional tips on recruitment. These will be discussed in more detail in later analyses of the Facilitator's role.

With present Facilitators focused on the recruitment of schools, a major task of the Dayton staff is the recruitment and training of additional facilitators. About half of current staff energy is being devoted to this recruitment and training process. Some see this process as having proceeded with great success, citing the rapid numerical growth of schools and Intermediate Agencies. Others express concern that the overwhelming number of schools involved are still in rural, suburban, or small city areas, and that IGE is seriously underrepresented in the larger public school systems. This issue will be discussed more later.

Generally supportive of efforts to recruit schools and Intermediate Agencies are numerous brochures, films, research reports, slide tapes, conferences, etc. that are being produced by other Divisions of /I/D/E/A/. One suspects that within professional educational circles a substantial percentage of public school administrators are aware of the /I/D/E/A/ name and associate it with educational reform, predisposing them to listen to a pitch for IGE.

When one aggressively publicizes the availability of a program, there is, of course, a danger of being swamped with requests for help that can't be met. Integral to the effort to publicize IGE is specification of a set of procedures by which local schools and Intermediate Agencies can become involved in IGE. Specification of these procedures keep the Dayton staff from being overwhelmed.

Development of Materials for Technical Assistance Work. IGE has produced a prodigious amount of material to support the process of IGE adoption and implementation. The Implementation Guide for the elementary program lists two films, fifteen filmstrips, and eleven print documents addressing major aspects of IGE operation.[16] A comparable quantity of material has been produced for both the middle school program and the high school program. Many of the materials have been extensively revised in the last several years as a result of feedback on earlier versions.

Individual materials focus on various aspects of the IGE approach discussed earlier--e.g. role and methods of operation in the Learning Community, the role of the principal, the organization of the League. Running through individual materials is constant reference back to the framework of the 35 IGE outcomes. The Implementation Guide, the basic roadmap for IGE materials, is organized around the outcomes, indicating where more information can be found for achieving each one. For example, for outcome 16 ("Students pursue their learning programs within their own Learning Communities except on those occasions when their unique learning needs can only be met in another setting using special human or physical resources"), the reader is referred to six IGE filmstrips, two printed documents, and a film that provides information.[17] In addition, the guide presents a short planning and evaluation form so that users can assess where they are now on this outcome and how much progress they make over a school year. A detailed set of "Outcome pages" provides a space for self-assessment, tips on how to achieve the objective, and specific activities that might contribute to achieving it.

The Division staff has been largely responsible for preparing the content of this material, with the assistance of some editors. Graphic design has been carried out by the in-house media department while filmstrip and film production have been done through contracts with two independent media organizations.

In conjunction with the carefully detailed process for introducing IGE to prospective school staffs, these materials (as stated earlier) create a sense among many potential users of legitimacy and comprehensiveness. A study carried out by Jon Paden of the Dayton staff indicates they clearly communicate intended content and that the attitudes of educators toward both content and format is highly positive.[18]

Internal Communications. Communications within the Dayton Division are quite effective, lacking some of the problems that have been encountered by other TAGs. Their relative lack of difficulties can be accounted for by characteristics of the organization already noted: continuous work over a period of years in developing one program, one office location, similarity of staff backgrounds, small staff size, adequate support staff, and the team approach.

Communication formats among the program staff include regular staff meetings, lunch meetings with strong expectation that information is shared and problems discussed, and subgroup work and planning meetings. The major strain on internal communications is the fact that staff members, especially those involved in implementation, travel extensively. The other factors cited above, however, mitigate this problem.

Carrying out applied research, evaluation, formal or informal analysis of the TAG's own work. The attitudes and behaviors of the Dayton Division in relation to research and analysis are complex. To understand them, one must recognize two strands of activity--one related to formal research and evaluation, the other related to the Division's direct reflection on its own work.

The topic of research and evaluation manifests itself frequently in the image that IGE projects to the outside world. For example, IGE publications emphasize that IGE is based on prior research studies and that /I/D/E/A/ has commissioned several independent studies of its work and is carrying on its own internal research. Here are some of the events and trends of activity in the Dayton Division that explicate its relationship to research and evaluation:

1. The IGE program has, as indicated earlier, been heavily influenced by two research studies that combined analysis with extensive testing and intervention in schools.
2. Although influenced by the Research Division in Los

205

Angeles, the Dayton Division is not in any sense the Research Division's development arm. It appears that the strongest influence from the Research Division came in the late sixties when the Study of Change was completed and that presently inter-division communication has minimal impact on the thinking of the Dayton Division.

3. Interested independent researchers have undertaken a great deal of reserach on IGE. Results of comparative studies of IGE and control schools have almost all shown positive differences or no differences, in such areas as student affective and cognitive growth, parents satisfaction, and staff satisfaction and cooperation.[19]

4. IGE has itself commissioned several studies of IGE, including a study of staff, parent, and student attitudes toward IGE; costs of implementing IGE; and a case study of implementation in a single school. Results of the attitude studies were highly favorable in terms of IGE.[20]

5. The IGE staff has itself carried out studies of IGE implementation, including a study of teacher attitudes toward IGE materials, the development of self-assessment instruments to measure IGE implementation, and a study designed to validate and improve these measurement instruments.[21]

The second strain of analysis activity within the Dayton staff is their personal and team analysis of their own experience in working with schools. The Dayton Division has a great deal of confidence in its own values, first-hand knowledge of how schools work, ability to improve their program based on their personal and team reflections on their own experience. Several staff members emphasized that they are practitioners and not greatly interested in or over-impressed by the results of research. The person on the staff with the strongest educational research orientation says that he talks about the research he is conducting primarily with an organization that provides him with technical support, rather than with his own colleagues on the Division staff. Analytical conversation within the division much more frequently cites as evidence direct staff experience in the field rather than justification based on research findings.

On the other hand, research findings, including feedback from the monitoring program that employs questionnaires from participating school staff has contributed substantially to attempts to change the IGE program. For example, the Facilitator's training has been revised based on results showing that school staffs found the Facilitator's assistance rather ineffective. Research is used to "red-flag" problem areas, and this potential weakness of IGE is then analyzed by the staff to see how it matches with their own experience. If their direct experience tends to support the research finding, the research can thus help motivate a change in the program.

Reviewing the evidence available then, we conclude that the following dynamics are at work:

1. Research and evaluation that is consistent with basic assumptions about IGE is used as a force for legitimating the IGE approach in the outside world.
2. Research findings that question IGE effectiveness are weighed against the Program Staff's direct experience and, if consistent with their experience, acted on.
3. The major analysis vehicle within the division is not quantitative research and evaluation but rather direct subjective analysis carried out by the Division staff and drawing on present and past experience in attempts to facilitate change.

Understanding and Analyzing Theory, Research and Experience of Others for Possible Improvement of TAG's own Approach. This issue, like the issue of research within IGE, is complex. Overall, the patterns appear to be as follows:

1. Starting with its basic value orientation and assumptions about effective practice, IGE has drawn on a number of areas of thinking, including the research studies of Goodlad and the Wisconsin R and D Center, the techniques for group work from the organizational development tradition, and the evaluation feedback models of Provus and others. In filtering the work of others, the /I/D/E/A/ staff is asking strongly (as do other TAGs we are studying): Does this fit our experience and assumptions?
2. Over the course of the program's development, as the elements of IGE were clarified, by far the most important changes were made by measuring present activity against the /I/D/E/A/ ideology, rather than by testing it against other traditions of educational change.
3. By and large (as in other TAGs), the group became preoccupied with the demands of developing IGE, and major input from other traditions has not been actively sought by most staff members during the past several years.
4. As the IGE strategy moved from initial development to concerns about implementation, there has been decreasing interests in outside information.

One historical event reflects the sifting mechanisms that operate with respect to outside input. In 1971, /I/D/E/A/ commissioned a group of four prominent consultants to review all three Divisions. Each visited the divisions and made a report and recommendations including recommendations for some substantial changes. We cannot discover any major change in /I/D/E/A/ that resulted from those recommendations. We are not suggesting that IGE should have responded to these recommendations; we are merely trying to highlight the strongly developed mechanism of the Division for sifting outside input and the confidence they have in their judgment and capabilities.

Performance of day-to-day financial, administrative, and clerical tasks. While some of the TAGs under study were initiated by people with little previous experience in handling details of day-to-day operations in these areas, past experience of the foundation and of the individuals on the Program Staff have allowed them to implement rather standard administrative procedures and roles for accomplishing this day-to-day support work.

At the time of the study, the clerical staff of ten people is clearly delineated from the professional staff, with each clerical staff member working primarily on a one-to-one basis with a member of the professional staff but helping out other clerical staff in times of overload. The clerical staff is not organized in a clear hierarchy. Most found out about the availability of their job through a friend, so that the clerical staff was selected through an interpersonal network analagous to that for the professional staff. All secretaries were female Caucasians. Their average employment period was about 2½ years.

As mentioned earlier, most of the secretaries take on a fair amount of responsibility in the absence of their bosses and several are responsible for carrying out a project in relating to the outside world that calls for a fair amount of independent initiative and judgment.

Philosophy

Because the IGE plan for school improvement is specifically articulated in written documents and is clearly understood and acted upon by the Dayton staff, spelling out what IGE stands for in terms of school change is a reasonably straight-forward process. Many key points of the philosophy and approach have been described in discussing the support functions. Thus, in looking at several aspects of the IGE approach, we will describe major ideas or steps involved briefly and then elaborate only on those that have not been discussed earlier.

General Philosophy. Major tenets of IGE's general philosophy are as follows:

1. The IGE program is consciously presented as a continuation of efforts for school improvement in the mainstream of innovative professionally-directed education. By emphasizing these origins, IGE seeks to minimize the threat to the school and build professional legitimacy. IGE is an approach seeking to emphasize consensus and evolution.

2. The major initiators of change are seen as professional educators rather than parents or students. It is the professional school staff that controls the decisions within the change process. It is the professional staff who are seen as the beneficiaries of efforts for continuous improvement within IGE. It is the school staff who are recipients of the Facilitator's assistance. And the

Facilitators themselves are drawn from existing educational agencies, indicating the faith of IGE in the ability of these Intermediate Agency professionals to provide helpful services at the school level, in most cases a basic change in their work orientation from traditional agency roles. Thus, IGE places its faith in the schools' capacities, given proper help, to reform themselves.

3. The IGE program sees the social organization of the school as the key to change and presents the most specific plan of any of the groups under study for explicit school reorganization. The key to this social reorganization is instruction of Learning Communities of students by an instructional team, rather than the traditional mode of school organization based on the single classroom.

4. The team approach is important in several aspects of IGE. The productive work team is headed by a democratic leader who helps people reach consensus if possible, but takes a strong leadership role when necessary. The team itself draws on people's complementary strengths, planning and working effectively together through the use of accurate, systematic, and supportive communication patterns.

5. IGE sees the major goal of education for students as individualized learning, responsive to the needs, abilities, and learning styles of each student. A strong emphasis is placed on teachers deciding what educational experience is appropriate for a student, but the program also aims to encourage students to play an increasing role in shaping the direction of their own learning.

IGE prescribes a learning process for students, but leaves the more specific objectives and content of learning to be determined largely by the local school staff.

6. IGE emphasizes a program of continuous professional development for school staff as a vital component of their program for change. This program is intended to have characteristics of individualized learning similar to the program for students.

7. A rational series of steps for planned change is the basic approach to planning and action at a number of levels of IGE implementation. This process includes: deciding on goals and objectives, determining what the current situation is with respect to these goals and objectives, considering alternative approaches to meeting the objectives, selecting the best approach, implementing it, and evaluating the implementation process. This sequence of steps is suggested for working with individual students, team level planning for Learning Communities within schools, school level planning and League planning.

8. Within this general planned change framework, IGE specifies 35 outcomes for education by which one can decide to what extent a school has implemented IGE. These outcomes specify the conditions for individualized learning, organization into Learning Communities, and continuous staff improvement that should be present in an IGE school.

9. In general, IGE seeks to maximize the role of consensus

in school change and to minimize the role of conflict.

10. Relative to other strategies being examined, IGE is more prescriptive and specific about what a good school should look like than other strategies. However, IGE sees itself as in the final analysis "process oriented," seeking to establish a framework for school change consistent with key values described above, but leaving open the specific content of education. Thus, the Dayton Division's approach to IGE is avowedly not focused on curriculum development.

11. The role of parents in the strategy receives decidedly less emphasis than the role of school staff. The only IGE outcome referring to parents states "The Learning Community maintains open communication with parents and the community at large."[22] Decision-makers involved in achieving the other outcomes are almost invariably professional staff members. Parent involvement envisioned in the current strategy is centered around individual parents working with their child's teachers.

12. /I/D/E/A/'s mission with respect to school change is highly ambitious and national in scope. They believe that every school in the country should become aware of IGE and have option to implement the IGE program if they so choose. They wish to focus on schools of all types rather than primarily on subsets of schools with special problems. The desire to spread the program widely has contributed to the motivation to establish a network of Facilitators

and Intermediate Agencies.

13. The long-term role that the Dayton Division envisions for itself is to create a system for the support of IGE which can function with decreased involvement from Dayton, allowing them in the next few years to devote some resources to new areas of interest. However, they see themselves playing a continued long-term role in IGE.

These general themes of the IGE plan for change are discussed in more detail under the subheadings below.

Roles and Structures. Learning Community organization, as stated earlier, involves the organization of the instructional process for 75 to 150 students by a team consisting of an L.C. Leader, three to five Teachers, and an Aide. Each unit is intended to involve children from several age levels. A common pattern of organization within an elementary school is to have one set of Learning Communities for children 6, 7, and 8, another set for children 8, 9, and 10.

Within the Learning Community, the L.C. Leader is responsible for the following:

1. Coordinating activities and resources of the Learning Community.
2. Assuring that IGE's program of individualized learning is implemented in the Learning Community.
3. Seeing that in-service teacher educational programs are developed and implemented.

4. Seeing that consultants, both central office and others, are utilized appropriately and as needed.

The style of democratic leadership under which the L.C. Leader is expected to operate has been described earlier. The L.C. Leader is envisioned as an experienced teacher with leadership qualities, enthusiastic about the potential of IGE, good at organizing things and keeping things clear, good at understanding the dynamics and needs of both children and adults.

L.C. teachers plan cooperatively to carry out the individualized approach to learning described below and to plan and carry out an individualized program for their own professional development. They are expected to work cooperatively in planning and carrying out these tasks, drawing on each other's strengths in terms of subject area competence, teaching style, etc.

The aide may perform secretarial duties for the Unit or may work with children on specific tasks defined by the teachers, such as administering tests and supervising the use of programmed materials.

The principal in the IGE school gives up many of his/her traditional responsibilities to the L.C. Team. In general, it is hoped that IGE principals spend more of their time and energy "on curricular development, guidance, and supervision for the improvement of instruction, instead of working primarily the nitty-gritty discipline problems and administrivia."[24] Specific duties envisioned for the IGE principal include the following:

1. Selecting L.C. Leaders.

2. Selecting L.C. Teams so as to obtain the best distribution of subject strengths, experience, compatability, and preference for teaching children of certain ages.

3. Assigning pupils to Learning Communities.

4. Defining the roles of special teachers and consultants.

5. Allocating materials, equipment, and space to maximize the effectiveness of IGE.

6. Overseeing the time planning and scheduling carried out by the L.C.'s.

7. Establishing and maintaining a Program Improvement Committee (described below).

8. Attending L.C. meetings, supporting L.C. Leaders, consulting with individual teachers.

9. Coordinating staff development.

10. Maintaining positive L.C. relations with special building personnel.

11. Maintaining positive relationships and open communication with parents.

12. Maintaining positive relationships supportive of IGE with school system central staff.[25]

The Program Improvement Council brings together the L.C. Leaders and the principal under the principal's chairmanship; it assists the principal with decision-making that has school-wide implications. It is intended to function both as a strictly advisory body on some issues and on others as a policy-making body. Which sorts of issues should be advisory and which policy-making is left to the principal to clarify in the individual school.

A final organizational structure projected as a key part of IGE is the League of IGE schools. As mentioned earlier, the League, formed by the Facilitator, is intended as a source of support and ideas for carrying out IGE. The League principals, for example, are to meet regularly to exchange ideas, and the Facilitator is responsible for developing channels through which teachers in League schools can also share information.

Individualized Learning. As mentioned earlier, the approach to instruction embodied in IGE emphasizes the following cycle of activity:

1. Adopt, adapt, or prepare a list of specific learning objectives for each instructional goal.
2. Assess pupils to determine which objectives have been achieved. Once this is done, the pupil's next learning objectives are determined. Another necessary assessment is the teacher's perceptions of the child's individual learning style--the particular way he responds to learning situations.
3. Build an appropriate Learning Program for each pupil to meet his objective. The Learning Program is a combination of teacher activities and learner activities, materials, equipment and learning mode.
4. Schedule the learning activity.
5. After the learning activity, reassess each child to determine whether or not he has achieved his objective. If he has, he's ready for a new objective; if he has not, find another way to help him reach the same objective.[26]

This procedure might strike the reader as having a mechanistic ring to it, but the IGE materials emphasize the variety of approaches and considerations that should be acted on in carrying out this cycle in the classroom. Materials on assessment, for example, emphasize that one can determine a child's level of functioning not only through normed and criterion-referenced tests, but also through observation of the child, examining samples of the child's work, and assessing ability through performance tests. IGE's plan recommends performance testing over paper-and-pencil testing, as being more convenient and flexible.[27]

IGE materials also emphasize that many different factors should be taken into account in prescribing educational experiences for children, not just standard achievement measures. "You'll need to utilize every sensitivity and perception you have about each of your pupils. You'll need to consult past records, observe him in class, discuss him with your L.C. colleagues, look at his work samples, and talk with him."[28] Among the questions the IGE teachers are expected to ask themselves are the following:

1. In what mode will this child learn this particular skill the best--independent study, one-to-one tutorial, small group, or large group?
2. What are his interests? What motivates him?
3. What characteristics of the student's family background might affect his response in school?
4. Does he/she learn better with his eyes or ears? Through electronic media or face-to-face communication?
5. What teachers or peers are most effective in providing help to him/her?[29]

The ideal planning and implementation cycle described for IGE has the following steps:

1. Goal-setting meeting

   a. Identify goals of instructional program to be emphasized in a specific learning unit (e.g. a unit on astronomy).

   b. Choose topic of the unit.

   c. Assign teacher for planning.

   d. Critique previous relevant programs.

2. Design meeting

   a. The teacher presents the plan he/she developed.

   b. The L.C. Team critiques the plan.

   c. Teachers are assigned to carry out various parts of it.

   d. A schedule outline is prepared.

   e. An assessment plan is developed.

3. Grouping and scheduling meeting

4. Situational meetings while the unit is in progress[30]

Detailed IGE manuals provide similar lists of activities, steps, approaches, and considerations, which are illustrated with specific examples of units that teaching teams have planned and carried out.

Continuous improvement. Continuous staff development is integral to the IGE plan, and strong emphasis is placed on improvement that comes through interaction with peers or reflection on one's own performance. IGE materials also emphasize that the social structures of IGE (the team, the Program Improvement Council, the League) are intended to facilitate continuous development. Here some of the formats for staff development suggested by /I/D/E/A/:

1. Analyzing videotapes of one's teaching.

2. Observation and constructive criticism of the teaching within the L.C. Team.

3. Use of IGE feedback questionnaires to assess progress, strengths, and weaknesses.

4. The teaching team learns from each other through the process of planning and teaching.

5. The L.C. uses outside resources, including the Facilitator and others to provide appropriate workshops and advice.

6. The League facilitates sharing of information about key problems and teacher and student exchanges between school.[31]

The Facilitator. As described earlier, the Dayton Division currently places a high priority on recruiting Intermediate Agencies to spread and support the IGE program. The steps in the process by which an Intermediate Agency becomes associated with IGE are the following:

1. Through some initial contact with /I/D/E/A or the IGE concept, an Intermediate Agency becomes interested in affiliation with /I/D/E/A/ to implement IGE.

2. A representative of the agency sends a letter of interest to /I/D/E/A/.

3. /I/D/E/A/ trains a Facilitator chosen by the agency in a two-week Clinical Workshop and a follow-up workshop, for which /I/D/E/A/ supplies the training experience and the agency pays the Facilitator's travel, room, and board.

4. After successful completion of training, a letter of agreement between the agency and /I/D/E/A/ is signed.

The agreement lists the following responsibilities for /I/D/E/A/:

1. Authorization to implement IGE.

2. Sale of IGE materials at prevailing prices to the Intermediate Agency and participating schools.

3. Workshops for initial training and to update skills and knowledge of Facilitators.

4. Distribution of an IGE Newsletter to each Facilitator.

5. Coordination of the IGE Program, including data feedback from questionnaires.[32]

In turn, the Intermediate Agency agrees to:

1. Endorse the 35 IGE outcomes.

2. Provide a full-time Facilitator mutually agreed on by /I/D/E/A/ and the Agency. One full-time person equivalent for each 10-15 elementary, 6-10 middle, and/or 3-5 high schools in the first two years of IGE implementation.

3. Participation of the facilitator in IGE training until he/she has demonstrated achievement of IGE Facilitator goals and objectives.

4. Purchase of a complete set of Intermediate Agency in-service materials.

5. Provide replacement facilitators when necessary.

6. Select participating schools and sumbit an official list of them to /I/D/E/A/.

7. Implement IGE through Information Conferences, "We Agree" Workshops, Clinical Workshops, and other training activities.

8. Coordinate League activities.

9. Assurance of financial support of League operations.

10. Assurance that personnel of IGE project schools have access to sufficient qualities of IGE training materials.

11. Feedback data to participating schools and to /I/D/E/A/.[33]

The pivotal training experience for the Facilitator is the two-week Clinical Workshop, an experience which has been planned and refined with great care by /I/D/E/A/. The original training program for Facilitators placed great emphasis on communicating the content on IGE in a didactic fashion and in giving prospective Facilitators an understanding of how to perform their jobs. In contrast, the present training program seeks to give the prospective Facilitator the experience of initiating IGE from the perspective of an L.C. Team, including direct work with children. Thus, the Facilitators workshop begins with a "We Agree" experience--a group-building and values clarification experience designed to help a school faculty reach consensus on school goals and increase their identification as a working team that values the strengths of its members. Following this two-day experience, participants take part in three days of short courses on various aspects of IGE. For the rest of the two weeks, the Facilitators work directly with students in L.C. teams. They plan instructional activities, carry them out, evaluate them, and watch other teams do the same. They establish a Program Improvement Council to coordinate work among teams.

Facilitators who receive this training are prepared and authorized to pursue the five Facilitator Outcomes of IGE in working with schools in their area:

1. The Facilitator helps others to develop a commitment to IGE.

2. The Facilitator trains staffs to implement IGE.

3. The Facilitator establishes and maintains a League of IGE schools.

4. The Facilitator assists staffs to monitor the IGE outcomes.

5. The Facilitator participates in activities for continuous improvement (i.e. own professional development).[34]

A "Facilitator Self-Improvement Plan" comments on ways Facilitators can work to achieve these outcomes and lists sources through which they can learn about each outcome and suggestions for implementing each outcome.[35] The methods for learning about each outcome include reading and viewing the basic IGE films, filmstrips, and print documents: consulting with /I/D/E/A/ personnel; sharing with other Leagues and Intermediate Agencies; and attending IGE conferences and workshops. Each outcome also lists between 11 and 40 specific suggestions for moving toward it. These suggestions reflect some key specifics of the IGE facilitator's responsibilities in working with schools; the list includes, for example:

1. The Facilitator makes presentations to explain the concepts of IGE.

2. The Facilitator uses the processes of the "We Agree" Workshop to help staff of a school identify what it wants its school to be like.

3. The Facilitator creates learning stations to be used during conferences and training programs.

4. The Facilitator plans and conducts clinical workshops for principals and school staffs.

5. The Facilitator initiates monthly in-service training for IGE principals.

6. The Facilitator assists with organizing and training

special resource teachers and teacher aides.

7. The Facilitator trains associates to assist with the functions of the Facilitator.

8. The Facilitator forms a League Hub Committee.

9. The Facilitator establishes an IGE library of League-produced materials.

10. The Facilitator visits each IGE school at least once a month.

11. The Facilitator produces a periodic League newsletter.

12. The Facilitator is familiar with interpreting IGE feedback from outcome assessments.

13. The Facilitator and school staffs use the assessment and management sections of the outcomes pages in the IGE Implementation Guide.[36]

In reviewing the list of activities suggested for Facilitators, one sees a heavy emphasis placed on interacting with RTA's in plann[illegible] workshops and meetings. Some of these meetings aim to convey or help participants master IGE information or techniques. Others are intended to serve as opportunities for staff members to share information.

In carrying out these sorts of activities, the Facilitator is intended to have the following sorts of interchanges with the Dayton staff:

1. A three-day follow-up training session two weeks after after the initial Clinical Workshop.

2. An annual National Facilitators' Workshop that emphasizes sharing of information among Facilitators and updates the Facilitators' knowledge of the IGE approach.

3. Special consultation as requested by telephone, by main, or through a special site visit by one of the Dayton staff.

4. A brief monthly Facilitators' newsletter, supplemented by other /I/D/E/A/ and Kettering publications.

5. Submission of the Facilitator's own feedback instruments and those of his/her school and a report from /I/D/E/A/ tabulating the results.[37]

There are no plans for regular /I/D/E/A/ on-site visitation to all schools. /I/D/E/A/ plans to visit all Intermediate Agencies at least once in the next two years.

Stages in the Development of an IGE School. /I/D/E/A/ has specified a set of steps for the adoption of IGE and refined this procedure through experience. The steps are as follows:

1. Introductory conferences, called Clue-In and Overview Conferences, provide school staffs and others with an initial understanding of what IGE entails.

2. If a school determines it is seriously interested in re-examining its direction with an eye toward adopting IGE, the Facilitator conducts a "We Agree" Workshop for 20% of the school staff. These staff members assist in later activities. The "We Agree" Workshop is designed to build positive group identification and help the group to reach consensus on the type of education they want to see in their school. The staff can then decide how their own objectives match up with IGE's.

4. If the school decides to move ahead, a second "We Agree" Workshop is held for the entire school staff. Those who attended the first workshop help carry this one out.

5. The school staff makes a formal agreement with the Intermediate Agency to participate in IGE. Consensus of the school staff is required to move ahead. The school district must also endorse participation.

6. The Facilitator carries out a Clinical Workshop to train 20% of the school staff in the IGE approach. This workshop is modeled on aspects of the Facilitator's own training.

7. The Facilitator carries out a Clinical Workshop for the full staff with assistance from the 20% who participated in the first workshop.[38]

This adoption and initial training process generally stretches over a year. In addition to the main events, the Facilitator is expected to work closely with the principal, key staff school members, and the central office of the school district to strengthen support, clarify what IGE involves, and build acceptance. The Facilitator's own legitimacy is seen as critical in these processes.

After adoption of IGE, the steps in implementation are not as strictly ordered. Organization into Learning Communities is considered a usual early step toward "IGEness." Also IGE materials provide the advice that a Learning Community or school should concentrate on a few IGE outcomes at a time and focus on implementing or improving those. Further, IGE materials advise that one possible plan for implementation is to begin in one subject matter area at a time, completing the implementation of IGE, for example, in reading the first six months.

Envisioned Problems. In interviews with /I/D/E/A/ staff members and in IGE materials, a set of problems in IGE adoption and implementation is described. The most frequently mentioned are the following:

1. Resistance to IGE on the grounds that it is chaotic or totally unstructured.

2. An initial significant move toward the implementation of IGE but a failure to move toward full realization of the IGE outcomes after the initial burst.

3. Lack of success in obtaining IGE adoption and implementation in large public schools systems.

4. Over emphasis by schools on IGE as a means to improve skill mastery rather than to achieve a wide range of outcomes for student growth.

5. Identification of IGE as a curriculum or a set of materials rather than as a process.

These envisioned problems are discussed more in the section describing IGE implementation.

Technical Assistance Work

The nature and scope of the IGE program made it one of the most difficult to study, given our commitment to follow the chain of activities from development to implementation in specific schools. Since facilitators belong to organizations separate from /I/D/E/A/, studying the work of the Facilitators involved an attempt to understand a whole different set of individuals and the organizations of which they were a part. With other TAG groups, it was possible to study all or a significant percentage of their current projects, but we could only spend substantial time in two of the 1400 IGE schools and only during periods of time that may or may not represent the normal activity of the school year. Given these limitations, we still feel confident in making some generalizations about implementation. Then we compare propositions developed through our direct observations and interviews with data from /I/D/E/A/'s validation and monitoring studies.

We approached the selection of facilitators and schools to study with several considerations in mind. First, we wished to study situations in which there was serious commitment to implementing IGE. In any large implementation effort (as John Goodlad's Behind the Classroom Door has documented), there is a great deal of adoption without serious implementation.[39] We were not interested in further documenting such phenomena. Second, we were interested in identifying schools that faced some of the same problems that were being faced by other TAGs with their RTA's which were primarily in urban communities. Thus, we were interested in identifying schools that were either urban or were facing some of the problems of urban shcools; we did not wish to look at implementation in an affluent suburban district.

Eventually, we chose the following two projects for study:

> Project A. A single school in a suburban area near a large city (called Maplewood here) that had implemented IGE in the midst of a process of court-ordered school integration that had caused substantial community strife. This school was atypical of the IGE model in that it was not at that time a member of a League. (A League is now being formed).

> Project B. A League of IGE parochial schools in a large city (called Metropolis here) and in particular, one school in the League (called St. Ann Elementary School here) that was judged by the Facilitator to be the most involved in IGE.

Our major data in choosing these situations to study came from conversations with the Facilitators at the National Facilitator's Workshop held by /I/D/E/A/ (In Project A, the school principal has been trained as a Facilitator). Based on these conversations, we were convinced that these situations met our criteria.

In addition to visiting these schools, we have drawn on information from other school visits to IGE schools, including visits to other schools in Project B and another League in its area, brief visits to two IGE schools in other cities associated with /I/D/E/A/, and an extended study of an IGE school affiliated with the University of Wisconsin that was part of a separate CNS study. Also, interviews with other Facilitators at the Facilitators Conference yielded information about their work and the schools they serve.

In the balance of this section, we first provide a chronology and description of the two projects under study. We then draw on this information and information collected about other IGE schools to state some propositions about patterns of IGE implementation.

Project A. Maplewood. Maplewood is a suburb in a large metropolitan area that is almost entirely white. Next door is another suburb that is entirely black. These two suburbs are served by the same elementary school system that was, until 1968, totally segregated by school. In 1968, the U.S. District Court ordered complete integration of the schools in the system serving these communities. The school system, consisiting of five elementary schools and one junior high school, then experienced a series of shocks. Enrollment declined from 2700 to 1600, with a great many whites putting their children in various religious schools. A majority of white teaching staff in the district left the system. A new Superintendent, who had been brought on about a year before the court order, had the major responsibility for implementing a desegregation plan.

Since the desegregation order, the school system has operated under serious financial constraints. Because of hostility to the integration program citizens have defeated nine requests for increased tax revenues. In 1973, this fund shortage plus declining enrollment forced the closing of two of the five elementary schools. To offset lost revenues, the Superintendent has aggressively pursued federal funds, and approximately 25% of the district budget now comes from such funds. However, there is great uncertainty each year about whether these funds will be continued.

The Taft school is one of the three elementary schools in the district (K-6). Its principal, George Shepard arrived there in 1970, two years after desegregation. He had taught for eleven years and possessed attitudes that are not typical of school principals. He had a strong commitment to teaching and wished to continue to teach in his new position. He wanted to see schools change substantially. He was impatient with the administrative details of his job, preferring to get out in the classrooms and to work on program development. In the spring of 1971, his Superintendent (whom he describes as "a real go-getter") told all of his principals about IGE and asked if anyone from the district wanted to be trained as a Facilitator. To Mr. Shepard, IGE sounded consistent with some of his own ideas, so he attended facilitator training sponsored by /I/D/E/A/ in Dayton.

He returned from this training strongly committed to carry out IGE in his school and developed a plan for implementing IGE in the face of a highly conservative school board and the general tensions surrounding integration. He hired as a Program Coordinator a woman who had had extensive experience in teaching in the IGE system in an urban parochial school. During the 1971-72 school year, he taught an intermediate class and she taught a primary class using the IGE approach. He indicates that to do this, he focused on his teaching during the day and did his administrative work at night. In addition to teaching, he launched an extensive effort to inform his teachers and the community about IGE. He held monthly in-service about IGE with his teachers and encouraged them to observe the demonstration classes. He brought the school board members to the classes to show them that children were learning and that "there was no chaos." He spoke extensively to parent and community groups, showing slides of the demonstration classrooms.

As a result of this effort, the School Board voted in the spring of 1972 to allow Taft School to implement the IGE program and gave him $2000 extra per year for materials and conferences. Mr. Shepard had, in his follow-up training workshop for IGE, gotten an idea for an approach to individualizing math consistent with IGE principles. He decided to move toward the adoption of IGE one subject at a time and to begin with math. During the summer of 1972, he was able to pay his teachers summer school pay to attend a training workshop for IGE, in which he taught them "planning, teamwork, decision-making, skill instruction and testing." The approach to math he developed involved dividing the math curriculum into a large number of specific subskills. For each subskill, teachers have devised paper and pencil tests for pre and post assesment, sets of problems drawn from various texts or their own ideas, and related supplementary materials such as audiotapes. Written materials related to each skill are stored on shelves, from which students can draw new learning packets as they progress. Children at the same skill level work in groups and receive individual help or group instruction.

This individualized approach to math was tried first in 1972-73, revised during a summer workshop in 1973, and tried again in 1973-74. In 1974-75, an individualized approach was introduced in reading. In doing this, Mr. Shepard drew on materials for record-keeping and testing developed by the IGE people at the University of Wisconsin, although the school staff themselves developed many of the materials involved.

An important event in the development of the program came in 1973 when the district was forced to close two schools because of declining enrollment and the defeat of tax levies. A number of teachers were shifted to the school who were not selected by Mr. Shepard and who did not really feel a commitment to IGE. After several attempts to integrate them into the IGE approach failed, Mr. Shepard decided to allow some teachers to return to the self-contained classroom, although they made a verbal commitment to use IGE principles in their work and continue to be part of either the Primary or Intermediate team. Currently, parents are given a choice (with some counseling from school staff and an ultimate veto retained by the principal) of either IGE or self-contained classrooms. Space in the school has been modified to reflect this arrangement. Corridor walls in one end of the building have been knocked out to create three large open spaces, and the whole area carpeted. This was accomplished for minimal cost by paying the male teachers to do the work for summer school pay.

Presently, the school has an enrollment of 400 students, 36% of whom are Black. White students live in the neighborhood near the school; Black students are bused to the school. The staff is 30% Black. There is a low turn-over among the teaching staff. Through a variety of special programs, the principal has gotten additional resource persons and aides to work in the school. His administrative staff includes an Assistant Principal (who teaches part of the time) and a Program Coordinator. He has eight special resource teachers for reading, music, art, and physical education. He has thirteen part-time parent aides working in the school. These resources have been obtained through the following sources:

1. The school includes a special program for hearing-impaired children that brings two extra teachers, an aide, and some computer terminals for math.
2. The district is granted Emergency School Assistance Act money because of desegregation. Under this grant a program called Vision pays for parents to work as aides in the classroom, and provided some money for in-service and other expenses.

Below, we describe some salient aspects of the school program.

The Principal. The key to IGE implementation in the Taft school is the leadership provided by Mr. Shepard. As mentioned earlier, he came to Taft with attitudes of identification with teaching and a desire to change the school that are atypical. He worked almost double-time for a year to demonstrate that IGE could work in his school. He continues to teach one hour a day and spend a substantial amount of time outside his office in the classroom. He has a quality that we have found through several of our studies to be critical for an innovative school leader--the ability to pursue and obtain resources in unconventional ways (e.g. in getting the walls torn down and the floor carpeted). He possesses another such quality that is critical for innovation in trying situations--the ability to find his way around constraints. Thus, his own predispositions were highly consistent with the IGE model; for him, IGE is according to one of the teachers, "a vehicle for what he would be doing anyway."

Staff. Those teachers involved in the open space aspect of the school are highly committed to IGE. Some of the most committed teachers are younger teachers who did practice teaching at the school and were selected by Mr. Shepard to stay. Of teachers in self-contained classrooms, a higher percentage are either older White or Black teachers. While they do not seem to be implementing the IGE program in a substantial way, there is a consensus in the school that IGE and team organization have created a general atmosphere in the school where there is more communication among teachers.

Those working in the open space spend up to twenty extra hours per week in school, and the consensus is that 75% of teachers spend substantially more time in school than the time required by the union contract.

Another key to IGE implementation in the school are the resource teachers that Mr. Shepard has assembled, particularly Ms. Parker, who taught the first demonstration class with him. Mr. Shepard also feels strongly that the program could not be carried out without the assistance from the federally-funded aide positions, thirteen part-time parent helpers who do clerical tasks and assist with instruction under teacher supervision.

The Learning Community Teams meet weekly. Primarily and Intermediate Teams include teachers from both open-space and self-contained classrooms, who make most decisions affecting their age level, including scheduling. Mr. Shepard seems to genuinely welcome the chance to place this decision-making responsibility with teachers and says that one of his major problems has been in getting the teams to accept this responsibility.

The Program Improvement Council, meeting once a month, includes the Principal, the L.C. Leaders, the Assistant Principal, and the Program Coordinator. Mr. Shepard does not hesitate to make decisions when he feels they are in his domain or are needed for the school's welfare, but the PIC makes some decisions and works out the plans for implementing others.

The Learning Program. The individualized approach to math organized around learning packets in the open-space classrooms has been described earlier. The reading program has a similar individualized character, but involves the use of a well-equipped reading resource room and reading specialists. The rest of the curriculum is divided into standard subjects including science and social studies. Although the staff does not regard these subjects as being taught according to IGE and much of the activity in these curriculum areas involves large group instruction and does not involve teaming, some group projects and teaming consistent with IGE have, as one teacher put it, "seeped into the rest of the program."

Parent Involvement. Parents are not involved significantly in school decision-making (e.g. they had no role in deciding to adopt IGE), but they are involved in a variety of ways in the program's implementation, and thus influence the school. The Vision program brings paid parent aides into the school; it is not regarded by parents as a part of the IGE program, but rather as another program in the school. In addition, other unpaid parents volunteer in the school; almost all of these are White. This volunteer involvement of White parents results, according to Mr. Shepard, from their proximity to the school. Turnouts for school performances and special events is high from both Black and White parents.

In general, the staff appears to have created a school atmospehere in which parents feel at ease. The school's general air of informality characterizes staff interactions with parents.

Constraints. The program operates under a set of constraints that have required special ingenuity from the principal and the key staff committed to IGE. First, the generally explosive and conservative situation surrounding desegregation has been skillfully negotiated, so that at this point the school has general support in the community. Second, the shortage of funds has been dealt with through special education and federal money, but on a year-to-year basis. Third, the constraints of accepting teachers who are not committed to IGE has been resolved through the compromise of providing options for teachers and parents. Fourth, the need for open space has been met through an unconventional arrangement for remodeling. Fifth, time constraints of the union contract have been met by successfully encouraging teachers to spend extra time voluntarily.

Lack of a League and Relationships with Other IGE Schools. Mr. Shepard has periodically attempted to interest other schools in Maplewood in becoming part of a League, but none has responded until recently. There exists a sense of "being special" at Taft that contributes to this lack of response. Recently the Superintendent gave the others schools in Maplewood the option to implement IGE with $2000 extra funding. The Junior High School accepted, and Taft and the Junior High are forming a League with two schools in a rather distant suburb. Mr. Shepard is not enthusiastic about starting the League, since he feels that he doesn't have time to be Taft School principal and League Facilitator and also because he feels that his school, as the most experienced League member, will have the least to gain from it. He says that he will insist that the League find a separate Intermediate Agency to hire a Facilitator.

Despite the lack of a League as a source of ideas, Mr. Shepard and Ms. Parker, the Program Coordinator, have links with other IGE schools in several ways. First, Ms. Parker was trained as an IGE teacher in another school district, and Facilitators from that school district have carried out workshops and given advice to Maplewood. Second, Mr. Shepard budgets funds for trips to both /I/D/E/A/ Workshops and to those sponsored by the University of Wisconsin for his staff. He cites a number of practical ideas he has gained from this contact, and he assesses the value of such workshops in terms of their providing realistic down-to-earth discussion of problems and constraints.

Project B. The Archdiocese of Metropolis. The IGE League in Metropolis involves nine parochial schools whose average population is 83% Black. They have been involved in IGE since fall 1973 when they began to carry out the IGE program with the help of a grant under the Emergency Schools Assistance Act, an Act that includes provisions to "overcome the disparity brought about by minority isolation."

Interest in IGE had grown from previous IGE involvement of the Intermediate School District serving the area and of the Metropolis Public Schools. The ISD had hired a Facilitator and trained other Facilitators in the area, including Ms. Betty Phillips, who was acting as a Facilitator for the Metropolis Public Schools. The ISD also trained Sr. Celeste who was working in another parochial school system in the state with Mr. Jack Reynolds. Sr. Celeste then came to St. Ann's School in Metropolis, and Mr. Reynolds became the Assistant Superintendent of the Diocese Schools for Metropolis. Together, they encouraged and assisted the Diocese in Metropolis in writing a proposal for ESAA federal funds to involve ten Diocese schools in receiving those federal funds and in implementing IGE. During the summer of 1973, key principals and teachers in the ten schools received a two-day overview of IGE from Ms. Phillips, the Facilitator from the Metropolis Public Schools. The Diocese received the federal funds to implement the program in the summer of 1973. The proposal called for the hiring of a Reading Specialist and a Math Specialist for each of the ten schools, some Teacher aides, and a Facilitator. Having received these funds, Mr. Reynolds, Assistant Superintendent of the Diocese schools, went to /I/D/E/A/ to seek a direct affiliation as an Intermediate Agency. He was at first referred to the Intermediate School District for his area, but they were not actively training Facilitators at that point. Therefore, the Archdiocese got two people trained as Facilitators directly by /I/D/E/A/. These were Mr. Reynolds and Ms. Dorothy Moore. Ms. Moore had originally been chosen as a reading specialist to work in one of the participating schools. She was then chosen to be trained as a Facilitator.

After these two were trained as Facilitators, they held several training sessions in November 1973 with the ten principals of the participating schools, but because of time constraints were not able to carry out the full clinical training experience.

There was some significant variation in the level of commitment to IGE. At St. Ann's School, the Principal, Sister Celeste had been one of the major sources of the impetus to write the ESAA proposal, so she had moved ahead to plan for IGE implementation as soon as the funds were granted. Several other principals shared her enthusiam. However, for some schools, the ESAA proposal offered an opportunity for more staff and materials, and they were indifferent to the changes involved in IGE organization.

In January 1974, the ten schools were asked if they wanted to continue in IGE and in the ESAA program the next year. One school dropped out because there was a split in the staff about the merits of the program, but several others stayed in who had done little to implement the program.

In the summer of 1974, the ESAA funds were renewed for the next year, and our observations and interviews were conducted in the spring of this second year of implementation (1974-75).

In discussing the Metropolis IGE program, we have focused on St. Ann Elementary School. Below, we describe its functioning and then return to a description of the Facilitator and the League.

St. Ann--Basic Information. St. Ann is a K-8 school located in the heart of the Black community in Metropolis, and its 234 students are all Black. The immediate neighborhood of the school is very low in average income, but students generally come from some distance away. Since tuition is required for the school, its students include substantial numbers of lower middle and middle class students.

Nine staff members are supported by school funds, and four others through federal money, including a Math Specialist and a Reading Specialist. Six of the professional staff are nuns. Salaries are very low for lay teachers compared with the public schools. None of the staff has been there for more than two years, although all the nuns have at least 10 years of teaching experience.

The school was built nine years ago and has twelve classrooms. There is a meager budget for equipment; Sr. Celeste says that one of the reasons her staff take to IGE is that they always had to make most of their own materials anyway.

The Principal. As with Maplewood, the principal has played a critical role in the implementation of the IGE program. She also took initiative to be trained for IGE and became an active advocate of the program in the archdiocese schools. And as with Mr. Shepard at Maplewood she also expressed the fact that the IGE philosophy was consistent with her own--that it allowed her to clarify and develop along lines that were already attractive to her. "IGE is just the whole philosophy I've always talked about." And like Mr. Shepard, she expresses strongly the conviction that the principal should teach, a conviction that she follows through on.

Her philosophy with her staff is firm and directive in terms of enforcing the commitment to IGE. She regards teachers who fail to implement the IGE approach as lazy, and indicates that she will not tolerate such laziness. When asked if she had ever had occasion to get rid of a staff member who wasn't implementing IGE, she responded, "Why yes, that just happened this morning." She has a degree of flexibility in selecting and retaining her teaching staff that many public school principals do not.

However, testimony from others in the school indicates that she has given up powers to the Learning Communities as specified in the IGE model. On this subject she states, "I believe in respecting people in the authority in which they have been delegated." She is generally described as warm and supportive by those enthusiastic about IGE.

Her view about what IGE can accomplish places heavy emphasis on the development of reading and math skills. "We find out what level of achievement they have reached and set up the objectives and skills that help them attain those particular skills that they have not gotten or not yet grasped as we would like them to." The idea of viewing children in terms of skill achievement levels runs as a clear theme through her responses to a number of questions.

She sees an important aspect of the program as being in materials selection. She believes it is important both to obtain adequate basic skills materials and to choose interdisciplinary materials that "mix science with the math, social studies with the reading." She hopes to collect enough materials during the period of ESAA funding so that "we can run the program for the next ten years." In addition to materials, however, she sees the federal funds as providing money to train enough key people so that they can continue to train teachers for IGE after the money is gone. In laying such plans, she exhibits, like Mr. Shepard, the propensity to plan strategies for maintaining innovation in the face of financial constraints.

School Organization and Learning Program. The school is organized into functioning teams, operating in terms of the Learning Community plan. The school's learning program operates during the morning in the IGE mode and in the afternoon in the self-contained classroom. Since it is the emphasis of the ESAA program to improve math and reading, these areas have received the primary attention in terms of implementing IGE, but teachers feel that the IGE approach is affecting the afternoon program as well.

The focus of the math and reading activity is very similar to the approach being employed at the Maplewood School. Learning packetes have developed based on a skills continuum. Students work by themselves and in small groups in attaining these skills. There is a heavy emphasis on the test, exercise, retest cycle using paper-and-pencil performance tests. In this approach, education in the Metropolis area has, according to many teachers, been heavily influenced by the competency-based approach to education and teacher education at a local university.

Parent Involvement. Parent involvement is mandated through ESAA, which requires an Advisory Council. The school also has a P.T.A. that meets monthly. Sr. Celeste indicates that it is hard to get parents involved because many of them work. She meets with the leadership of the P.T.A. to discuss her priorities, and it appears that the parent bodies would not take initiatives that did not agree with her views.

Relationship to the School System. Like Mr. Shepard in Maplewood, the Principal and teachers at St. Ann have support for what they are doing within the central office of the school system. The Assistant Superintendent, now an IGE Facilitator, was introduced to IGE by Sister Celeste, and the Superintendent does not concern himself one way or the other with the program.

Facilitators. Ms. Dorothy Moore is the full-time Facilitator for IGE and Mr. Reynolds and Sister Celeste are part-time Facilitators. Ms. Moore was formerly a teacher in the Metropolis Public Schools, and a graduate student at the local university which emphasizes competency-based education. She was recommended for her job by her professor. She is strongly committed to IGE, seeing it as culmination of her own educational philosophy. She likes it because it stresses the positive in education. She conducts a variety of activities in the Facilitator role. She observes within Learning Communities and provides feedback on problems; she has refined a detailed process for peer observation that she is encouraging teachers to use. She conducts in-service meetings for schools and Learning Communities and consults with Principals to point out problems she observes. She conducts Clinical Workshops to train teachers and Principals for IGE implementation. She conducts demonstration classes. She edits a newsletter every six weeks for her League that includes curriculum ideas, statements from IGE materials, and accounts of what is happening in League Schools.

She feels that she is functioning quite effectively in those schools where there is enthusiasm for IGE, but is frustrated in resistant schools. She says that it is hard to be helpful in schools where she gets strong signals that she is not wanted. We observed some of this resistance when she led a monthly meeting of League Principals. One problem she confronts is that many of the teachers have not received more than bits and pieces of the clinical training. However, in this meeting, she encountered resistance to the idea that she hold "We Agree" Workshops with school staffs. Only two of nine principals said they were interested. Indifference to IGE and the difficulty of scheduling enough time for clinical experiences as they are planned by /I/D/E/A/ present major obstacles. Also adding to resistance is the fact that Ms. Moore, although experienced in teaching, has not had the years of service of most principals. She herself said she is not ready to become a principal yet. Thus, some principals can dismiss her on these grounds.

Overall Patterns in Implementations

The preceeding descriptions of schools involved in implementing IGE should provide the reader with some examples of the issues and dynamics of IGE implementation in specific settings. The following generalizations are drawn both from the two specific sites described above and our visits to other IGE schools (described earlier). In places where we don't feel we have sufficient data to develop propositions with certainty we indicate the tentative nature of our ideas or identify the types of issues that require further exploration to develop adequate propositions.

In presenting these comments, we have generally followed the same set of categories under which we presented the initial exposition of the IGE philosophy: roles and structures, individualized learning, continuous improvement, the Facilitator, stage in development, and problems.

Roles and Structures. We were told by /I/D/E/A/ staff that the principal is a key to change under IGE and all of our observations would tend to confirm this statement. In the two schools cited above and in another in which we did extensive study of a Wisconsin-plan IGE school, we found the most important factor was the receptiveness of the principal to IGE and the skill with which he/she moved in implementing it. In our observations, the key qualities that we found in principals who most effectively implemented IGE were the following:

1. A predisposition toward change that IGE had the effect of

crystalizing. "IGE put it all together for me."

2. A willingness to be strongly directive in communicating that IGE will be implemented, coupled with a willingness to allow L.C. Teams to operate within their domain of responsibility.

3. An interest in curriculum and an identification with teaching. "A good principal should teach" is not a typical attitude among educational administrators.

4. The ability to identify and obtain material and human resources in ways that would not be apparent to typical administrators.

5. A willingness to work through constraints that would be used by many administrators as an excuse for giving up.

6. An ability to make good judgments about the strengths and weaknesses of school staff and to capitalize on their strengths in defining their roles.

We saw relatively little evidence of IGE changing a principal in basic ways; initial predisposition to it was critical.

A role not emphasized in the IGE model, but which we found important in a number of instances in IGE implementation was that of the program specialist, subject area specialist, or assistant principal in implementing the program. In these cases, the person in this role was allowed to spend a great deal of time on staff and program development, performing many of the functions envisioned for the external Facilitator.

Relatively, the implementation of the learning community concept in terms of the formation of a team, the definition of team roles, and the implementation of some joint sharing and planning seemed very high. We associate this high level of implementation with the clear and forceful way in which the team concept is com-

7

municated and demonstrated experientially by /I/D/E/A/, both through the processes of the Facilitator's Clinical, the We Agree Workshop, and the Clinicals for school staffs. Of course, the actual operation of these teams reflects problems of group functioning that are inevitable in moving toward a more participatory mode of operation. Yet even in situations like that in Maplewood where some teachers have been allowed to withdraw from IGE implementation in the classroom but continue to plan and share information on the L.C. Team, members express positive sentiments about this aspect of the teaming.

In general, in those schools we studied, the Program Improvement Council was in existence and met regularly. In no instances was the principal willing to let it make basic policy decisions with which he/she disagreed; however, members indicated that principals could often be convinced to change their mind in this forum, that many decisions traditionally made by the principal did not come before the PIC because they were made by the teams, and that the PIC in any case played a valuable communication function.

The role of Aides in the implementation of IGE was positively valued in all schools and the presence of a number of additional aides was seen as absolutely essential by participants in two of the schools studied. In Maplewood, additional Aides had been hired through federal funds; in another school studied the principal had been allowed to substitute 2½ Aide salaries for every teacher salary and has, because of the nature of the community, been able to fill these aide positions mostly with certified teachers.

It was our general observation that highly productive use was being made of aides in situations where IGE was being implemented. Our hypothesis is that the use effective of additional aides is associated with higher levels of IGE implementation.

The parent role in IGE implementation was consistent with the secondary priority placed on it in the model. Most school professionals see IGE as primarily a means for staff improvement. Thus, IGE does not appear to result in important changes in the role of large numbers of parents decision-making or involvement. Successful IGE implementers attempt to keep up good lines of communication with parents and enlist their support for the program. Such support sometimes includes significant involvement of some parents as paid or unpaid aides in the school.

Two characteristics of the schools themselves seemed important in implementation. First, those schools most effectively implementing IGE were small schools with less than 500 students. Our hypothesis is that the larger the school the more difficult IGE implementation will be. A key reason for this is that the prinicipal, who plays such a key role in implementation, must occupy himself more with administration and operations in a larger school and can become less involved in curriculum and direct contact with students. A second characteristic that contributes to the likelihood of implementation, but as IGE has pointed out is not essential, is the presence of open space. The social organization of the school is, of course, decisive and any open space can be converted to closed space by social arrangements, but open space seems to facilitate the formation of the social structures envisioned by IGE.

Several characteristics of the larger school system were seen as significant contributors to implementation. First, in all three schools studied intensively, the implementation of IGE was positively supported by the Superintendent or a key member of his staff. Second, the school system or union agreement did not in practice impose unbending restrictions on such critical areas of functioning as teacher assignment, involvement in in-service, and length of work day. To the extent that such constraints operated more strongly, either as written regulations or shared norms within the school system, the implementation of IGE became more difficult. As discussed later, this represents a serious problem for future IGE implementation, given the national trend toward the tightening of such restrictions.

Individualized Learning. The concept of individualized learning is, based on our research, clearly and forcefully communicated by IGE materials and training. The IGE design suggests a series of basic concepts to be considered in individualized learning and then stresses the variety of ways these concepts should be applied in specific teachers situations. In the process of implementation in IGE schools, however, certain options offered by IGE seem to be rather consistently chosen over others. Below, we list some of the possibilities suggested by IGE and underline the particular methods predominantly employed in implementation in the small number of schools we studied:

1. Implementation strategy
    a. *Subject by subject approach*
    b. Integrated approach-across the board
2. Assessment method
    a. *Paper and pencil performance test*
    b. Paper and pencil normed test
    c. Work sample
    d. Observation
    e. Other performance test
3. Considerations in grouping and prescription
    a. *Skill level*
    b. Learning style
    c. Interests
    d. Teachers or peers best related to
    e. Learning mode
4. Nature of materials
    a. *Print materials*
    b. Audiovisual
    c. Concrete objects
5. Decision-making
    a. *Teacher directed*
    b. Increasingly student directed

Taken together, even among schools making a serious attempt to implement IGE, the predominant approach constitutes a rather narrow band of the possibilities envisioned by IGE in its materials on individualized learning, i.e. the predominant approach observed in schools is by individual subject, emphasizing paper and pencil testing, based primarily on skill level, employing print materials. and teacher directed. We have several tentative hypotheses about the reasons for this selection:

1. Given the general overload involved in assimilating the IGE approach, often with limited training, school staffs must make some initial choices from the menu of possibilities that IGE offers.
2. The press for competency based education and skill development in American education pushes school staffs toward the skill-oriented "paper-mill" approach to individualization.
3. One of the appeals of IGE is that it is a systematic planned approach to change. The elements emphasized by school staffs in implementation are the most "systematic" ones available within the options presented by IGE (e.g. it is easier to give skill tests than to assess learning style).
4. The pressure to implement IGE in a fashion that proves students are making concrete progress and doesn't generate confusion that discredits the program is an incentive to implement the most restrictive and "hard-headed" approach to individualization.

At worst, this approach generates a situation described in the IGE pamphlet on assessment:

> In IGE, where assessment must be used continuously to provide constructive planning information, the exclusive use of paper and pencil tests would be a nightmare, an endless session of passing out and taking up paper....[40]

We wish to emphasize that we have presented above what seems to be an important trend and issue in IGE's attempt to individualize learning. In explicating this issue, we do not wish to obscure the fact that we sometimes saw other approaches being skillfully employed. We merely wish to indicate that this was the most by far predominant approach we observed.

Continuous learning. The importance of continuous learning in the IGE model is intended to be felt at all levels, including principals, teachers, and facilitators. We saw three aspects of the IGE approach that were consistently judged by those we talked with and through our own observations to be highly effective.

First, the IGE materials were consistently praised as being a highly effective set of materials for adoption and initial implementation of the IGE program. They are considered clearly written, a pleasure to read, and motivating and comprehensive by almost everyone who mentioned them, even persons critical of other aspects of IGE. Further, those who had been involved in IGE for several years stated that revised materials were superior to earlier editions. It was further noted, however, that the materials were inadequate in dealing with problems and constraints that arise in the process of implementation. This topic will be discussed more later.

Second, a strength of the /I/D/E/A/ approach widely praised by those who had experienced it was the Clinical Workshop. These positive reactions indicate that the present format for the clinical experience marks a definite advance over the approach employed earlier. The integration of group dynamics concepts, direct experience with children, and substantive learning that furthers understanding of IGE is consistently seen as a strength. There appears to be a significant synergy that takes place when these elements are combined that is not present in any one (not present, for example, in isolated group process training). A hypothesis that we advance is that Facilitators are most adequately prepared to implement those aspects of IGE that they experience through this format.

Third, we found at all levels of IGE numerous examples of the positive value of peer learning. Teachers, principals, and Facilitators recounted specific experiences where the course of work was substantially affected by ideas gained from peers. Again, changes in Facilitator Clinicals and the structuring of the National Workshop to reflect this approach seem to strengthen the credibility of /I/D/E/A/'s emphasis on peer learning--a belief that /I/D/E/A/ practices what it preaches.

One aspect of peer learning that should be gratifying to /I/D/E/A/ is the commitment of persons trained directly by /I/D/E/A/ to train others. The fact that a strategy can be transmitted with some integrity through such chain reactions again underscores the strength of the materials and training formats for initial adoption and implementation.

Another aspect of the IGE model that seems supported in practice is the key role of the Facilitator in making the continuous development notion work. This will be discussed more below.

A weakness of the present system for supporting continuous development appears to come in later stages of implementation, as problems are encountered. Most teachers and principals do not constantly refer back to the IGE materials as a source of ideas for improvement; rather they build on the initial directions of their implementation activity and on the advice of key people (e.g. the principal) in the later stages of the implementation process. When they run into problems and constraints in implementation (e.g. what do you do when the Back to Basics movement challenges IGE, how do you cope with resistance from teachers who can't be transferred, how can you conduct Clinicals when teachers' contracts demand pay for participation in them that isn't available), IGE materials and /I/D/E/A/ do not provide persuasive answers, nor are Facilitators trained specifically to cope with such problems in the way they are trained to support initial implementation. The result is a perception on the part of a significant number of people involved in implementing IGE that /I/D/E/A/ is helpful in getting started, but "out of touch" with the problems of later implementation.

A second issue in /I/D/E/A/'s approach to supporting continuous development relates to the feedback of data from annual monitoring. When this information was mentioned to us by school staff members, they commented on the motivating effect of positive results reported (e.g. gains in the satisfaction of students with the school or teacher consensus that the teaming was effective). We never heard this information mentioned in the context of systematic attempts at self-assessment as part of an improvement process. Other research on the effects of data feedback on performance indicates that data feedback is generally ignored unless it is coupled with face-to-face assistance in interpretation and planning.[41] Such assistance does not appear to take place, by and large.

Facilitator's Role. In discussing the Facilitator's role, we should first emphasize the limited nature of our data base. We talked extensively with three Facilitators in two Leagues in situations where we could compare their perceptions with our own direct observations and with interviews with school staff. We talked in depth with several other Facilitators at the National Workshop, but we have no way of cross-checking their responses.

It was often said to us at /I/D/E/A/ that the most important quality of a Facilitator was legitimacy at home. Based on our observations, we would refine this statement to read legitimacy with school staffs. Sometimes, people who, within the overall status structure of education, hold high status (e.g. university professors, state department staff members, central school system staff) are viewed with distrust by school staffs. They are regarded as being unrealistic, lacking an understanding of what it means to teach day in and day out--until they prove otherwise. It is well established that many state and central board personnel are accustomed to playing regulatory rather than supportive roles with teachers, and that many look down on school staff members and see themselves as having "escaped" from the school and classroom. Further, the Facilitator who operates from a state agency, central school board, or university generally often exists in an environment where the implementation of the IGE Facilitator role represents a deviance from established organizational norms.

We found much evidence that effective Facilitators played a vital role in IGE implementation in pressing for and implementing in-service and clinical training, in carrying ideas from one school to another, in introducing ideas from other Leagues, and in promoting communication between principals. Thus, our observations agree with the University of Nebraska study indicating that IGE implementation is related to effective performance of the Facilitator role.[42] Some key qualities we saw in effective Facilitators parallel in many ways the qualities of effective IGE principals:

1. A strong commitment to IGE that communicates a standard of IGE performance. As one Facilitator put it, "people in my schools know I stand for something."
2. A strong identification with the profession of classroom teaching and a willingness to, as one Facilitator put it, "Get down on your hands and knees to get things done." The effective Facilitator is able, for example, to demonstrate IGE practice in the classroom under realistic conditions.
3. A well-developed plan and schedule of activities for carrying out the Facilitator role.
4. A well-developed set of processes for Facilitation, such as the classroom observation and critiquing procedure employed by the Metropolis Facilitator.

5. Positive attempts to exchange information and ideas with other Facilitators. Effective Facilitators see themselves as learners.

The Facilitator is not as central to the IGE change process as facilitators in other strategies being studied. Materials bear some of the burden; further once a school staff is trained they are to a great extent on their own--the best Facilitator working with ten to fifteen schools is not going to help make the difference for an indifferent or resistant school. Nevertheless, the Facilitator is now the catalyst for the whole implementation strategy in terms of involving schools in IGE and providing critical initial training. Therefore it appears to us that issues surrounding the selection, training, and support of Facilitators are, as /I/D/E/A/'s approach already reflects, the most critical leverage point for further development of the program. Thus, the following issues seem to merit further attention:

1. What are the characteristics of successful Facilitators?
2. Can any generalizations be made about the organizational characteristics of Intermediate Agencies that are related to effective Facilitator functioning?
3. Given the knowledge that certain types of persons and certain organizational settings in Intermediate Agencies are conducive to effective Facilitator performance, can the selection and training processes be changed to increase the likelihood of Facilitator effectiveness? Possibilities that can be envisioned include:
    a. More careful recruitment efforts focused on Intermediate Agencies and Facilitators whose likelihood of effectiveness is high.

b. Additional training for Facilitators employing the highly effective formats for training already developed and applying them to other aspects of the Facilitator's work.

c. The development of additional support mechanisms for Facilitators in the field.

The League. As originally developed in Los Angeles through the Study of Change, the League concept was central to school change. It was implemented by an /I/D/E/A/ staff that included persons with extensive experience in change efforts. Within IGE, the League is one of a number of program components. One person instead of several are key in carrying it out. Skills related to League-building are not central to Facilitator training. Thus, our observations indicate that the League is a secondary but important aspect of the IGE design in terms of actual implementation. We did not observe and were not told about high levels of information-sharing directly between League schools. In practice, the League does appear to play a number of important functions:

1. It does function as a motivater and legitimater of the IGE program. It gives people a feeling that they are part of a movement; that they are not alone.
2. Information is exchanged between League members that does have some impact on other League schools--generally, however, this communication is not direct, but through the mediation of the Facilitator.

The following issues seem to be involved in League operation:

1. League facilitation, the attempt to bring together persons who are part of a variety of school-based organizational structures in which they have their primary emotional investment, is even more complicated than facilitation at the school level.

2. League membership may ideally promote sharing, but also has the potential to promote one-ups-manship and defensiveness.

3. League participation is the lowest priority within the IGE scheme of things because it is most remote from day-to-day responsibilities and demands.

Stages in Development: The major issues related to the stages of IGE development that we observed have already been stated. Briefly summarized, they are as follows.

1. The IGE approach is successful in promoting the initial implementation of the organizational structures at the school level that are central to IGE.

2. The IGE approach is relatively successful in promoting the adoption of an individualized approach to instruction that represents a definite subset of the set of elements envisioned for an ideal IGE program.

3. IGE is most often implemented one subject at a time.

4. Later steps in implementation are based more on the experience and the analysis done by key school leaders of earlier steps. Thus, the original IGE plans become increasingly less salient for the school staff.

5. Patterns set in the first stage of implementation tend to persist rather than to be discarded or basically reworked in later years. This is consistent with the finding from IGE studies of a decreased rate of implementation after the first year.

6. /I/D/E/A/ is less valued by school people and Facilitators for its analysis and advice concerning later stages of implementation, and particularly concerning constraints and problems encountered in implementation, than it is for its help in getting started.

Changes Resulting From IGE. One major point needs to be emphasized in discussing the changes resulting from IGE. /I/D/E/A/ has by far stimulated more change than any of the other TAG groups under study.

It has been successful in stimulating others to implement the IGE program in a way that maintains its identity to a degree that is not typical in such efforts. This success deserves both high praise and careful analysis, since its dynamics can provide many valuable lessons to others working for educational improvement.

At the school level, one needs to assess the changes brought about by IGE with careful consideration of what standards to use. We have been comparing IGE with its own rather stringent standards as reflected in the 35 Outcomes and other IGE materials. However, one must also remember that the norm for educational change is little or no lasting effect. Thus, drawing back for a moment from focusing on the 35 Outcomes, the following general effects of IGE, which have been documented in other studies of the program, are consistent with our own data:

1. The creation of a more relaxed, personalized, and humanistic atmosphere for children.
2. The creation of greater work satisfaction and increased communication among staff.
3. The decentralization of decision-making.

More specific changes in various aspects of the school's functioning have already been discussed and our assessment of them will not be repeated here.

Dayton's Interface with Facilitators and Schools. Dayton's interface with people implementing IGE appears to be pretty much as described in the current plan of operation. Once the Intermediate Agency has been recruited and the Facilitator trained, the major contact with Dayton is through the following channels: the Annual Facilitator's Workshop, reports submitted by Facilitator's, the monitoring materials, telephone or written requests for help on specific problems from the Facilitator to Dayton, occasional visits by Dayton staff to follow up requests for help or to carry out special activities like the validation study, and the IGE newsletter and other publications.

This represents a much lower frequency of interaction than is represented by the other TAG projects--in one sense it is a tribute to the strengths of the IGE model that the program can function in this fashion. Further, it is an integral part of the /I/D/E/A/ strategy. /I/D/E/A/ does not see itself as providing regular assistance to local schools; that is the Facilitator's role. /I/D/E/A/'s first priority is to develop an overall approach to education improvement. Most people in the field share the perception that "both facilitators and schools are pretty much on their own." People by and large understand this reality and do not resent it. The opinion of /I/D/E/A/ among Facilitators and school people is generally very positive. Among those mentioning problems in relating to /I/D/E/A/, the following were mentioned more than once:

1. "I/D/E/A/, is out of touch with the realities of making IGE work in the schools after it gets started." The world is not the way they describe it."

2. "I prefer the workshops led by the Wisconsin people. They are more down to earth and practical."

3. "I was told by IGE that their model had been changed, and they wanted me to change horses in the middle of the stream. It was completely unrealistic."

These quotations represent themes we heard at least several times in our conversations. They should be viewed in light of the fact that response to IGE is, on the whole, extremely positive in the field. Also, we have observed that it is a general phenomenon of RTA's to develop a certain antagonism toward a TAG as they begin to implement the strategy and develop confidence in their own abilities.

Comparison with IGE Monitoring Data. It must be strongly emphasized that the conclusions we reached above are based on the tiny sample of schools--these schools may or may not be representative of the patterns of implementation typical in the large number of IGE schools. To review some evidence on this point, we present in Table 3-1 the 35 IGE outcomes and the degree to which staff participating in IGE schools perceived they were being implemented in the 1974-75 school year. The outcomes are listed in the table in terms of the average percentage rating given the outcome by participating school staffs, with 0% signifying no implementation and 100% perfect implementation. We present the outcomes listed in terms of the perceived percentage of implementation from the highest to the lowest. It should be emphasized that these percentages reflect the judgments of IGE school staff in local IGE schools rating their own activities, not the ratings of an outside group. Nevertheless, the ratings should give a fairly good notion of the relative degree of implementation of the various IGE objectives.

We see the following patterns in Figure 3-1:

1. Those objectives reflecting the initiation and effective operation of the major social structures of IGE within the school including Learning Communities, Learning Community Teams, Advisors, and the Program Improvement Council are generally rated high. The results indicate a perception that the processes of planning and decision-making among staff within the school described by IGE are functioning relatively well.

2. The objectives reflecting individualization of instruction, (such as the establishment of learning objectives for each student, the gathering and use of information about the student in planning and assessing the student's learning program) are being carried out with relative effectiveness.

3. Continuous improvement (systematic staff development) is not being carried out as effectively as those aspects of the program related to the establishment of the basic IGE social structures and the individualization of instruction.

4. Participation in the League has a relatively low level of implementation.

5. Activities related to the involvement of parents and community in the program have a relatively low level of implementation.

6. The lowest level of implementation is associated with the active involvement of students in shaping their own educational program.

The patterns that emerge from these self-reports in the monitoring data are consistent with the observations we have presented concerning the IGE schools we observed, with one important exception. School staff members participating in the IGE monitoring effort tended to rate progress toward the individualization of instruction

Figure 3-1

The 35 IGE Outcomes And Their Relative Degree Of Implementation Based on Self-Ratings By Staff Members In Schools Participating In IGE[43]

1. Each student learning program is based on specified learning objectives. (88%)

2. The school district has approved the school staff's decision to implement the /I/D/E/A/ Change Program for Individually Guided Education. (87%)

3. Learning Community members have an effective working relationship as evidenced by responding to one another's needs, trusting one another's motives and abilities and using techniques of open communication. (80%)

4. The Program Improvement Council assures continuity of educational goals and learning objectives throughout the school and assures that they are consistent with the broad goals of the school system. (78%)

5. The entire school is organized into Learning Communities with each Learning Community composed of students, teachers, aides, and a Learning Community leader. (78%)

6. Teachers and students have a systematic method of gathering and using information about each student which affects his or her learning. (75%)

7. Students pursue their learning programs within their own Learning Communities except on those occasions when their unique learning needs can only be met in another setting using special human or physical resources. (75%)

8. Both student and teacher consider the following when a student's learning activities are selected: (75%)

   Peer relationships
   Achievement
   Learning styles
   Interest in subject areas
   Self-concept

9. Sufficient time is provided for Learning Community staff members to meet. (74%)

10. Each Learning Community contains a cross section of staff. (72%)

11. Learning Community members make decisions regarding the arrangements of time, facilities, materials, staff, and students within the Learning Community. (72%)

12. Learning Program plans for the Learning Community and for individual students are constructively critiqued by members of the Learning Community. (67%)

13. Learning Community members select broad educational goals to be emphasized by the Learning Community. (66%)

14. A variety of data sources is used when learning is assessed by teachers and students, with students becoming increasingly more responsible for self-assessment. (64%)

15. Each student has an advisor whom he or she views as a warm supportive person concerned with enhancing the student's self-concept; the advisor shares accountabilty, with the student for the student's learning program. (64%)

16. Each Learning Community is composed of approximately equal numbers of two or more student age groups. (63%)

17. The Learning Community analyzes and improves its operations as a functioning group. (62%)

18. All staff members have had an opportunity to examine their own goals and the IGE outcomes before a decision is made to participate in the program. (59%)

19. The Program Improvement Council formulates school-wide policies and operational procedures, and resolves problems referred to it involving two or more Learning Communities. (57%)

20. Role specialization and a division of labor among teachers are characteristics of the Learning Community activities of planning, implementating and assessing. (54%)

21. A variety of learning activities using different media and modes are used when building learning programs. (54%)

22. The Program Improvement Council analyzes and improves its operations as a functioning group. (47%)

23. Personalized in-service programs are developed and implemented by each Learning Community staff as a whole as well as by individual teachers. (45%)

24. Students are involved in decision-making regarding schoolwide activities and policies. (40%)

25. Each student (individually, with other students, with staff members, and with his or her parents) plans and evaluates his or her own progress toward educational goals. (39%)

26. Teacher performance in the learning environment is observed and constructively critiqued by members of the Learning Community using both formal and informal methods. (38%)

27. The Program Improvement Council coordinates school-wide in-service programs for the total staff. (37%)

28. The Learning Community maintains open communication with parents and the community at large. (36%)

29. The school as a member of a League of IGE schools stimulates an interchange of solutions to existing educational problems plus serving as a source of ideas for new development. (30%)

30. The staff and students use special resources from the local community in learning programs. (28%)

31. The school is a member of a League of schools implementing IGE processes and participating in an interchange of personnel to identify and alleviate problems within the League schools. (24%)

32. Each student demonstrates increasing responsibility for pursuing her or his learning program. (24%)

33. Each student accepts increasing responsibility for selecting his or her learning objectives. (20%)

34. Each student can state learning objectives for the learning activities in which she or he is engaged. (20%)

35. Each student accepts increasing responsibility for selecting or developing learning activities for specific learning objectives. (17%)

as very effective, while we viewed it as reflecting only a limited subset of those characteristics of individualized instruction that /I/D/E/A/ values. Two possible interpretations for this discrepancy suggest themselves. Either the schools we observed were not representative of IGE schools with respect to success in individualizing instruction or school staff in IGE schools do in general implement a limited subset of IGE's recommendations for individualizing instruction but perceive this pattern of implementation as fulfilling IGE's expectations.

Issues for the Future

1. The limits of adoption and implementation. Formal adoption of IGE has been increasing steadily over the past few years, making its quick spread supporting evidence for the soundness of much of the thinking involved. One attractive model that might be applied to this process would be borrowed from social interactionist studies of the adoption of innovations, such as studies of the adoption of hybrid corn by farmers, refrigerators by rural Scandanavians, and new prescription drugs by doctors. In the model derived from such studies, early adopters in a region influence major opinion leaders to also adopt the innovation, and adoption by opinion leaders results in rapid and widespread adoption by the majority of people within the opinion leader's influence network.[44]

There may be important constraints on adoption, however, in situations where the innovation is a complex plan for social organization rather than a product and the adopting unit is an organization rather than an individual. There may be special characteristics of adopting schools or the larger school systems of which they are a part that predispose them to participate or virtually preclude participation. Thus, there is, for any given innovation in education a saturation point, above which further adoption may be impossible or the effort required for each adoption may rise sharply.[45]

The same arguments hold true for implementation. Complex social innovations will inevitably encounter barriers to effective implementation, so that as more and more units adopt the innovation, the rate of effective implementation either falls or the effort required to carry out effective implementation rises sharply.

If these models are applied to IGE adoption and implementation, we can posit that at some point a saturation level will be reached with respect to both adoption and effective implementation. This second possibility seems of particular relevance to IGE, given the rather specialized characteristics of school and school system situations in which IGE is effectively implemented (e.g. with a principal involved whose values are atypical of school administrators).

We have absolutely no empirical evidence about what the saturation point might be for IGE, so that our argument might perhaps be merely academic. However, we do feel strongly that the number of situations that are optimal for IGE's effective implementation are not more than a small percentage of American schools (which is still a very large number of schools) so that IGE may be faced at some point with decisions about increasing the level of resources for supporting implementation if implementation is to be maintained at its current quality.

2. IGE in Urban Schools. The distribution of IGE schools between rural, suburban, urban, and inner city schools (based on /I/D/E/A/'s monitoring data) shows less than 4% of IGE schools are inner city schools and that many classified as urban are in smaller cities. Further, many urban and inner city schools

implementing IGE are parochial schools. IGE is not implemented proportionally in the public school systems of the 100 largest cities in the country.

Several possible reasons for this distribution of IGE schools were suggested to us by /I/D/E/A/ staff, by staff of IGE schools, and by our own observations. One possible reason for the under-representation of urban schools in large cities is that such school systems are generally more resistant to any type of change strategy than other systems, given a higher degree of bureaucratic rigidity and a preoccupation with present crises that makes it hard to focus on reform. A second possibility is that, while the /I/D/E/A/ staff has had some urban experience, the predominant experience of the staff both before joining /I/D/E/A/ and in the work involved in developing IGE has not been in urban schools, especially public urban schools with substantial non-white populations. It appears that the /I/D/E/A/ staff know the functioning of suburban and smaller city school systems extremely well. Further superintendents and principals in these settings and /I/D/E/A/ staff have many similarities in personal backgrounds, experiences, and attitudes that facilitate rapport and influence. This is not as true with urban school staffs. The racial composition of the /I/D/E/A/ staff and of the Facilitators also may contribute to limited adoption in large urban systems. Since both the /I/D/E/A/ staff and the Facilitators are overwhelmingly white, IGE is viewed, based on our conversations with some urban school administrators, as a program mainly for the white suburbs.

It should be emphasized that, as stated earlier, IGE is not attempting to focus on any particular type of school, but to influence schools of all types.

3. Narrow Implementation of Individualized Learning. It appears that, as stated earlier, the IGE model for individualized learning gets narrowed considerably as a result of social forces currently operating within school systems and the nature of the curriculum materials that are available that school staff see as being consistent with the IGE philosophy. /I/D/E/A/ might, short of becoming involved in curriculum development, explore better ways of making people aware of existing curricula or approaches to developing curricula that are more consistent with the overall IGE philosophy or could consider ways to strengthen training so that people become sensitized to these issues.

4. Limits of Continuous Development. The IGE model for program implementation is based on a philosophy of continuing evolution toward an ideal. However, IGE's own research suggests that the rate of implementation slows significantly after the first year.[46] Our observations indicate that the first year of implementation represents a process that is both invigorating and draining; people look back on it as a special time. They are not ready then in the second year to repeat the process, to take the program up by the roots and see how it can be improved. They tend to modify patterns established

in the first year.

5. Constraints. Many schools operate under constraints that make the adoption and implementation of IGE relatively more difficult. This is true of urban schools especially, but also true increasingly of all American schools. We have in mind for example the following types of constraints:

1. Union contracts that prohibit the transfer of teachers who do not want to implement IGE, allow more experienced teachers to "bump" younger teachers, and require compensation of teachers for participation in inservice.
2. Diminishing budgets and budgets that restrict the flexibility with which allocated funds may be used.
3. School size, which means that the principal must spend more time on administration, and which in numerous ways makes IGE implementation more complex.
4. Immediate needs to expend great energy on maintaining the basic operation of the school, so that possibilities for devoting time to improvement become difficult.
5. Scheduling difficulties that make more than part-day workshops difficult.
6. Lack of higher level administrative support for innovation at the school level.

As our case studies of schools indicate some of these problems are being faced by current IGE schools, and the national trend toward tighter budgets and greater union control suggest that all types of schools will be facing such problems more and more frequently.

As we stated earlier, a current weakness of IGE perceived in the schools is the lack of helpful advice in dealing with such constraints.

6. Monetary Incentives for Adoption. Individualization is the watchword of many federally-funded programs. In a period of tightening local finances and particularly in the area of urban education, there is a potential for IGE to increase adoption by tying itself more closely with federal programs stressing individualization. As the Metropolis situation indicates, however, involvement of this kind can promote "opportunistic" adoption to obtain extra resources rather than effective implementation.

7. /I/D/E/A/'s Perceived Long-Term role in IGE. IGE materials state that in the IGE system, one can never stop and say that you've arrived, that your school now epitomizes IGE. The same could be potentially true for /I/D/E/A/'s role in implementing and improving IGE. There are an endless list of strategies and improvements that might be tried in continued work by /I/D/E/A/. At the same time, /I/D/E/A/ appears to be following a stage approach, in which the developmental work is viewed as basically complete, the implementation is well-underway, and a time is envisioned when /I/D/E/A/ decrease its involvement in IGE and more to develop approaches in other areas. /I/D/E/A/ makes it clear that they see a significant portion of their time on a long-term basis devoted to improving IGE. Thus, an issue that /I/D/E/A/ faces is in determining how much is enough with respect to the perfection of the IGE system and where to place priorities for limited staff resources.

8. Alterations In the Implementation Approach. Our analysis

of the work of /I/D/E/A/ suggests a number of problems and issues that raise the possibility of altering or augmenting the IGE implementation approach. One might imagine, for example, a second clinical workshop for Facilitators in the IGE program in which issues of longer-range implementation were dealt with in light of practical problems and constraints. Such a clinical could include working with schools in a League experiencing some of those problems. To cite another example, /I/D/E/A/ might seek funds to develop a strategy aimed directly at urban school implementation.

In a program with the scope of IGE, however, all such changes are closely interrelated with the deployment of a staff that already works long hours, the level of implementation which /I/D/E/A/ feels satisfied with, and for the nature of the role it wishes to play in IGE in the long run.

FOOTNOTES

1. National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education. The Reform of Secondary Education. New York: McGraw Hill, 1973.

2. Seven books have resulted from the Study of Educational Change, which are published by McGraw Hill, including M. Bentzen, et al. Changing Schools: The Magic Feather Principle. New York: McGraw Hill, 1974.

3. C. Willis. What We have Learned about the /I/D/E/A/ Change Program for Individually Guided Education: An Interim Report. Dayton: Institute for Development of Educational Activities, 1974.

4. J. Goodlad. "A Study of Schooling in the United States." Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, Inc. Mimeographed. 1974.

5. Willis, op. cit.

6. Willis, op. cit.

7. Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, Inc. Individually Guided Education: United Roles and Operations. Dayton: Author, 1971.

8. Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, Inc. Individually Guided Education: The Learning Program. Dayton: Author, 1971.

9. Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, Inc. Individually Guided Education: Principal's Handbook. Dayton: Author, 1971.

10. Unit Roles and Operations, op. cit.

11. J. Kinghorn. "How to be a Process Observer." /I/D/E/A/ Staff Paper. Mimeographed. 1974.

12. Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, Inc. The Learning Program. Dayton: Author, 1973.

13. Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, Inc. Continuous Improvement. Dayton: Author, 1973.

14. Budgetary information supplied by /I/D/E/A/ staff.

15. National School Public Relations Association. Individually Guided Education and the Multiunit School. Arlington, Va.: Author, 1972.

16. Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, Inc. Implementations Guide. Dayton: Author, 1974.

17. Ibid.

18. J. Paden. Individually Guided Education and the Use of Materials: An Evaluation on Report of the Effectiveness of IGE In-Service Materials When Used in Summer In-Service Program. Dayton: Author, 1973.

19. Willis. op. cit.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Implementation Guide, op. cit.

23. Institute for the Development of Educational Activities Inc. Unit Roles and Operations. Dayton: Author, 1973.

24. Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, Inc. Principal's Handbook. Dayton: Author, 1973.

25. Ibid.

26. The Learning Program, op. cit.

27. Institute for the Development of Educational Activities Inc. Assessment. Dayton: Author, 1973.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. The Learning Program, op. cit.

31. Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, Inc. Continuous Improvement. Dayton: Author, 1973.

32. "Term of Intermediate Agency-/I/D/E/A/ Agreement," 1974.

33. Ibid.

34. /I/D/E/A/. "Facilitator Self-Improvement Plan."

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, Inc. The "We Agree" Workshop. Dayton: Author, 1973.

39. J. Goodlad, M. Klein, et al. Behind the Classroom Door. Francestown, New Hampshire: Jones Publishing Co., 1970.

40. Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, Inc. Individually Guided Education: Assessment. Dayton: Author, 1972.

41. R. Schmuck and P. Runkel. Handbook of Organization Development in Schools. Palo Alto: Mayfield, 1972.

42. /I/D/E/A/. "A Summary of Monitoring and Evaluation." Mimeographed. 1974.

43. /I/D/E/A/. 1974-75 Monitoring Data.

44. E. House. The Politics of Educational Innovation. Berkeley: McCutchan, 1974.

45. House., op. cit.

46. Willis, op. cit.

CHAPTER 4. UNITED BRONX PARENTS*

---

*The United Bronx Parents case study was made possible through support from the "Legal Accountability of Public School Educators for Providing a Minimum Standard of Professional Services Project", N.I.E. Grant No. NE-G-00-3-0145 (another CNS research project). It draws on data collected for a case study of United Bronx Parents focusing on the uses of the law in monitoring educational performance. We deeply appreciate this support.

Overview

United Bronx Parents of New York is included in this study as one of the two groups whose principal interest and objective is the mobilization and political education of parents and other community people around issues of education in the city. It was founded in 1965 by Ms. Evelina Antonetty, a Puerto Rican mother concerned about the quality of education, and since then has steadily expanded its permanent base of operations until it is beginning to move out of the South Bronx area of largely Puerto Rican and Black people where it started and also to link itself to other groups in New York. One long term goal is to create a city-wide parental pressure mechanism.

The philosophy of United Bronx Parents stresses the importance of open, and humane classroom situations for children, in which critical thinking is taught by innovative techniques and in which all cultures and languages are allowed to have respected status. The organization feels that the only way to achieve this objective is to organize parents of the children in such a way that a permanent pressure mechanism is created for educational improvement, the boundary between home and school is made less rigid and traumatic, and power is devolved downward so that teachers and administrators become responsive to children and parents rather than only to "higher ups".

To achieve the creation of these structures, United Bronx Parents has for the past eleven years worked steadily through parent leadership training, class advocacy work both in and out of the courts, case advocacy especially in the field of suspensions, and the creation of parent-controlled mechanisms of school evaluation and action research. The organization has on many occasions mustered support and pressure for increased bilingual education; special education; innovative programs; improved auxiliary services such as lunches, curriculum and text reform; and many other specific changes. They have not limited their efforts to education; they also have carried out a range of programs dealing with drug addiction, health services, post-secondary education and other fields.

This work is done out of a main headquarters and three storefront branch offices in various parts of the South Bronx. The organization has a staff which is largely a product of its own parent training process, and it is very proud of the fact that there is no major difference in social class, nationality, and formal educational background between its own staff and the people it serves. The staff strive to produce new leadership from among the parents of South Bronx school children, but at the same time do not hesitate to act directly themselves as community spokesmen and activists whose presence in the area can be assumed to be permanent. In the distinction earlier made between "field" and "headquarters" activities, United Bronx Parents puts great emphasis on the field. The organization exists very largely to provide a support base for the facilitators who work directly with the parents, and thus, although on paper the structure is simple and relatively centralized, in fact the facilitators in the branch offices largely use their own political judgment in most situations. They rely on the support system to keep their funds coming, to keep them supplied with necessary materials, and to help in interventions when more manpower is needed. Nevertheless, the high respect with which the Executive Director is viewed both within and from outside the organization is a major disciplining, centralizing force.

In its work in the field, United Bronx Parents is most of all concerned with raising both the knowledge that parents have about the educational system and its problems, and the consciousness that parents have about their own right and ability to actively question what is going on in the schools. To this end, United Bronx Parents field staff continually are engaged in the process of parent training, case advocacy, and class advocacy based on the idea that parents themselves, not outside "professionals" are the people most capable of criticizing and changing the system. Or, as one key figure in United Bronx Parents puts it "The parent is the professional when it comes to the education of their children". Community educational materials are constantly being produced through United Bronx Parents activities, with an emphasis being placed by the organization on the inclusion of parents' own ideas and priorities as the main content.

A major part of United Bronx Parents activities focuses on advocacy in individual cases of student suspension. In order to carry out this and related activities, the workers of the organization have internalized a knowledge of the laws and regulations concerning discipline and suspension and have created and legitimized a role for themselves as lay advocates where parents or students claim abuse by administrators.

In addition, United Bronx Parents has developed many related services and activities intended to fill community needs, including bilingual GED (High school equivalency) programs; ESL (English as a Second Language) programs; day care; drug prevention; school lunches; recreation for youth; and a community-experience based college level program for the training of teachers and other social service workers from the community.

All in all, United Bronx Parents appears to be an ideologically and motivationally homogeneous organization with relatively little internal conflict and a strong legitimacy in the community setting in which it operates. It has been effective and efficient in carrying out the tasks it has set for itself.

History *

The rise of United Bronx Parents stems from the ethnic nationalist and community control movements which so profoundly shook the American educational system beginning in the mid 1960's. The South Bronx neighborhood was one of the most impoverished Spanish speaking communities in the city and was deeply affected by these movements. In 1965, Mrs. Evelina Antonetty saw the parents as the people who were most concerned and most able to be mobilized around that concern, being uninfluenced for the most part by considerations other than the welfare of their children. Seeing parents as the main group to be dealt with is the orientation of United Bronx Parents to this day. In addition, the organizing of parents first took place under Puerto Rican leadership, and the organization is still primarily identified with Puerto Rican community people, even though it no where claims that it is mainly or only a Puerto Rican organization and even though it also has Black staff and has worked with Black and white parents.

In 1966, the heretofore unfunded organization obtained a "small" OEO grant as a community action group. They found from this experience that in spite of the disadvantages of government funding, such funding is essential to allow the concentrated full-time effort that is not possible in a purely voluntary organization. Since that time, UBP has been able to keep a fairly steady supply of funds, moving from OEO to other federal support and more recently

---

* This summary of the History of United Bronx Parents is based on interviews and on a very useful brief document, "History of United Bronx Parents, Inc." distributed by the organization.

to federal and city funds for drug prevention programs, school lunches and GED and to private foundation funds for some other purposes. UBP prides itself in the fact that it has not developed an elaborate, professional-dominated bureaucracy proportional to the growth of its funding, and in the additional fact that it has never been "co-opted" (i.e. diverted from original purposes to a more conservative stance) by the funds that it has received. They see this ability to maintain their independence as a marked contrast to many other community based groups, including especially OEO funded "community action groups."

United Bronx Parents' expansion since 1966 has generally followed the following pattern: Parents Associations in the Bronx contact United Bronx Parents; UBP provides parent training work and case and class advocacy in support of these parents' needs; UBP recruits additional new staff from among the parents to carry the UBP's operations yet further. Three branch offices were set up in order to keep the organization from becoming too distant from the people seeking its services: In the South Bronx, in the Boston Road area; and in the Tremont area.

In addition, the organization has added programs to meet general community needs (such as drug abuse prevention) as funds have become available. This has gradually added an interest in providing GED and ESL (English as a Second Language), heavy involvement in questions of health and mental health services, a drug prevention program, day care programs, and a recreational program for youth to its services. From 1971 to the present, the organization has greatly expanded its contacts through providing hot lunches in the summer for children throughout the city. In 1974, also, the organization received an HEW grant to write a training manual of school evaluation for parents and students.

Another thrust that has expanded with United Bronx Parents over the years has been its number of city-wide, national, and international contacts. At the city-wide level, the contacts have led the organization to form alliances with other groups sharing similar orientations and objectives and thus exert influence at higher levels. The national and international contacts have led to some work outside the New York area (workshops with parent groups in other regions) and to a widening of sources of inspiration and ideas for the United Bronx staff.

An important event within the history of United Bronx organization was the famous Ocean-Hill Brownsville and I.S. 201 incidents in which the Ford Foundation and the school system co-sponsored an experiment in greatly increased local community control of the schools. Although the school system of New York later retreated from the community control stance taken in these projects, in the aftermath there was some decentralization of the schools. This included the creation of community boards at the level of the local districts, with the district superintendents now made partially accountable to the local boards. Partly as a result of this happening, United Bronx Parents found itself increasingly able to influence the local boards and through them the selection of principals and superintendents whose orientations were favorable to the organization's objectives. United Bronx and other groups like it were able to play a more legitimized role in educational decision-making from this point onwards, no longer being confined to pressure tactics of a purely adversary kind.

Thus, over time United Bronx has shifted in individual districts from largely conflict or adversarial activities to activities that include sharing in decision-making and involvement in programatic activities of the schools.

Meanwhile, United Bronx's staff has grown irregularly in line with the shifting availability of funds. There has been continuity, however, in that UBP has not changed sharply in orientation and background from working class community people, usually parents of school children in the area or high school and college age Puerto Rican youth from the South Bronx. There has not been a dispersion of power within the organization as it has expanded, except that the branch offices were created for logistical reasons; Mrs. Antonetty, Executive Director from the beginning, has continued to play a strong inspirational and directive role.

At the time we made the site visit, another addition was made to the ancillary projects of United Bronx Parents: Namely, Universidad Urayoan Liberal Arts College . This is a project which is intended to provide advanced training for

Puerto Rican community people who are going into the social service occupations, especially teaching. The concept is that students should not isolate themselves in an academic setting divorced from the real life setting in which they will be working after they are trained, but that they should be given college credit for supervised community experience. Through this program United Bronx Parents hopes to have a strong voice in the development of professionals who will be willing to ally themselves with its political objectives.

Internal Functioning

Overall, it was somewhat difficult in our five week stay to concentrate adequate attention on the internal functioning of the organization in terms of support functions. Part of the reason for this is the limitations of the methodology of study used(the relatively short field stays). However, a contributing factor also was the very great emphasis the organization puts on the field work or technical assistance function. The center or support system of United Bronx Parents clearly exists to channel resources and coordinate the different people involved in direct action in the field, and it simply has never developed functions or structural features not closely related to this end. People are supposed to be out in the community doing the technical assistance work of the organization, and their minds also tend to be on this community work rather than on problems of internal administration. Consequently, topics of discussion even among people who are physically in the main office tend to deal with what is going on in the field.

In spite of our difficulty in pinning down some features of internal functioning, it is possible to state with some confidence that the organizational structure of United Bronx Parents is relatively simple, undifferentiated, flexible and task oriented. A more detailed discussion of the specific features of the organization will clarify what is meant by this general statement.

United Bronx Parents Organizational Structure. Ultimate authority and accountability in United Bronx Parents formally rests with its Board of Directors, which consists of a maximum of 15 people who are all local parents. One becomes a United Bronx Parents board member through appointment by the existing Board. Recommendations can come from the other board members, or from the Executive Director or other UBP staff. The organization's own summary of its history and activities gives a hint that effective control of the organization rests with the Executive Director, rather than the Board:

> Although theoretically, the board must approve the Executive Director's decisions regarding policy, the Executive Director is an extremely articulate, dynamic and aggressive woman, who is, in fact, a determining force in the organization. (United Bronx Parents, Inc., n.d. Page 3).

During our site visits, we heard little or no mention of the Board, and it seems evident that it does not have much part in everyday running of the organization. It is important to note that the background of the Board is essentially the same as that of the staff and, indeed of the people with whom the organization works. This may explain the lack of any mention of conflicts between Board and staff and the equal lack of formality in differentiating the exact boundaries of Board-staff decision-making powers, as revealed in the quotation above.

Another body of which we heard little mention in our site visits, but which is mentioned in the organization's literature, is the Advisory Board which consists of up to 40 professionals, academics, and 'significant lay people'. Again, the organization's historical outline paper is vague:

> 'The function of this group seems to be that of providing occasional prestige, influence, expertise or contacts when needed." (United Bronx Parents n.d., Page 3)

It is important that the organization deemed it wise to keep the power holding board (the Board of Directors) confined to people of the "parent" type, i.e. of the same class and role group which the organization is trying to mobilize and educate. Professionals are given a prestigious, but purely secondary advisory role in legal control of the organization. The same pattern is reflected in staffing: The organization tries to keep its staff profile similar to the class and ethnic profile of the people it works with, while employing traditional professionals in an auxiliary or support role which makes them, in a sense, outsiders to the organization.

The working components of the organization consist of the central office, which maintains most of the support system, and the three branch offices.

The central office on Westchester Avenue is a large multi-storied building in an area of housing developments and deteriorated apartment housing. It has been subdivided to provide office space for the Executive Director and the special programs of the organization.

Special programs that operate out of the central office include the United Bronx Parents drug prevention program, the summer lunch program, a program of recreation and informal counseling for youth, and family day care units. Each of these programs has a director of its own, responsible to the Executive Director but having wide powers of everyday control and management.

The support functions which operate out of the central office include fund-raising, external relationships at the city-wide level and beyond, provision of materials, bookkeeping and backup in crisis. These will be discussed in more detail further on.

In addition to the central office, there are three branch offices which were added successively as the organization expanded its activities into different areas of the South Bronx where these headquarters are now located. The reasons for setting-up branch offices (rather than simply continuing to operate from the center) are related to both logistics and human relations: The South Bronx is a large area (approximately 20.6 square miles) and an United Bronx Parents worker often must move to five or six widely separated meetings in one day. Also, it is felt by the organization that they need to be present, visible, and available to local community residents to maintain good contact with them and to give them the confidence to come to the organization for help in educational or related issues.

The bulk of the parent training and case and class advocacy work of the organization, and also its two-language GED and ESL programs, are run out of the branch offices (Parent training was suspended for analysis and revision when we visited). Thus the major support functions of the organization tend to be concentrated in the central office, along with special programs not directly related to the educational technical assistance function, while the major technical assistance activities related to parents and schools operate out of the branch offices. We must warn, however, that this structural relationship is flexible and secondary to necessity: When necessary, people from the central office also take on the direct service functions of the branch office people (e.g. they will be asked to come to an especially crucial meeting about something in which the branch office is involved), and the people from the branch offices may come to the central office to help out in a support function (e.g. they may need to have input in fund-raising and proposal writing activities that are under the control of the central office.)

Individual branch offices, likewise, may combine their efforts for some specific task, or on some specific political issue; virtually the whole organization may be mobilized to go to a crucial meeting.

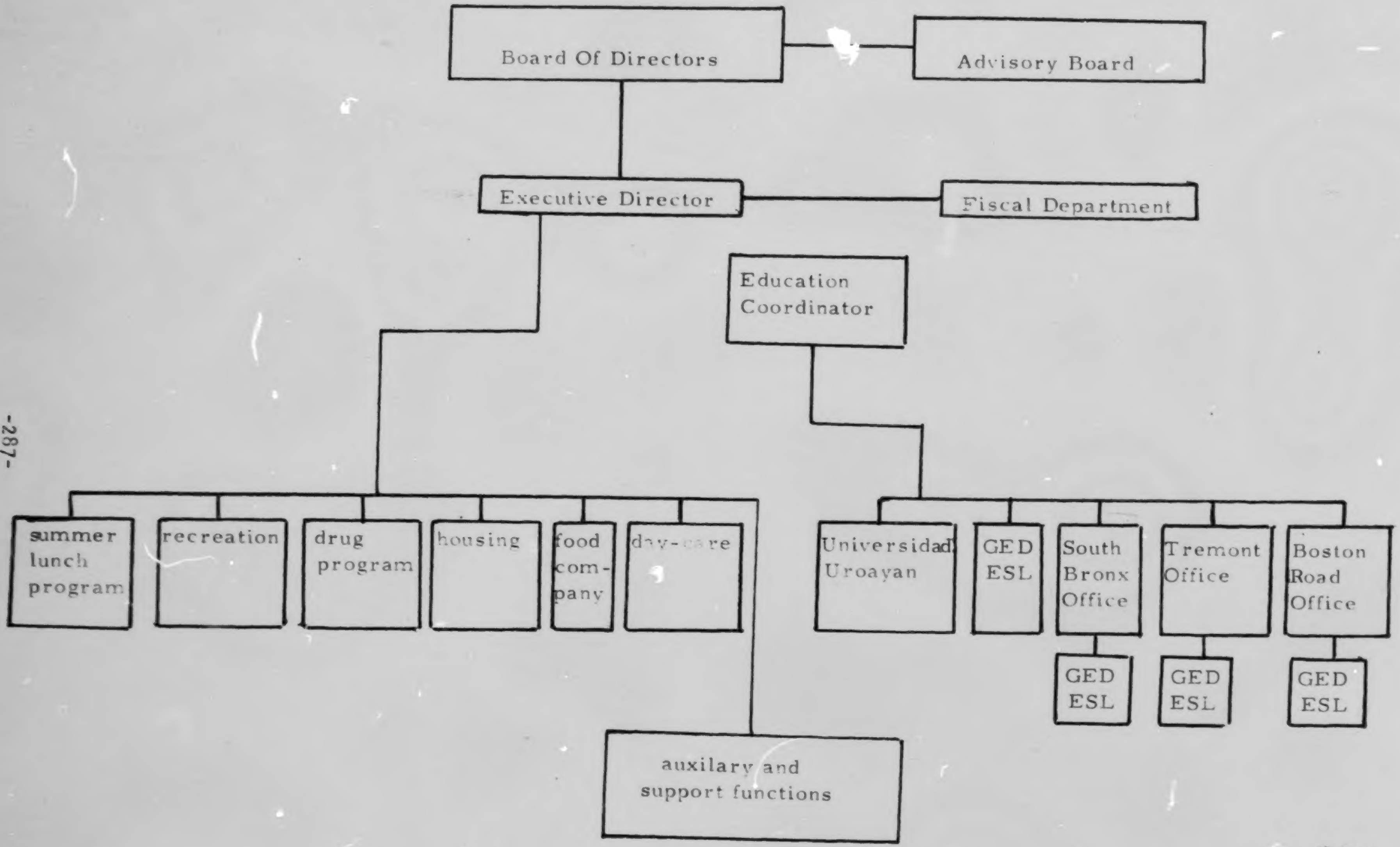
UBP's geographical structure is paralleled by the administrative structure of the organization. Overall direction comes from the Executive Director, The present incumbent in this role is also the founder of the organization and has been one of the major influences in the shaping of organizational philosophy, techniques and goals. She is one of the major assets of the organization, as well, due to her wide network of contacts. Her contacts are useful in many ways, from facilitating fund-raising to implementing change in school policy. Thus policy-making tends to be influenced very strongly by the decisions of the Executive Director. In a sense, the Executive Director functions as the living embodiment of the United Bronx Parents philosophy --it is she who developed it and she who articulated it to the staff and to the outside world. Before doing anything that might affect policy or have policy implications, other staff normally check with the Executive Director. If the Executive Director does not approve of what is being suggested or requested from the outset, there is room for negotiation or for the presentation of proof or evidence of the worth of the suggestion. However, United Bronx Parents staff with decision-making responsibilities often first think about "what Mrs. Antonetty would do in this situation" before acting. This centralization of policy making authority in the hands of the Executive Director is the source of a severe workload on that individual, but is not a source of any significant complaint or dissatisfaction in the organization as far as we could tell. This is attributable, in addition to the high personal esteem in which the Executive Director is held both within the organization and the community, to the fact that there is a high degree of ideological agreement among organization personnel. Thus, conflicts in which the final deciding voice of the Executive

Director might be resented are few enough that this is not a major problem.

Beneath the Executive Director, there are the heads of the different specialized programs (the drug program, the recreation program, the parent training program, the summer lunch program, the Universidad Uroayan, and the 3 day care centers which UBP operates) and at a parallel level of authority, the heads of the branch outposts (Figure 4-1). All of these positions are normally held by experienced individuals who for the most part have gone through some of the parent training of the organization, although the drug and recreation programs when we visited were under the direction of younger Puerto Rican community people. A key position in the organization under the Executive Director and within the central office is the Education Coordinator, who supervises the parent training work and is responsible for the organizing of the Universidad Uroayan.

In effect, the Coordinator of Education functions as an assistant to the Executive Director and has supervisory power over all of the educational programs, including especially the heads of the branch offices and the Universidad Uroayan, the GED and the ESL programs that operate out of both the central office and the branches. Beneath the level of the Executive Director and the Education Coordinator, each specialized program normally has a director or head plus a number of working staff which is highly variable depending on the availability of funds. United Bronx Parents see all the different types of community survival problems which their programs address as being related and

Figure 4-1. United Bronx Parents Organizational Chart


Board Of Directors
Advisory Board
Executive Director
Fiscal Department
Education Coordinator
summer lunch program
recreation
drug program
housing
food company
day-care
Universidad Uroayan
GED ESL
South Bronx Office
Tremont Office
Boston Road Office
GED ESL
GED ESL
GED ESL
auxilary and support functions

thus requiring a coordinated effort of resolution. This means that the relationships between the different programs and the kinds of tasks that any one individual is doing are altered to meet overall organizational needs. During the period of the study, for instance, a staff member of the drug program was also assigned to do a research project on school suspensions-- the explanation being that suspensions are related to the drop-out - push-out problems of high school age youth, which in turn is related to the drug dependency problem. This approach then has been intended to keep the organization task-oriented and to maintain people's sense of the overall interrelation of the problems they deal with. This approach has had the disadvantage of creating unclear priorities for people and leaving some tasks undone, a problem UBP is currently attempting to cope with through clearer definitions of individual job responsibilities.

The three outposts or branch offices are located in storefronts within the neighborhoods and school districts with which they are assigned to work. Each outpost has a director who is usually an experienced, senior staff member (in terms of time with the organization) recruited through the parent training cycles. At the time we did the site visits, each of these directors had one main assistant and two or three orher staff assigned to work with him or her. In addition, each branch office has its own bilingual GED and ESL program staffed not by the regular United Bronx Parents staff of the branch office, but by outside individuals volunteering or working part-time.

The heads of the branch offices report to the Executive Director through the Education Coordinator. They and the rest of their staff are expected to attend important policy meetings at the United Bronx central office and at the other branch offices, to be available to be present at important community meetings and events in their own area or others at all hours of night or day, to maintain the branch office in good working order, to maintain records of the office and a press clipping file of events important to the organization's work, and to supervise their regular staff and the people working on the GED and ESL programs. More will be said about the specific tasks of the branch office staff in a later section. The branch office directors are allowed considerable latitude in decision-making for events in the local area, (e.g. how to handle certain problems and issues in the community, whether to get involved in a particular issue or not, etc.,) so long as they are also available when the Executive Director needs them elsewhere and so long as they do not go against basic organization philosophy and policy. However, the offices are in day to day contact, and the number of events in which people from the branch offices plus the central offices all need to be present is great. Thus, in spite of the geographical spread of the organization and the existence of the branch offices, the organization is closely coordinated on a day-to-day basis. The assistant to the Education Coordinator and Education Coordinator herself play a key role in maintaining telephone or other contact with the branch office directors, finding out what is going on at the offices that day, informing them of things coming up in other districts which necessitate their presence, calling them to the central office for meetings, and informing them of policy decisions of the Executive Director.

Within the organization and its subdivisions, there is a definite lack of decision-making or management bodies. We could identify task-defined programs as outlined above, but the organization lacks management boards, policy committees, personnel committees, and the like. Program Directors do meet once or twice a month for coordination, but this does not constitute a formal group meeting at a specified time. However, we were not aware of any complaint about the lack of formal bodies. If one function of internal structural differentiation of organizations of this type is the balancing or mediation of conflicting personal or subgroup interests, it may be that United Bronx Parents simply has not had enough internal dissension to have to worry about developing such structures and mechanisms.

Support Functions of United Bronx Parents. United Bronx Parents is an example of an organization in which the direct service functions, including those we classify as educational technical assistance work, very much determine the nature of the support or coordination functions. Another way of saying this is that in the tension between "headquarters" and "field" development approaches, the "field" definitely wins out. We will briefly outline the different support functions identifiable in the organization in illustration of this point.

8

Development of TAG philosophies, strategies, and major program directions. Details of United Bronx Parents Organizational philosophy and specifics of their strategies will be presented later. Briefly, they see their task as an organization as mobilizing parents to fight and work for changes in the school system which will increase community control, decrease the separation between classroom activities and community realities, improve educational achievement, and result in the educational system respecting all cultures and languages.

This was the set of principles on which the organization was founded, and on which it has always worked. It has mobilized community segments (Puerto Rican and Black parents) who are normally likely to be in agreement with these philosophical points and objectives, and has built both its staff and its Board of Directors with people of this background who, in addition, are for the most part people to whom the organization has provided political training. Thus there has not been any time in which there has been a major pressure to change the philosophical orientation or the strategies of the organization in any major way.

Definition of Roles, Subsystems and Tasks. Since United Bronx Parents is a highly "field" oriented organization, for the most part the roles and tasks within the organization relate directly to some urgent need in the community work. Somebody will be needed to cover a meeting, or to direct a special program, or to replace a branch office director who has resigned. This decision is made by the Executive Director if it has important implications for long term organizational functioning. Otherwise, it is made by the Education Coordinator or lower level staff. For example, tasks in the branch offices where so much of the direct technical assistance work goes on, are normally assigned by the branch office directors, and tasks within the drug prevention program, the recreation program, and other special programs operating out of the central office are normally assigned by the director of the specific program.

Staff selection, promotion, demotion and termination. Most staff who have been recruited to the organization in the past have either been parents who went through the parent training process or youths who have been in contact with the special programs of the organization, such as the drug prevention program or the recreation program. People who show good discipline and other signs of leadership potential are, when they are in need of a job, considered by United Bronx Parents and hired for positions which are available.

Normally, people do not seem to be brought in from the outside to fill higher level positions (such as program directorships, directorships of branch offices, or the positions of Educational Coordinator or Assistant Educational Coordinator) but rather people within the organization with a considerable favorable performance record are shifted into these slots while new people are put in lower level positions. This is, of course, made possible by the non-professional background of practically all staff; there are no special educational or certificational requirements of the more responsible positions which would require the organization to do an outside talent search to fill them when they become vacant. Again, this pattern contributes to the internal solidarity of the organization, since there is no need to bring in people to fill key positions who are not fully loyal to the organization and its leadership and goals already. People are fully prepared to function in higher level positions by the time they get to them.

Demotion in United Bronx Parents does not seem to be used punitively, and we heard no complaints. Demotion seems to be uncommon, and when it has occurred it has had to do with the loss of funds that were supporting a position rather than with the failure of an individual to perform well in that position. Since all tasks done in the organization are considered to be equally valuable by the Executive Director, there is no complaint expected when somebody is shifted from being in charge of part of parent training and advocacy to doing secretarial and administrative work (as happened in one instance), because of a shift in the availability of funds. In an organization of non-specialists in which care is taken to always present themselves as a group of laymen, there is evidently relative ease in moving from one position to another quite different position.

Termination of staff is evidently not commonly initiated by the organization or the Executive Director, although it has happened in the past. During the period we have been in contact with United Bronx Parents, several staff did leave, but this was primarily related to funding pinches forcing them to look elsewhere for financial support rather than some inadequacy in their performance or some complaint that they had about the internal dynamics of the organization.

Internal Social Control, Monitoring, Rewards and Sanctions. The Executive Director is the person with the ultimate authority to impose rewards and sanctions within the organization, although of course other people with delegated responsibility (the Education Coordinator, the head of the branch offices, the program directors) can exercise some of this power. Financial bonuses, raises, and promotions are not normally much used as rewards, nor is their denial normally used as a negative sanction. Most social control relies on internal peer pressure plus the acceptance by staff of the organization's authority structure. A strong norm exists for staff to be psychologically supportive of one another but at the same time not to hesitate in openly criticizing activities of other staff with which they are not in agreement. Support or criticism is often conveyed in a group setting over lunch or while sitting around the office, and a powerful emotional support and/or deterrent depending on the specific circumstances.

Monitoring of work is facilitated by the care which the Executive Director, the Education Coordinator, and other responsible people take to be informed on a day to day basis of exactly what is happening in the entire area of operations. The people in the central office will not hesitate to pick up the phone to remind a branch office director that his or her attention is required in a given situation which the central office people know to be developing within his assigned area. The central office staff are also frequently present at public events which involve people from the branch offices or the special programs and themselves are also in rather frequent communication with school and community people with whom the other staff are dealing. Any diplomatic or strategic mistakes which were made would soon come to the attention of other people in the organization who would in turn bring it to the attention of the person responsible for the error.

Staff Training, Development and Socialization. As previously mentioned, staff of the organization tend to be recruited from people who already know a lot about its philosophy, orientation and mode of functioning, being recipients of the parent training or users of one of the special programs for the most part. Organizational tasks also require more political finesse than technical knowledge. Thus, there is not, within the organization, a large attention given to further internal training and socialization. Many staff are interested in pursuing further college education, usually related to the work that they are doing in the organization. The organization permits them to do this so long as it does not interfere with their tasks, but the tasks themselves, and especially the demands made on the organization by community needs, are so great that it may be difficult for people to work for the organization and get some further college credits at the same time. However, it should be noted that in fact many do get credit for their work with United Bronx Parents through those colleges whose credit arrangements are flexible enough.

The organization's special college-without-walls program, Universidad Uroayan, is partly intended to remedy this problem. Through Universidad Uroayan, members of the organization and others will be allowed to accumulate college credit for their community work which will contribute to their acquisition of degrees in education and the social services.

Decision-Making. The decision-making system of United Bronx Parents has already been largely described above. Decisions on policy are basically made by the Executive Director. The Education Coordinator frequently acts on behalf of the Executive Director in policy decisions, but also is accountable to the Executive Director. The branch office directors and the program directors have wide discretionary powers over such things as what issues to get involved in, how to pursue a given issue tactically, or how to deal with local people in the schools and communities. However, if the Executive Director feels that something is particularly important that normally falls within the authority of the program directors or the branch office directors, she also will intervene in it, and can overrule the other workers.

The main problem that seems to arise out of this highly centralized and rather informal decision-making process is that people often have time conflicts with meetings or other activities which the Executive Director or other higher level staff indicate are compulsory. In this case, the person being called on can attempt to get their superior to excuse them or change the schedule, but if the superior is not convinced he or she simply has to change their own schedule.

Fund and resource maintenance. Fund-raising for an organization of this scale has to be a continuous process. In the beginning, bootstrap fund-raising efforts through events and solicited donations, especially from local small businessmen, were relied on to keep the organization in operation, but since the first OEO grant was obtained, the main fund-raising activity has consisted of proposal writing and follow-up on proposals. This is a function which often involves most of the senior staff. The Executive Director, however, is considered the person with major responsibilities in this area. She has the contacts and sources of information that are vital to effective grantsmanship. We do not have a wealth of details on the way proposals are written but the general procedure seems to be that an area of need is identified, a possible source of funds is located through the organization's contacts, a decision is made by the Executive Director about the general line which the proposal should take, and then the Education Coordinator and perhaps some of the program directors and/or branch office directors produce the actual proposal. It is submitted and followed up by the Executive Director or the Education Coordinator.

As in so many other situations, the respect with which the Executive Director is regarded and her wide network of contacts have proved vital in expediting the fund-raising process.

Publicizing the organization, its approach, and the services it has available. At this point, the organization hardly needs to make any effort to publicize itself to meet its goals, as its reputation has already spread throughout the

New York area and into other cities as well. The spread of this information has come by word of mouth contact , by the Executive Director's personal national and international contacts, and by the many conferences and meetings which she and other United Bronx Parents staff attend. In New York City, the use of printed materials by the organization, frequently in the form of leaflets and the like distributed in the context of school activities, helps to publicize it, as does the English and Spanish language press which has given wide and largely favorable coverage to its activities. At this point, people are continually contacting the organization from other areas of the Bronx and the city in general asking for support and assistance in various school related situations. Thus there is no need for a special publicity effort or a special part of the organizational structure dedicated to that effort.

Development of Materials and Techniques for Technical Assistance work and for other purposes. United Bronx Parents places considerable emphasis on the development of materials for technical assistance work. Basically three main types of materials are produced by the organization: community information materials, parent training materials, and administrative reports.

Community information materials include broadside flyers and short papers in which attention is drawn to some situation in the school system, such as declining reading scores, inadequate staff for bilingual education, or the like. These materials are produced bilingually and in very simple readable form, but incorporate the most up to date facts and figures that the organization is able to obtain through its contacts. They are printed on bright sheets of paper and are identified with the organization's name and address. They usually recommend that community people take some kind of action in protest to the conditions that are described (see example at the end of this chapter).

The best example of United Bronx Parents' parent-student training materials is the school evaluation manual (see sample pages at the end of this chapter). The organization has produced a great number of these documents which are designed to enable parents in schools all over the city to engage in what are often called "action research" projects, i.e. to gain an understanding of conditions in the school in a relatively short period of time through questions and observational criteria. Some of these materials are quite detailed, e.g. the questionnaire to be given to principals is particularly probing and lengthy.

The organization insists that the informational and parent training materials that it produces are in fact produced largely by the working-class parents with the assistance of the organization's paid, experienced staff. This is particularly the case with the evaluation materials, which, say the United Bronx staff, are always created in a setting of parent organizing and training and always incorporate mainly the parents' ideas rather than simply those of the staff. No individual author's names are usually attached to these documents, and an effort is always made to present them as a communal effort. The one exception is the book How to Change the Schools (Lurie, 1970). Ms. Lurie was for a time a consultant to the organization's training process. United Bronx Parents staff, point out, as does Lurie in her introduction, that most of the specific ideas in the book result from the parents own ideas which arose during the process of organizing and political education work initiated by United Bronx Parents. The statistics and their interpretation included in the informational materials are contributed by the United Bronx staff from knowledge gained through their attendance at meetings and following of press coverage of the schools, as well as their own informal research. The central office staff and in particular the Executive Director, the Education Coordinator, and Assistant to the Education Coordinator oversee the work of a printer in the central office who is responsible for the physical tasks of materials production.

Materials are kept in the front of the main office in a tremendous, homemade filing rack, about six feet high and thirty feet long. Some of the materials are dated, but others are not and are kept in stock for many years, having become "classics" in the field of education in New York. The organization has a catalogue of materials which are ordered by parent groups from across the country.

Operational reports, such as reports to funders and proposals, are produced when necessary by the central office staff, again with the major roles seemingly going to the Education Coordinator and her assistant and the different project directors and branch office directors.

Communications within the Organization. The organization's leadership is extremely sensitive to the question of maintaining adequate internal communications in an entity that is expanding outwards in geographical spread and from time to time also in the number of employees. One of the functions of the Education Coordinator and the Assistant Education Coordinator is to maintain a close watch on what is going on in the other parts of the organization, and to keep the Executive Director informed on this. This is done through telephone contact, through frequent visits of the central office staff to outlying units, and through frequent visits of the branch office staff to the central office staff. The main barriers to communication seem to be geographic rather than due to social differentiations among staff, and thus this communications mechanism seems very adequate.

Carrying out applied research, evaluation, formal analysis and/or informal analysis of the TAG's own work. United Bronx Parents, with its emphasis on parent-directed evaluations of the schools and its long experience in social and political action at various levels of the social system, has become one of the foremost practitioners we have seen in action research, or research which is carried out in close relationship to specific political and social action projects and involving investigation done by parents rather than professional social scientists. They have an extremely strong emphasis on finding out as much as they can about power relationships, about specifics of educational programs, and other things that directly affect the education of children in their area.

They themselves always meet after important community events to analyze those events in the light of their intuitive knowledge of the economics, politics, and sociodynamics of the particular situation. These discussions include analysis of the role of United Bronx in the events, and directly feed into the organization's policy decisions. Also, practically all staff, especially in the branch offices, are involved in this process.

However, much of it is intuitive. Written policy reports with analysis of a given situation and recommendations for action are not produced or circulated within the organization. Reactions of community people and school personnel to the organization's activities are not investigated through any kinds of informal or formal interviewing of samples of people with whom they have contact; rather the impact of their work is judged by less formal criteria such as what the neighborhood bochinche (gossip) says about the affair or how many people come to meetings and how they react to the organization's initiatives.

In the past, several individuals have worked with the organization as consultants but did not pass on all of their specific skills to people who were going to remain when they left. One gets the impression that training in further research and analysis skills is something that would be welcomed by some of the staff if it were made available.

Understanding and Analyzing Theory, Research and Experience of Others For Possible Improvement of TAG's Own Approach. The analysis of the organization's work, and the integration of this understanding of the work of others, is a rather informal process. The organization maintains a small library on education, and the higher level staff, especially the Executive Director, are well-read and particularly well-informed through their frequent attendance at conferences. They and people at the branch offices frequently engage in informal discussions which might include material from the works of others on education. The staff tend to feel that the reality and importance of another person's theory or approach is whether it is applicable to their work in the South Bronx and do not become involved in arguments about theory which they do not see as directly related to their own efforts. There is nothing like a system of formal staff seminars or guest speakers, or abstracts of articles and publications that do not directly refer to their own work.

Resolving Internal Conflicts. Resolution of internal fights is something we have little data on because we did not find any serious conflict situations in progress when we arrived. We were told about a few, however, which included tactical conflicts about how to deal with nonpolitical people, and how to deal with people who in UBP's view are trying to exploit the organization for personal gain in the name of social action. In both cases, it is clear that most people in the organization have a united concept of what they are doing, and this united concept, jointly with the Executive Director's actions, are enough either to have people shut up, change, or leave. In the case of people who were non-political, but wanted UBP's help (e.g. parent groups led by people who were against independence for Puerto Rico), some younger UBP workers were in favor of denying them help, but the Executive Director and other leaders took the position that this could not be denied, and they were thus overruled by reference back to the UBP philosophy. Also, when some people have argued that "ripping off" is permissible since the funds come from the government, the indication is that the majority of the other UBP people disagreed on the grounds that it violated the internal discipline which is part of the model of action of UBP. Solving Problems Generated Internally or Externally that do not Involve Conflict Primarily. Again, the possibilities are measured up against the generally accepted purpose and concept, and a decision is basically made by the Executive Director based on this. So in funding crunches, UBP would rather reduce the salaries of their staff than drop parent organizing and go into evaluation*, even though there is potential funding available in evaluation. It was suggested by one of the other staff who was not concerned about funding but about the need to get some honesty into what this person calls the evaluation "racket" that UBP seek evaluation contracts. This proposal was vetoed by the Executive Director as having a tendency to undermine the independence of UBP vis a vis local educational administrative structures.

This seems to have always been the pattern in the past. Since the UBP orientation has developed in relation to the popular movement of low income

* i.e. under contract to the N.Y. School System.

Puerto Ricans and Blacks in the South Bronx, it is hard to identify specific points of differentiation, but seeking the best way to get the people mobilized independently around their own needs has been the criterion for how everything else is done. There also seems to be very little real friction about this, or at least if there is the demands of political discipline make the UBP staff conceal it effectively.

Day to Day Administrative Procedures. There is a differentiable clerical group, who have charge of maintaining the secretarial work, accounts, time planning, etc. This is not as sharply differentiated a group as in other TAGs since the people in it are not very different in class and racial origins from the people running the organization and doing other tasks. People move in and out of the clerical roles and switch to non-clerical roles as needs and available funds shift.

There is an effort to make sure that everybody is putting in a fair day's work. In the hall of the main office there is a factory style punch clock with cards for all employees, including the Executive Director, and it is used. Also, employees are expected to call in where they are during the day.

In addition, each branch office has one person responsible for clerical work. Again, this person may also be called on to perform other tasks, and other branch office workers may end up doing their own clerical work.

Maintenance of Individual and Interpersonal Emotional Health Among the TAG Members. One major support for interpersonal and personal mental health is that it is constantly reinforced that no one is doing something unimportant and trivial. Seeing one's work as merely a stepping stone to higher positions inside or outside the organization is systematically discouraged. There is a considerable feeling of group morale transmitted to the visitor, and it is notable that we heard very little complaining and talking about the internal functioning of UBP when we were there -- almost all discussion was on task-related topics in which the main concentration was on how to get the job done. The very pace of the political action in the South Bronx seems to keep people's attention away from personal worries and personality conflicts. There is considerable socializing within the organization and an expectation that people will be concerned about the total organization. All in all, it seems to be an organization characterized by high morale, even joviality.

Non-TAG Functions. United Bronx Parents view that community problems are interrelated, plus the need to maintain funding to support staff, have pressed UBP into fields outside educational technical assistance. Thus over the years, United Bronx Parents has built an impressive array of programs, each of which deals with a specific community need and which are integrated and coordinated with each other and with the work in education.

The most vast in scope is the summer lunch program. The organization has, since 1971, been contracted by the Federal and State Governments every summer to provide hot lunches to low-income children. This mechanism has greatly boosted the organization's contacts and fame. In addition, it serves the purpose of taking up slack in the summer when much of the school related activity is at a lull because school is not in session. Staff are maintained through the summer by being assigned to the lunch program, then are returned to educational technical assistance work during the school year.

A second major non-TAG program is the drug prevention program, which operates out of the central headquarters. This is aimed primarily at high school age youth and is considered one of the most successful (and least corrupt) community based detoxification programs in the city.

A recreational program is also maintained from the central office, also chiefly aimed at high school youth. Through this effort and through the drug program, United Bronx central headquarters has become a place to which young people come after school or work to sit around and discuss questions facing them as they mature, such as job possibilities, peer group interaction questions, and the like.

The organization maintains Spanish and English GED (General Education Development, i.e. high school equivalency) programs and ESL (English as a Second Language) programs based both in the central office and in each of the branch offices. Classes are conducted by people who volunteer or are paid part-time for these programs.

Philosophy

Although it could be argued that all organizations develop a characteristic set of attitudes, beliefs, goals, and objectives of their own, it is nevertheless evident that United Bronx Parents is integrated and maintained through ideological congruity to a very great extent. In many ways, the subculture, including the specific change ideology of the organization, are a natural outgrowth of the Puerto Rican and Black liberation movements as they have developed in the Northern U.S. Cities. As we describe the specific subculture of this organization, this will emerge in more detail.

Ideology, especially concerning the topic of schools and education, is something about which the United Bronx Parents people are capable of being explicit and articulate, both in their verbal statements and in their written materials of the organization. Within the organization, there is also a high degree of agreement on most philosophical and strategic issues, so there is not always the occasion to verbalize all of this at any one time. Outsiders sometimes are unaware of the degree of explicitness and articulation of the organization's philosophy because the organization's staff does not always state ideas that are already commonly agreed on among the people involved in various kinds of grassroots social action.

This certainty and explicitness is evidenced by the way United Bronx field staff behave verbally upon entering a school. They will immediately begin to point out to a guest conditions in the school, (e.g. colors of rooms, the way the teachers have the students seated, the types of materials being used) that are good or bad and what changes they would like to see come about. These points of view have developed over years of shared involvement in community action which has given them an intimate knowledge of the people of the community, their culture, and their needs.

United Bronx is explicit about its favoring open education (education structured in terms of dialogue rather than one way transmission of factual knowledge); education for the liberation of poor and nonwhite peoples; education which removes prejudices based on race, sex or class; education which is so structured that it lessens rather then widens the gap between the home and community on the one hand, and the school on the other. They are extremely explicit in favoring community control of the schools and much more radical decentralization of power within the school system.

They are explicit about the importance of using non-manipulative techniques for working with the people, about their own need as a technical assistance and political action organization to be highly identified with the people they are serving, and about the need for starting with the local people's own ideas and initiatives and priorities rather than a set of priorities imported from outside and imposed on the people. They explicitly support multi-racial organizing approaches rather than nationalistic approaches, and they explicitly favor the idea of supporting progressive teachers and administrators rather than seeing all teachers and administrators as the enemy, without exception. Particularly, they are explicit about the worth of blue-collar minority parents' ideas as something that change can emanate directly from and the validity of assistance which consists of an expansion and coordination of those ideas.

Things they are against are also made explicit, especially verbally. They are against the kind of educational change effort which essentially to them consists of overpaid, overcertified specialists working for high fees for the administration in order to provide the administration with a few techniques of window dressing rather than real change. They are highly suspicious of most educational evaluation projects as being essentially corrupted by what amounts to a "sweetheart" contract between the evaluators and the administrators, with perhaps some token community "representation."

The explicitness of the organization's ideas comes out in conversations with the staff and in readings of their materials, and the high degree of articulation of the ideas comes from the fact that they are rooted in a few basic philosophical stances which we will now explain further.

To understand the intellectual and philosophical antecedents of United Bronx Parents one has to recall the setting of its birth. Essentially, it was a product of the community control and Black and Puerto Rican liberation movements which reached a high level in the mid 1960's, and thus was born of essentially political, rather than technical, concerns. The philosophical ancestors of the organization are found in the field of politics more than education, and include prominent heroes of the Puerto Rican nationalist movements, some of whom are enshrined in portraits in the organization headquarters.

Thus, from the very first, the organization has seen educational change as an essentially political process embedded in a context of other political activities. That which is technical, for United Bronx Parents, is secondary to that which is political. It is above all important to deal with and understand the nature of power and control when one is dealing with the educational system.

Secondly, the system inherently contains conflict. It contains large doses of exploitation based on class and race. In one's political activity, which includes the organization's activity around education, the factors of class and race inequality must be dealt with at every step, through liberation oriented activity, i.e. activity designed to erase racial barriers and increase effectiveness of struggle against class domination.

This cannot be done in a purely peaceful, programmatic setting. In the view of United Bronx Parents one cannot make an omelette without breaking eggs, and one cannot resist and eliminate oppression based on class and race domination without struggling and using conflict tactics against those whose interests are in maintaining the status quo. It is necessary to develop a willingness to fight, take risks, get into trouble, and offend others if one is going to accomplish anything.

This does not mean that all whites, all schoolteachers, all administrators, etc. are automatically the enemy. One has to choose one's target for conflict-oriented action very carefully, maintain the widest possible alliances with people who are willing to be helpful in one's efforts or who at least are not going to interefere or cause obstructions. Conflict does not get used just for its own sake, especially not just for self expression or letting off steam, but as a political weapon to be used judiciously and sparingly.

People cannot resist the features of the existing system individually. They have to organize to do this, and the people that should be organized are the people who suffer most from the nature of the present system, namely low income and minority group people. These working class people in UBP's view, have the highest potential for producing a system of education which is equitable and humane.

United Bronx staff feel that their style of work with the community people they strive to organize and politically educate has to reflect the other aspects of their philosophy. This implies, first of all, that they have to show solidarity with the other working class community people and always see themselves as acting primarily in their interests. It also means that they have to respect and utilize the ideas, initiatives, and modes of expression of the community people. Finally, they have to work with the community people in a democratic, non-manipulative way, not forcing their own opinions on the community people or trying to dominate them in any way.

In interpersonal behavior they value, according to their explicit statements, democratic, non-individualistic, and communal behavior. For United Bronx Parents, people are supposed to be motivated, inside and outside the organization, by goals that are related to ideas for social change, not for individual power, prestige and personal advancement. This is revealed most clearly in their criticisms of some of the other Puerto Rican community leaders and activists. What they stress in these criticism is the harmfulness of "ego trips" (i.e. interpersonal behavior motivated by personal prestige and individual political advancement considerations), divisiveness, and posturing.

United Bronx Parents also values discipline, or the attitude that one's personal decisions and initiatives have to be checked in the interest of group decisions and initiatives.

In educational systems, these philosophical ideas have natural implications. Educational programs should be continuous with, rather than separated from, the various struggles and activities of the home and the community. Community control is one way to ensure that this happens, and United Bronx Parents is very much in favor of community control. They also favor efforts that support cultural and linguistic continuity between school and home, such as bilingual education, accurate education in the schools concerning Puerto Rican and Black history and culture, and cultural activities under the aegis of the school.

They subscribe to the idea that true learning takes place through productive activity into which information is integrated. Thus, it is logical that they should favor all kinds of educational programs that involve learning by doing, creativity and artistic expression, and "school without walls" aspects. They are particularly concerned that the school allow children the chance to express themselves emotionally through artistic activity which is connected to the student's own cultural background and contemporary experiences. They show a great concern about such things as whether the school administration lets the children pick the colors for the new paint on the classroom walls, and heaped praise on one junior high principal who made this his policy.

They are in favor of group activities in the school as developing unselfish, communal attitudes. They thus tend to favor various open classroom techniques.

They believe that a teacher should be emotionally close to students and their families, and they are supportive of teachers and administrators who fulfill this expectation. They are believers in affectionate physical contact and individualized personal attention to students within the framework of a more equal power relationship.

In particular they are against physical punishment and those psychological punishments which leave the child feeling unworthy, isolated, or rejected, or leave him feeling that the other students are being turned against him.

The way United Bronx Parents perceives its own role in educational change fits in with the rest of its educational and general philosophy. Since there has to be change of a comprehensive nature throughout the educational and social system, they hope that directly and indirectly their work can have some significant change results at every level. They see change as being necessary not just in attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge, but in power structures as well, and in very specific directions. Students, parents and community should have more power relative to the school system, teachers should have more rights relative to the administration (but not relative to the community--a point of disagreement with the teachers union, which is United Bronx Parents great bete noir). Their role is to set in motion all of these changes by organizing and mobilizing the parents and community people with whom they identify. It is expected that the mobilization of the community will set into motion changes in school staffs, but it is not considered United Bronx's main political task to work directly with teachers or administration, except insofar as it facilitates or completes their work with the parents. Change is to come from the people most hurt by the existing situation, and among those people is where they feel they have to work.

United Bronx Parents has an ideology which is strongly shared by all of its long term staff. To a great extent, its ideology and its set of stated priorities express their own personal concerns and ideals. Thus, they seldom feel that they are doing something trivial, unimportant, or unrewarding, and this in turn has important results for the internal atmosphere of the organization. The outsider is immediately struck by the internal workstyle of seriousness and discipline. People are expected by everybody to have something useful to do, and everybody is generally busy. The internal tempo sometimes seems to verge on the frantic depending on what community events are demanding everybody's attention on any particular day. However, the general atmosphere is one of optimism. Staff are very eager buttonhole any visitor and fill him in on the latest happenings in the streets, in the schools, in the organization's work at every level. There is a remarkable lack of discouragement and complaining, in spite of some lack of resources, an evident work overload on some people, and a somewhat authoritarian internal structure.

The Setting of United Bronx Parents' Work: Summary Description Of The South Bronx.

The area of United Bronx Parents' major activities is the South Bronx in the City of New York. This area has become known nationally as one of the major examples of urban decay in the Northeast. According to 1970 census statistics, it contrasts sharply with other areas of the city of New York in major indicators of economic prosperity.

The population of the Bronx as a whole was listed as 1,471,690, of which 141,596 were found in Bronx Planning District I, the area of the South Bronx in which UBP has worked longest and most intensively. While the whole of the Bronx still contains a large white community, largely of Italian, Irish, and Jewish background, this population is found chiefly as one moves northward. The South Bronx is now very heavily Puerto Rican and Black. In Planning District I, for example, 72,595 people or more than half the population, are listed as Puerto Rican in the 1970 census. In addition, there are in New York City and including the South Bronx, large populations of other Latin American nationalities, especially Dominicans. Thus, the Spanish-speaking population of the South Bronx constitutes a sizeable majority of the total, although data are not readily available to show exactly how many. Of the remainder, a majority are evidently U.S. Blacks.*

Data on recency of arrival from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic are also not easily extracted from the available census compilations, but the

*Peculiarities of the census material available make it impossible to state how many blacks and whites there actually are, since some Puerto Ricans are listed under "Puerto Rican" and under "Black" or "White."

suggestion is from observation of the area that a majority of adults were born outside the continental United States, and are oriented primarily to the use of Spanish for communication, as well as being oriented to other "old country" cultural features (in cuisine, entertainment, etc). On the other hand, there is a considerable proportion of school age youth who have been born in New York or have lived there most of their lives, and either are equally at home in both English and Spanish or are more at home in English.

This Puerto Rican population represents in a sense an "overflow" from East (or "Spanish") Harlem, the original area of Puerto Rican settlement in New York which has replaced the earlier Italian, Jewish and other "ethnic white" working class populations of this area. Ethnic hostilities have at various times in the past been high, with the receding whites entrenching themselves in the North Bronx, Queens, and other neighboring areas and organizing to prevent the Puerto Ricans and Blacks from "spreading."

As Puerto Ricans and Blacks have moved into the South Bronx, the local landlords have on occasion found it more profitable to either abandon their residential and commercial property, or on occasion (it is rumored) to conspire with criminal elements in the neighborhood to burn it down for the insurance money. For this reason, the South Bronx presents a picture of desolation which in some areas looks like the results of modern warfare. Residential buildings of very large scale stand empty, their windows smashed, gutted by fire. These buildings not only form an incredible eyesore but provide hangouts for underworld elements as well as physical dangers for neighborhood residents (especially children).

Puerto Ricans and Blacks entered the labor force in New York after the Second World War largely through the garment manufacturing industry and other small scale, labor intensive, and low paid occupations. Today, the South Bronx population is a mixture of blue collar working class and marginalized, welfare supported people. For the whole Bronx only 7.88% of Puerto Ricans in the labor force are listed as having professional, managerial, and technical occupations, as compared to 22.61% for the total population of New York City. For the Puerto Ricans in Planning area 1, this proportion is 4.88%.

On the other hand, Puerto Ricans in the Bronx are listed as 29.28% "operatives" (i.e. factory or mill workers of some kind). This figure is 32.98% in the South Bronx Planning Area 1, and compares with an overall proportion of 14.32% for New York City. Thus, people who are working in the South Bronx are working at relatively low paid, blue collar operations.

At the time of the census, the rate of unemployment for male Puerto Ricans in the labor force was 6.27 for South Bronx Planning Area 1, compared to 3.89% in the New York City population overall. Two things must be remembered in interpreting this: that there has been a national increase in unemployment since 1970, and that the unemployment statistics do not include people who have in fact given up looking for work. Thus it is to be expected that the real rate is now considerably higher.

Among Puerto Rican women in Planning Area I, 22.32% were in the labor force and of these, 10.7% were unemployed when the census was conducted. This indicates that a large number of women in the area of United Bronx Parents' activities, feel a need to work, either to provide total support for their families or to supplement the low incomes of their husbands, and in effect are unable to find such work.

And the incomes are decidedly low. Using federal government poverty standards as a guideline ($3,700 for a family of 4 in 1970) 35.19% of the Puerto Rican families in Planning Area I have incomes below the poverty level, compared to 11.4% for New York City overall.

This brief summary of social and economic statistics for the South Bronx must be borne in mind when one examines the priorities and methods of work of United Bronx Parents. One finds a population which is contrasted with the population of some other areas of New York City in terms not only of its economic profile and the material quality of life, but also one which is racially and culturally distinctive from the population which controls and operates the governmental apparatus, including that of education.

For years, the Puerto Ricans and Blacks in New York have been involved in various efforts in organization for political change. First, Puerto Rican and Black caucuses were formed within labor unions in New York City when the minorities were not provided with adequate protection against economic exploitation in the garment industry and similar fields. In the mid 1960's racially and economically based tensions in the poor Black and Puerto Rican communities of New York came to a head in civil disorder, which was followed in turn by considerable political organizing work (Welfare Rights Movement, etc.) in addition to various kinds of elaborately structured and heavily funded poverty programs (HARYOU-ACT, Youth in Action, etc.). People with various political stances and change objectives, ranging from the pacification of the ghetto to revolution, have been very active in all these areas including the South Bronx, for over a decade, and have had considerable resources to help them in their change efforts. Thus one should not visualize a passive, down trodden population. Rather, the South Bronx has been an area of agitation and ferment, which has become part of the scene as much as the abandoned buildings.

One of the major fields in which the Black and Brown power movements of the mid and late sixties made themselves felt was in the question of education and schools. In 1968, the Ford Foundation funded an experiment in community controlled, decentralized education administration in the Ocean-Hill Brownsville area of Brooklyn which quickly became a major battleground between the teachers' union, headed by Albert Shanker, and Black and Puerto Rican parents throughout the city. The Blacks and Puerto Ricans, immediately upon receiving an increased voice in the schools in which their children were educated, pushed aggressively for a maximum of political control at the local level. They were supported in this effort by several key administrators in the new, decentralized arrangement, including Rhody McCoy and Luis Fuentes. This brought an outcry and much counter-agitation from the leadership of the teachers' union, who charged that the militants were anti-semitic and had as an objective the removal of Jewish teachers from their teaching positions and their replacements with unqualified Blacks and Puerto Ricans. Confrontations occurred in many schools, and at times it seemed that violence was imminent. Finally the school Board backed off from its original stance and reduced decentralization to a very limited "window dressing" type of change, but in the meanwhile the idea of community control, which already had been advocated by United Bronx Parents at this time for three years, had captured the imagination of the Blacks and Puerto Ricans and became a major or secondary objective of action of a great number of different groups, organizations, and individual activists and had spread from schools to health and other social services. United Bronx Parents work continues in this specific tradition.

A glance at the educational statistics of the South Bronx clearly shows the degree to which economic deprivation and inadequacies of the educational system coincide, even if their causal relationship is in dispute.

Of the Puerto Ricans in the Bronx overall, only 24% of adults over 18 have four years of high school. In Planning Area 1, this is only 17.34% of Puerto Ricans over 18 and only 32% of Blacks. This contrasts with a New York City overall figure of 50.44% for all races. Here the special position of the Spanish speaking population is clearly shown. Added to this picture is the unavailability intil recently of widespread use of bilingual education approaches, and the fact that they are not available for all Spanish-speaking children. In addition there is a general feeling of dissatisfaction with the quality of the schools and their personnel, which is acticulated in the form of complaints about teacher racism, superior attitudes of staff, lack of adequate discipline, un[illegible]r administration of discipline especially in the question of disciplinary [illegible]spensions, misuse of IQ testing and special education tracking, poor quality curriculum, lack of availability of materials, and conservative and unimaginative pedgogical approaches.

Outside the factory or other work sites, the schools are the setting in which Blacks and Puerto Ricans of the South Bronx are in most constant and most irritating contact with the representatives of what they come to see more and more as one integrated, oppressive system. In no other setting is there such a uniform, direct, face to face contact between the people and the institutions as in the children's school experience. It is then not surprising that an approach which stresses organization and political mobilization of the discontented would be one which could thrive in this environment.

Community Power Structure. Some other features of the internal structure and external relationships of the South Bronx community setting are also relevant to an understanding of United Bronx Parents' work. Unlike some older, more prosperous ethnic communities, apparently the South Bronx has a rather weak patronage-brokerage arrangement.

By *patronage* is meant the system whereby the poor and powerless seek to improve their economic and political position by individually attaching themselves to more powerful individuals (patron or *patrón*) as clients. This is a feature of the social structure of all complex societies with a sharp difference in distribution of money and power, and is well developed in Puerto Rico.

These patron figures then also become brokers, or mediators of power, between the working class community people and the outside world. The existence of a patron-client and brokerage system allows poor people to at least have some protection, while it allows local leaders to organize support groups for whatever political ambitions they may have. On the other hand, it inhibits structural change by preventing people at the bottom from organizing for change.

In many cases, the availability of federal and other money for social change projects has been seen by community people in places such as the South Bronx as a mechanism whereby the creation of patronage systems is achieved on a wider scale. The community leader who obtains control of the funds uses them to establish himself as a *patrón* and acquires as clients both the people he hires with the project money and the people who are recipients of the social services being distributed. Militant Puerto Ricans have coined a special word for minor community leaders who operate in this way; with poverty program funds, i.e. "poverty pimp."

Indeed, the Puerto Rican community of New York has many such minor leaders with patronage bases, and not a few of them have established and maintained their position through the skillful manipulation of poverty program and other public funds. However, it is important to note for the purposes of this study that the existence of this type of leadership has not evidently been strong enough to prevent United Bronx Parents and certain other groups who oppose patronage-client systems of distribution of wealth and power from organizing the community along different lines. It is also important to note and analyze, the fact that United Bronx Parents itself has had ample supplies of funding but has never been suspected by major elements of the community as having this kind of ambition. It is hypothesized that United Bronx Parents has, by gaining such a large proportion of control over social action programs in the area, in fact kept others from building patronage organizations at the level seen in some other communities. The basis on which United Bronx Parents was founded was that of providing democratic participatory mechanisms for community people, and devolving power to parents in their relationships with schools through teaching them to think critically and act independently and effectively. The leadership which UBP has maintained has consistently worked toward this objective. Thus one can find UBP providing all sorts of incidental helping services to the local people asking in return only that the people take part in the various political education activities. This contrasts with the more usual pattern in which, in exchange for help with problems, the client becomes a supporter of the personal political ambitions of the poverty program administrator.

UBP ideology is strongly opposed to personalistic and non-ideology based leadership styles. They condemn it in others, and they fall over backwards to not engage in it themselves. While the broker or patron figure normally encourages dependency and personal loyalty on the part of the people he does favors for, the United Bronx Parents leadership stress the opposite values of independence and action based on principle. At the same time, the fact that they have a fairly large-scale operation means that they occupy a sizable segment of the social structural map which otherwise would be occupied by more traditional brokers and patrons. Had the United Bronx Parents felt that they should not touch public or foundation funds so as not to be classified as "poverty pimps," they would not have been able to act in this way because they would not have been able to be so omnipresent and spread so widely. In effect, they take territory and resources away from the patron-broker figures by this tactic. Also, people in the community evidently are clearly able to distinguish the activities of United Bronx Parents from those of other types of leadership, which protects their reputation and also gives the people the idea that there is another, better way of doing these things.

In other situations, the existence of movements of the type that has propelled United Bronx Parents has generally led to the creation of new leadership strata within minority group communities which have in turn tended to re-create patterns of dependency and control. United Bronx Parents, however, has adjusted its own activities within the community setting in such a way as to prevent this from happening and thus has been able to greatly strengthen the organization of the community at the grassroots working class level.

This in turn has made it necessary for minor politicians within the community to adjust their own behavior to ensure that United Bronx Parents and groups like it do not act to undermine their own support. The Executive Director has a wide variety of contacts with various community leaders and politicians, and she does not hesitate to put subtle pressure on them to make themselves useful and otherwise conform to the United Bronx Parents ideology. Thus, this type of political leader is forced into a position where he has to change his own style of leadership to stay in the good graces of United Bronx Parents and thus the people who follow United Bronx Parents. This is in sharp contrast with some other Spanish-speaking communities in the United States, where groups with ideologies similar to that of United Bronx Parents have to

Note: Much of the foregoing is rather speculative due to the fact that we do not have a very detailed knowledge of the South Bronx as a community beyond what the UBP people told us and what little can be gleaned from the census statistics and similar material.

be continually on the defensive against patron-style leaders who are powerful enough to be able to mobilize a following against their own personal political enemies.

It is improtant to note that it would seem that at no time in United Bronx Parents history did it go on the offensive against minor local Puerto Rican leaders, or at least it did not do so as vocally as some other militant groups have done. The favorable balance of power between United Bronx Parents and the local leaders is largely the result of flanking maneuvres (better grassroots organizing around needs for educational change) rather than frontal assaults against existing leadership. Although in their conversations the United Bronx Parents people show a great awareness of the nature of the power base of minor local politicos as discussed above, they are willing to ally themselves with anyone who will help them win an issue, how ever shaky and temporary the alliance. Thus United Bronx Parents staff criticize what they consider elitist attitudes of one particular group, but nevertheless ask their support in fights over issues of bilingual education.

Further data on the internal community politics of the South Bronx would be needed to carry this interpretation any further; however at some future time it would be valuable to explore to what degree United Bronx Parents organizing success has been the product of shrewd strategy and skillful leadership, and to what degree it has been the product of a particular set of economic and social conditions in this area at the time that United Bronx Parents began to organize and afterwards.

The situation within the schools in New York has also affected the direction of United Bronx Parents work. New York is a city with elaborately developed social services and a long tradition of social service unionism. The teachers' union, especially, has been strong for a long time within the city, and is powerfully connected among "progressive" elements in the city's political spectrum, especially the Liberal Party and the Socialist Party (of Debs and Thomas). The teachers' union leadership is also connected to that of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, alluded to earlier as a structure with which the Black and Puerto Rican communities have long battled. Like the ILGWU, the teachers Union has had a progressive ideology of the surface but has long been dominated by white ethnics including in the case of the teachers' union, especially Jews. Just as in the Garment Workers, Italians and Greeks tended to have the most seniority, so in the teaching profession, Jews tended to occupy the most senior positions--indeed, most positions. Thus for many Blacks and Puerto Ricans, a conflict with school teachers and principals frequently took on the nature of a conflict between Jews and Blacks or Jews and Puerto Ricans. When the Ocean-Hill Brownsville incident erupted in 1968, the teachers' union leadership charged that underlying the demands for community control and more racially balanced staffing, the ugly head of anti-semitism was being raised. And indeed, it was inevitable that in such a situation such charges would eventually become self-fulfilling prophecies to some extent:

In spite of the fact that rank and file groups in the teachers' union, including many Jewish teachers, contradicted the union leadership and supported the Black and Puerto Rican demands, one by product of the turmoil may have been increased interethnic hostilities on both side.

It is interesting to see how United Bronx Parents has handled this situation. As always, they are most eager to avoid unnecessary divisiveness. Although they cannot keep their constituency from sharing in some of the tendency of many militant minority organizations of demanding the sacking of such-and-such an administrator and his replacement with a Puerto Rican or Black, they concentrate their questioning, agitating, etc. on issues such as "Is there adequate staffing for bilingual programs:" "How are our reading scores doing?" "Is everybody getting a hot lunch?" "What is the student-teacher ration?" They have also been prepared to lock horns with Puerto Rican or Black administrators who are uncooperative. Sometimes UBP has felt that a particular Puerto Rican administrator is trying to manipulate the situation through his nationality, and they have disrupted this gambit by sending one of their Black staff to deal with him rather than one of their Puerto Rican staff.

Note: One more comment on the relationship between UBP and the Jews: One of the most prominent objects in UBP's general headquarters is a large framed certificate awarded to the Executive Director for distinguished community service by one of the major Hassidic Jewish organizations of New York.

In other cases, "white ethnic" community people have seen the Puerto Ricans and Blacks as a menace and have begun counter-organizing efforts to keep them out of their neighborhoods and schools. In the earlier period of UBP's work, this kind of mobilization of a grassroots opposition was not much of a problem because they were still working in areas that were overwhelmingly Black and Puerto Rican. How they will handle the situation that can develop in a strongly white working and lower-middle class neighborhood with a minority of Blacks and Puerto Ricans may require some strategic changes. In the face of the fact that many of the community people in white neighborhoods react strongly to what they see as "militant" tactics and are reluctant to work with non-whites, it may be difficult to build the necessary alliances to pressure for change.

Technical Assistance Work

In the other case studies in this investigation, we followed the technique of focusing on two specific technical assistance projects of the organization for detailed analysis. This does not really fit the United Bronx Parents style of work, in which there is really one major large project which has continued since the founding of the organization: i.e., efforts in the South Bronx as a whole. The central office and the three branch offices have all coordinated their activities in this area, and we find that it is hard, and moreover artificial and arbitrary, to separate them from each other and exclude any of the information from any of the sub-areas of work from the study. Therefore, we will present, instead, a synthesis of the technical assistance work of the organization in all of the areas in which it has worked, with a notation of differences when this is appropriate. By United Bronx Parents technical assistance work as opposed to the non-TA work, we specifically mean those activities that are intended to stimulate and move people in such a way as to effect desired changes in the school system. Thus, the specific technical assistance task of the organization as opposed to its other tasks is its parent training and advocacy work. The following account will deal basically with the parent training and advocacy activities of United Bronx Parents leaving aside for the most part its other service programs and political activities.

The original training and advocacy work of the organization began in the South Bronx. United Bronx Parents then expanded by moving the central headquarters near Westchester Avenue and maintaining the South Bronx branch. They also opened additional offices in the Boston Road and Tremont neighborhoods.

Gradually, the three branch headquarters that have been set up in the Tremont, South Bronx, and Boston Road neighborhoods have taken over the function of doing the advocacy and training for the most part, while the central office has become more of a center for support activities and special programs. This is not a rigid boundary, however, and people from all the components may, when necessary, have a role to play in these activities.

Each of the branch offices contain a staff which normally consists of a director, one of the more experienced individuals who has come to the organization through parent training, one or more assistants to the director, a person to take care of clerical and administrative needs, and people assigned to run the GED and ESL programs. In each office there is room for meetings and private conferences, and supplies of training and educational materials.

The director of the South Bronx office, for example, is an individual who was born and raised in Puerto Rico but has lived in the Bronx and been associated with the Executive Director for many years. Responsible to this individual there is a Black woman who functions as his assistant and substitutes for him at meetings when he cannot attend, and a variable number of other staff including one individual who was formerly employed by the organization, became attached to it, and has continued to volunteer since the money ran out for his position. The composition of the other two offices is similar.

The branch office is intended to be the unit which oversees and carries out all of the activities of United Bronx Parents in a particular area, including parent training when it is in progress, political interventions and class advocacy, case advocacy, GED and TESL programs, and any other programs that are appropriate. Branch offices have been set up according to local demand for United Bronx services, and this in effect has led to a rough paralleling by the Branch offices of the South Bronx superintendent's districts, with a Branch office assigned to monitor the activities of the education system in each district. However, the United Bronx people do not by any means confine their activities to the districts in which their branch offices are found. When key political issues arise, people from the main office and from the other branch offices will also be asked to attend meetings and add their voice to support the point of view that is being articulared by UBP and its community allies.

The main purpose of having the branch offices seems to be communicative and logistical: The United Bronx Parents staff wish to be within easy reach of the community people with whom they are working—wish to become (or more likely, remain) very visible and accessible to the people in the neighborhood. The necessity of community people making a pilgrimage to the main office, or communicating everything through the uncongenial medium of the phone, is obviated.

Within the functioning of the branch offices, the role of "facilitator" or technical assister is not clearly distinguished (nor is it in the rest of the organization). There are some people who are clearly not facilitators or technical assister, (e.g. the people who run the TESL and GED programs*), but for the rest, all of the staff assigned to a branch office may take part in parent training and case or class advocacy work, and all of them pick up the experience that is necessary to do so. All the people working at the branch office are expected to be in contact with the community people, local organizations, and the educational personnel in the area and to be ready at any time to deal with both case and class advocacy issues as they come up. If someone working in the branch office, for example, is contacted by a neighbor who needs help with a problem with the school system, it is that staff worker who will be expected normally to intervene in the case. There is no expectation that the case will be referred to some specialized worker. All people holding branch office staff positions have some exposure to the parent training, educational materials, education and philosohpy of the organization, and they are expected, with the support of their co-workers, to carry on the appropriate activities.

The head of the branch office is expected to maintain the office, take care of local personnel and organizational issues, and to be the main person to deal with issues and questions that come up in the community and schools. He or she has to make sure that the GED and ESL and other ancillary activities go according to plan, he or she has to maintain contact with all the local leaders, organizations and school personnel, maintain a documentation through newspaper clippings and collected documents of all the things that are happening in the schools of his area, and supervise and support the other branch office staff. In addition, it is primarily his duty to maintain contact with the main office and the other branch offices, reporting on events to the Executive Director and others in the central office, calling for help when necessary, from them or from the other branch offices, taking the lead in political and educational issues, and supervising and carrying out the local operations of parent training when they are in process.

---

*These individuals are not, properly, United Bronx Parents Staff members but are sent out by the Central Board. Nevertheless, they often become involved with UBP through this experience and return to do volunteer work for the organization.

Other staff in the branch office freely follow this same pattern but taking their lead from the head of the office, and acting on his behalf or in his stead when he is not available.

There are certain things that the staff of the branch office know that they cannot do: They cannot attempt to break their organization away from United Bronx or radically change the political and educational objectives of their work. A branch outpost director would not start working mainly with teachers and stop working with parents, or start making statements favoring one ethnic group over another, without knowing that these actions would bring his or her removal or that other disciplinary action of rather drastic nature would ensue. Essentially, the task of the branch outpost staff is seen as being to carry out on a wider scale what United Bronx Parents originally set out to do: To train parents to have a greater and greater voice in the educational programs touching on the lives of their children, and to lend them the political pressure and support necessary for them to exercise that ability. The main reference of this group is always the same--the parents--and the basic techniques do not seem to change much overall over time or to vary from branch office to branch office, either, although the branch office people do have some flexibility to maneuver in specific situations.

The role that the branch office staff play with respect to the community and the schools in it is extremely simple and constant, in a sense. The continual effort is to convey the impression to the parents that the United Bronx people are really simply parents who have learned through their own struggles and that their primarily loyalty is and always will be the working class parents from whose midst they emerged. They are extremely explicit in this identification, and they take great care lest they be identified as some sort of professional or quasi-administrator. There reasoning is that: (a) their main objective is to give the parents confidence to speak for themselves, as equals, when dealing with administrators, and (b) that the parents have to have trust for United Bronx if the organization is to be able to play a spokesman-advocate role. In either case, it is required that the United Bronx people be able to be seen as "just like us" by the people they are dealing with.

This attitude is revealed also in the type of role they will play in community events. They basically attempt to "stay with the parents" as much as possible, even when they have long term alliances and intense personal friendships with certain key school staff members.

The facilitator role is not completely separated from the role of the individual holding it as a community member. That is to say, in some of the other TAGS it is considered necessary for the facilitator to forget (while she is acting as facilitator), that she is also a teacher, community resident, or whatever. In the case of United Bronx Parents, the facilitators are invariably community people of a class origin and ethnic background which is close to that of the people they are working with. Indeed, new facilitators have been recruited into the organization directly from the parents the organization is working with. Thus, the fear that people will become dependent on the facilitator as an outside expert who has come to rescue them, and will be left helpless when the facilitator leaves and moves on to another community, is not so great. In the first place, United Bronx Parents and its facilitators are not going anywhere. United Bronx Parents considers itself a permanent fixture in the South Bronx, with a permanent function in struggling and educating around education and related issues, so it does not need to worry about replacing itself so much as maintaining itself. Also, the fact that it is basically a working class organization means that the fear that people will see them as powerful prestigious outside experts is minimized. So they did not have to be afraid of taking a direct leadership role, as is the case with some other people who are acting in this type of capacity and are not in and of the community they are dealing with. United Bronx Parents consciously tries to maintain this image. There is an element of identification of the parents with the United Bronx Parents facilitator which stems from their common origins. Thus when the United Bronx Parents worker takes a direct, vocal role, there is the expectation that the community people can learn to take the same role on that and future occasions by modeling themselves after the example of the United Bronx Parents workers, rather than being inhibited from learning to speak for themselves. But the ability to identify with the facilitator is crucial in permitting this to take place, which is another reason for making sure that the origins of workers hired by the organization are similar enough to that of the parents.

At the same time, the facilitator who did not encourage and monitor the growth of aggressive and self-confident new leadership from among the ranks of the parents would not be carrying out the United Bronx Parents model. The facilitators can and should be leaders, but they also have to create new leadership, even though they are never going to "work themselves out" or "extricate their organization" from its involvement in the South Bronx. According to the ideal, the good United Bronx Parents facilitator is a leader, but a democratic one who through leading also is training his own successors. He is a spokesman, but a spokesman who by speaking up also gives the others courage to speak up, following his example. He is unhesitatingly speaking as a parent (which is what he is, after all) but is eager to get the other parents to join in with him in speaking out on the issues.

What the facilitator expects from the support functions is that they will give him what he needs without being a drain on his valuable time and flexibility. If legal advice is needed in on advocacy situations, the support functions should provide that. If materials are needed, the support system should provide the mechanisms and the budget to create them without waiting for a year or getting back material that is not appropriate for the situation. For the UBP model, the support function is very much at the service of the facilitator, and should (and does) make minimum demands on him in turn.

With respect to school personnel (teachers and administrators), the South Bronx outpost people take attitudes that include support for school staff technical proficiency, support for specific worthwile projects, and on occasion close personal support for individual efforts. This does not mean, however, that they see their work as primarily supporting the professionals--teachers and administrators. Support, for example, for an innovative program in the use of media and art to improve reading, located in a junior high school in the South Bronx, includes a detailed interest in the plans and procedures of the program, an informal monitoring of its reults, political pressure in support of the continuance of its funding, and a warm personal relationship between UBP Branch office staff and the personnel in charge of the school program. However, the UBP people are still acting in the roles of leader of parents, speaking for the interests of parents in keeping good programs for their children alive, and not becoming identified with the professionals and their interests. It is more because the students and parents like and profit from the program than because the UBP people like the program and empathize with its coordinator, that UBP provides its support.

The director of the branch outpost in the South Bronx sees no inconsistency in being supportive of administrators while identifying with, and ostensibily verbalizing, the desires and interests of parents. In this community, the length of time in which UBP has been working has created a strong network of allies among schools administrators and teachers for the work of the organization, and in general the organization does not find itself in conflict with the local program.

Overall, the United Bronx plan for community change in education has the following strategy:

1. Alliance of United Bronx with individual parents fighting for rights of the individual child, and with groups of parents fighting for legitimate group objectives. United Bronx brings to the alliance its own experience and skill, its knowledge of the laws and regulations and the functioning of the school system, whatever political pressure it can bring to bear in the individual situation, and its facilities for parent training.

2. Case and class advocacy: In the individual cases, the United Bronx Parents staff enter the fray and freely speak up for the point of view of the student and parent, in meetings with school personnel, supervisors, other agency

people, and high ups in the school system.

3. Parent training: The organization takes the people contacted through case and class advocacy situations and puts them through the parent training process described below. This leads to the creation of a cadre of politically sophisticated parents who now remain in the situation and can make permanent any victories gained through the class advocacy work.

4. Work with parent associations and local District Boards: Although the organization would, of course, like to work with all parents that it could reach, it is considered crucial to create a functioning council (in New York called Parent Association) for each school, and the training and support work is first of all oriented toward strengthening the councils. At a potentially higher level, even though the local community boards have a few real rights, they make good pressure groups, and United Bronx works hard to ensure that they will be representative, in composition and in attitude, of the community.

5. Work on district wide and higher organizing: Being links among parent groups through having worked with so many of them, United Bronx staff find that they can organize parent pressure to affect decision-making with greater school policy implications. They are careful to attend all district wide meetings, and they bring the parents along to be further trained by the proceedings and also to be able to raise their voices in the meeting.

6. Support for progressive administrators, teachers, and programs: Once the strength of the parents, through the organization, reaches a certain level

in a given school or district, it is found, unsurprisingly, that the local school personnel and even the district staff become more eager to listen to the organizations and the parents' ideas. In other instances, staff have been brought into the schools through United Bronx and their allies' pressure. All of these people began to turn to United Bronx for various kinds of support and protection. Administrators who are too innovative for the liking of the Board of Education may turn to the parents now for support. Community oriented administrators who want to understand the community and widen their community contacts can do so through the services of United Bronx. If an administrator's budget is threatened, and he is seen as a useful person by United Bronx and the parents, it is possible to mobilize support for him so that it will not be cut. If a popular teacher is about to be transferred against his will, he will turn to United Bronx for their support to keep him in the community where he wants to be and where he is wanted.

7. City-wide and greater alliances: The organization sees the need for change at all levels, and is eager to widen its alliances to include people in many areas and many ethnic groups.

8. Movement on other than education issues: The organization has found it possible to mobilize, organize and politically educate people on educational issues, and is eager and willing to use that organization and political sophistication to deal with crisis conditions in housing, health care, and drugs.

Thus, it will be seen that United Bronx Parents moves from conflict strategies to cooperation strategies in their relationships with local administrations in the schools, and by moving from conflict to cooperation, in effect they are building a wider alliance which can deal with issues at a higher level in a conflictive way. In areas in which United Bronx Parents has been working for a long time, there are cordial relationships among the parents, the teachers and administrators, and the United Bronx staff. In one local district for example, it was found that local Board members chatted freely with the parents who came to the meeting, acted in terms of needs of the local population, and were more or less glad to see the United Bronx people there and paying attention. This was a district in which the organization had worked for years, had put its people into administrative positions and board memberships, and had built many alliances through support for progressive local personnel. In another area, however, a different picture entirely came out of a board meeting our site researcher attended. There was a visible class and ethnic difference between the board members and the parents and community people who had come to the meeting, tension was in the air between the local board and the parents, and when an argument started between Black and Puerto Rican parents, the local board members sat and snickered. This, of course, was an area only recently penetrated by United Bronx Parents, where, one might say, the local school administrations were yet far from being "domesticated."

This difference is also seen in the comments made by principals who have worked with United Bronx for a long time and principals who have not had to deal with them but who have heard of them. One principal, of a school where United Bronx has been active for years and where the parents feel real progressive change has been implemented, said "Thank God for United Bronx Parents!" with more genuine emotion than one generally associates with that phrase. In another school, distant from their main operations, a principal referred to them as "that group that tries to stir things up and make trouble." The organization offers administrators a carrot and a stick: If they cooperate, not only will they not have conflict tactics used against them, but they can get genuine political support and technical help in implementing their own programs.

However, it is important to bear in mind that what United Bronx offers to progressive administrators and teachers is mainly an alliance. They are not available to generally help school personnel who approach them with various projects, rather their willingness to be helpful is predicated on the personnel recognizing the legitimacy of community control and being willing to cooperate with parents and the organization in fighting with this and other important issues. *The United Bronx Parents people are parents helping parents*, and if there is a way to cooperate with administrators as well, this is fine, but it is not the main reason the organization exists. In no circumstance can one visualize United Bronx Parents helping a teacher or an administrator against the will of the local parent association.

We will now look in more detail at the two mainstays of the organization's work with parents, namely advocacy and parent training.

United Bronx Parents Advocacy Activities. At the outset, we must make clear that there are two types of advocacy which the organization promotes: case advocacy and class advocacy. The former sometimes may turn into the latter, as when it turns out that some individual's personal problem issue is also one that others are experiencing. However, there is usually a distinction.

In situations of case advocacy, the persons involved from the organizations are usually branch outpost staff. The organization will be approached through the contacts it already has in the community, usually by the parent of a student who has been suspended from school, classified into a program for the educably mentally handicapped, or otherwise experiencing a problem with the school. The United Bronx worker first contacted is normally the person who will follow the case through and do most of the advocacy work, unless the affair becomes such a cause celebre that it is necessary to move up to higher levels of action and involve other United Bronx staff.

Suspension is the major usual cause of complaints brought to the organization, partly because suspension is the main disciplinary mechanism that the principal uses for everyday offenses and irritation. The United Bronx Parents staff person or representative will then go to the school and arrange a hearing, which may involve the UBP staff member or representative, the principal, school guidance personnel, the teacher who originally requested that the child be suspended, the child, the child's mother or father or other relatives, and possibly other people. The United Bronx staff member presents himself or herself in a lay advocate role, (i.e. he is not a neutral intermediary but is primarily loyal to the accused) and will try and get the best settlement of the situation possible as far as the child's interests are concerned. Frequently, the school will have neglected to follow the correct procedure for notifying parents of the suspension, and the suspension can be rescinded on this technicality. On other occasions, the United Bronx worker may be able to po[illegible] out extenuating circumstances-- if a child hit another child, there may have been provocation. On yet other occasions, the best that can be done is to ensure that the punishment is humane and that in addition to the suspension there is not psychological punishment inflicted on the child.

In cases of alleged mental retardation of the child, United Bronx facilitators acting as advocates usually try to prove that the child in fact is not retarded and are frequently able to prove that the judgment of retardation is based on cultural or linguistiscally biased testing or observation. United Bronx also brings in its own psychological consultants, and generally their work is accepted by the school system.

The organization tries to get most cases settled at the principals office. Sometimes, however, a case will go on to the level of the District Superintendent, where essentially the same strategy is followed by the United Bronx Parents worker. A few cases may go as far as litigation, and these are not looked forward to by the organization, because the overloaded courts do not consider them important enough to take up time and generally either throw the cases out of court or dictate a not very satisfactory compromise in chambers.

Two important principles underlie the organizations case advocacy work. Firstly, they again here stress the power of the laymen. They have negotiated relationships with lawyers, but these are not normally used except in cases where a case does in fact go to court and there is a need for someone who is a member of the bar for the sake of formalities. Rather, the staff of United Bronx Parents have absorbed a knowledge of laws and regulations concerning suspensions and the like, in addition to a method of advocacy, and therefore can function almost entirely on their own and speak with recognized legal authority. It was commented by a lawyer who assists UBP that several UBP staff members know far more about educational law than he does.

The second principle is a familiar one: The principle of absolutely identifying with the community people and therefore getting their total trust. Thus, they always make sure that they are in a semi-lawyer role vis-a-vis the student and his family, and do not try to be friends with both sides in the issue.

We do not have statistics on how many of their advocacy cases United Bronx Parents carries on to victory. The impression we get from the examples we were given was that they almost always win at least some concessions when things are settled in the principals or district superintendents office, partly due to the fact that the organization has the ability to place other kinds of political pressure on these officials in support of their advocacy activities. On the other hand, it seems that cases which escape to the higher levels of the main Board of Education and the Courts fare less well, due to the aforementioned attitudes of the courts and the fact that the same political pressures cannot be applied.

The class advocacy work of United Bronx Parents consists of using many tactics to fight in favor of changes parents and other community people want in their schools. Examples of United Bronx class advocacy would be work to pressure the local board to fight for higher funding for bilingual education, for example, or perhaps legal action taken in an effort to end a discriminatory practice. There are two ways, related of course, in which the organization becomes involved in class advocacy. One way is that parents in a particular area approach the organization to ask for help in contesting some issue with some level of the school system hierarcy. The other is that the organization is aware through other sources that a problem or issue exists, and they themselves take the initiative of organizing and mobilizing people around it, making use of their existing contacts, producing and distributing propaganda and informational literature for parents, and most especially being themselves highly vocal in the meetings that invariably are the scenes of battle on educational questions.

Some usual cases which lead to class advocacy situations involve transfers or firings of effective supportive teachers and administrators; misbehavior and deficiencies of existing teachers and administrators; cuts in funding, especially for programs that affect poor, working class and Spanish-speaking people such as bilingual education; district boundary changes which are unfavorable to community interests, and various questions of racism, discrimination, community control, and parents rights.

United Bronx Parents staff consider themselves part of the community and thus as having every right to speak up in the meetings as such. At this point, they teach the community people and parents mainly by modeling, (i.e. the United Bronx worker will stand up and shout for his or her rights, and the community people, identifying with him or her, will gain the courage to do the same).

The advocacy activities of United Bronx may also involve the organization of mass action, including school boycotts, sit-ins, marches, lock-ins, and the like. The organization is uniquely situated to be able to mobilize very large numbers of people--near total compliance for a school boycott for example, or thousands of people for a march. The organization combines the mass action with support or sometimes manipulation of key contacts and the threat of litigation backed up by some cases in which issues were actually taken to court. The mass action part of the class advocacy is coordinated with the parent training when the training is in operation.

Again, it is hard to estimate the number of class advocacy issues won or lost. Our impression is that at the time of writing they win virtually all the issues they take on, due to their grassroots political strength and the unwillingness of the administrators to antagonize the organization. United Bronx has problems in class advocacy work only when some counter-mobilization or split can be arranged by the opposition.

Conservative "white ethnic" populations have sometimes managed to counter-mobilize against the efforts of United Bronx and other similar non-white minority organizations. This has taken the classical form of block club organizing rallying in support of strict, conservative principals and administrators and has sometimes in fact frustrated United Bronx's efforts in areas where there are only a minority of Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

The mobilization of relatively conservative teachers through the Teachers Union, of course, is another example. A third example comes from situations in which the internal conflicts within the community cannot be taken care of in time or in adequate degree to prevent divisions from being created among parents (e.g. along Black versus Puerto Rican lines).

Major problems the facilitator will encounter, according to the concerns expressed to us by the UBP people working directly on educational issues included, besides the expectable resistance of the administrative structures to change, the question of various divisions and differences among the people. Of these, the white versus non-white would seem to contain the most potential for trouble, but the areas in which UBP has worked have included relatively few socially and politically active whites at the grassroots level and so this has not come up. A more serious problem is the conflict between Blacks and Latin Americans, which periodically breaks the united community front. Questions of what issue to emphasize and what to fight for first may divide the community people, (e.g. on one occasion the question of the redistricting of a school led to a

Black versus Puerto Rican conflict because of implications for availability of bilingual education resources: Puerto Rican parents wanted to keep the school in its present district, because bilingual education would be enhanced by this, while Blacks wanted the location changed, and were upset that bilingual education, which they felt does not benefit Blacks, was the deciding issue). The UBP people, with their strong committment to bilingual education, felt compelled to stand up and back that conviction, which led to their being criticized by some Blacks. On other occasions, school administrators have tried to play Black community people and staff of UBP off against Puerto Rican counterparts, and UBP has also developed awareness of this possibility and tactics to counter it (e.g. making sure that both Black and Puerto Ricans staff are in on decisions that affect both of their peoples).

Another difficulty is in unity among the Spanish-speaking, especially since they have, internally, different degrees of politicization and willingness to challenge the authority structures. The large Dominican population, for example, is recently arrived, largely of peasant rather than urban worker origin, largely without legal immigrant status, and for these reasons expectedly tends to be more passive, timid and willing to support the established power structure rather than join the more confident, militant Puerto Ricans in various community struggles. Some Puerto Ricans, including some UBP staff, have gotten impatient with the Dominicans in the past and have considered them somewhat of an "obstacle" to political mobilization and social change; however the official UBP line, as expressed to us by the director of Parent Training and Education is that these Dominicans are simply to be considered as people on an earlier point or stage of a time line of education, politicization, and development of consciousness. The policy implication of this is that the Dominicans, rather than being somehow categorized as "the enemy" are to be worked with patiently and gradually as they would work with any other group, and that eventually they, too, can develop in the same direction as have the Puerto Ricans and Blacks.

Non-working class groups within the community provide some challenge, also. Professionally oriented Latin American groups and organizations are recognized to be a problem due to their tendency to support the power structure or to assert their own tendency to command, but it is felt that one has to work with them as much as possible to provide a united front to the largely white establishment. Appeal is made to such people on ethnic grounds, (i.e. they are asked to put their identity as Puerto Ricans above their middle class identity).

Likewise, relations with Cubans are not good. Most Cubans in the area are refugees who left after Castro came to power, and they are disproportionately middle and upper class and often strongly right wing in their political philosophy. UBP staff are wary of them, although they hasten to stress that not all Cubans are like this.

United Bronx Parents Parent Training Activity. Unfortunately, when we made our site visit, the parent training was suspended pending study and revision of procedures. This is unfortunate because as a result we were unable to see the activity for which the organization is internationally famous. Our information, then, comes from interviews and materials.

United Bronx Parents subscribe to the active model of learning, whereby new knowledge is effectively incorporated in a person's mind only if it is integrated with productive or struggle oriented activity. It follows from this that there is nothing more useless than setting up leadership classes in which parents are taken out of the setting in which their everyday life struggles take place and are put into a classroom situation in which somebody presents information in lecture form. Training can only take place in the context of some activity, preferably a group activity.

For this reason, the parent training of United Bronx Parents is linked systemically to its class advocacy work. Parents are recruited for training from those who are involved in various activities around the schools which are already going on in the community--be they noisy fights between parents and administration over some major problem, or merely worry and curious about what is happening in the school.

Parent training involves most of the United Bronx branch office staff and staff from the UBP headquarters office at times as well. Some of the staff are recognized as being better at it and are given a more consistent role in doing the training work. The schedule of training seems to vary depending on the circumstances in which a particular set of parents find themselves. The important thing is to introduce ideas at a speed which is parallel to the action in which the parents find themselves engaged, and this may of course vary.

The first step is to start with the parents own ideas, worries and initiatives. This is a point on which United Bronx is very adamant. The parents do not come to the situation with empty heads which are ready to be filled up with knowledge like a clay vessel. They have existing ideas, beliefs, attitudes, etc. which were developed through their own survival efforts and therefore, express a certain reality for them. These ideas have to be respected and utilized, not ignored.

The second step is to involve the parents in group action, and to also set up opportunities for reflection on that action. Group action is important because change cannot be accomplished while people are struggling to survive on a purely individual basis. Group action may involve many things, but one consistent emphasis of United Bronx Parents training is parent directed school evaluation. Based on its past experience, the organization has developed an elaborate manual for school evaluation, which leads parents through a number of activities of value in educational change and also of special value in teaching critical observation and analysis. They are given means for entering the school in a group; observing the decor, the quality of the food, the interactions between personnel and students, the general atmosphere of the school, the quality of the program; etc. Particularly elaborate is the interview to be carried out with the principal. These materials, which seem to have been very widely distributed throughout the country by now, were originally produced by parents in parent training sessions. Some of the strategies found in this manual are found in an earlier version in Lurie's How To Change the Schools.

Whether the parents are engaged in some series of meetings with the administration over some conflict or disagreement or are engaged in the evaluation of the school, it is considered very important that they get together before and after events, in the presence of the United Bronx staff, to engage in group discussions of the events. These can be likened to pre-meeting strategy sessions and postmortems or debriefings, respectively, but their purpose is to fix the political lessons learned by the parents in their activities in their minds through reflective activity in a group context. Parents are encouraged to learn how to do such a postmortem on a meeting themselves, and to analyze also their own motives and their own mistakes in order to develop a very intuitive, controlled style of acting in school situations. It is this style of acting, this ability to role play and modulate behavior to fit the needs of the moment, that make the United Bronx Parents staff very impressive to watch at the personal level when they are doing advocacy work. Through the pre-and post-event meetings, in which role playing is also used, they try to instill in the other parents the same ability to carefully control their group behavior in such a way as to have maximum political impact.

Parent training is designed to produce a cadre of politically sophisticated people distributed throughout the Parents Associations and the community in general who will be able to carry on the various struggles without United Bronx

Parents necessarily having to be always there. The training has also, of course, been useful in producing people who are subsequently recruited to become part of the organization's staff, and thus trainers themselves in parent training of the future.

Assessing United Bronx Parents Accomplishments. To make an assessment of the accomplishments of United Bronx Parents in promoting educational change, one has to recall briefly their concept of what needs to be changed and what the priorities are for their efforts. Primarily, the want to see educational change that contributes to the survival chances and dignity of Puerto Rican and Black children in the South Bronx. In focusing on the schools, they first wish to break down the authority relationships between parents and school administrators, motivating them and other school staff to see themselves as serving the community rather than as cogs in a larger system controlled from outside. They want also to change the way that children are treated in schools on an overall basis, so that procedures are more humane and focused on individual situations, rather than punitive and bureaucratic. They wish to create a general atmosphere of respect and responsiveness to their children in the school. They are concerned about specific educational programs also, but tend to work intensively on those specific educational programs to which their work in changing the political balance of power between parents and administration gives them access. Thus in one school they might find an opportunity to work intensively with teachers in the creation of an artistic program, while in another school the first opportunity to work in issues of school program might involve rather the revision of curriculum materials for the teaching of Puerto Rican History. In other words, they work on what they can in a given school rather than insisting on concentrating on reading scores first, curriculum in social studies next, etc. The one exception to this is that they are always particularly concerned to get a foothold in the bilingual education component of each school in their area. They also attempt to promote a general parent "presence" in as many classrooms as possible; parents are encourage to go in frequently to assess what is happening. The first priority for accomplishing their goals is United Bronx Parents organizing and political education of community people.

In its ten years of operation, United Bronx Parents has succeeded in establishing itself as the major organization representing Puerto Rican parents' interests in the South Bronx. This includes especially, but is not confined to, four school districts averaging about 35 schools apiece in New York's decentralized administrative plan. In addition, United Bronx Parents has often managed to be the legitimate spokesman for the interests of Blacks and other parents as well. Outside its home territory of the South Bronx but still within the city of New York, it has often articulated points of view congruent with those of Puerto Rican and Black parents among others, and thus has been able to give advice which has been appreciated by groups in other areas and to form alliances at the level of the entire city to pressure for educational change.

United Bronx Parents has succeeded in creating mechanisms for parent participation and parent power at a number of different levels, ranging from individual programs in schools to district Community Boards and higher. The concept of parent power is of course not implemented equally in every school and every District. In areas in which United Bronx Parents has been working for a long time, one finds the combination of a large number of active, politically educated parents with a significant number of progressive teachers and administrators eager to lean on the organization for support. In other areas, the parents are still not organized and/or divided, and the administrators are fighting the idea of parent participation. United Bronx Parents sees this difference as one which will be erased as their work progresses.

At this point, we might venture an estimate of the degree to which United Bronx Parents has made its influence felt on schools within its territory of operations. In the district closest to its origins, where it has worked longest, it has created a parent influence at the level of the District Superintendent's Office which is so strong that it can be said that United Bronx Parents has a major effect on school policy throughout the district. In perhaps sixty percent of the thirty-four schools in the district, the level of the organization's involvement in the school is such that it can be said that they can and do work actively with all the components of the school social system--parents, students, teachers, and administration. In perhaps seventy percent of the schools, they at least have access to the situation through connections with the parents. In only five percent of the schools in this district would we estimate that United Bronx Parents has not been able to exert any influence.

In another district of approximately the same size more recently a scene of United Bronx Parents activities, we would estimate that they are able to work with all elements in the school social system in about twenty-five percent of the schools, and can at least work through the parents in sixty percent. In this district, perhaps seventy five percent of the schools are influenced by United Bronx Parents to the degree that the parents know about them and their work and are possibly inspired by it to be more active in school affairs. We do not have enough information to provide similar rough estimates of the degree of United Bronx Parents' involvement and influence.

In more distant areas the materials and the model provided by United Bronx Parents has sometimes been a factor in leading parents to question existing policies and power structures, and to begin to organize and mobilize themselves to correct abuses.

In its ten years of work, United Bronx Parents has also trained a large number of parents. No one has kept exact count, but the number is at least in the hundreds, perhaps the thousands, in the more formal training sessions alone. Several thousand have been trained in the broader sense through active participation in the activities which the organization has sponsored. Since hardly anybody else has been working on parent training in this area, it can be said that the high level of sophistication of parents on educational issues in the South Bronx is largely the result of United Bronx Parents' work.

Outside the Bronx, it has given motivation and specific information to dozens of parents groups. United Bronx Parents training materials have been widely disseminated, and have led community groups in a number of cities to experiment with the creation and adaptation of similar processes.

Activities sponsored by United Bronx Parents have also had the effect of providing training, or re-training, for teachers and administrators. A number of teachers told us during our site visit that United Bronx Parents had been an important resource for them in their own on the job training; contrary to some fears that administrators express, it is also clear that the organization has frequently been a support for the work of progressive administrators, fighting to ensure that they are given sufficient resources (money, personnel slots, materials, etc.). In areas in which it has established a strong base of parent power, United Bronx Parents has also made things easier for those teachers and administrators who are willing to work with it. The organization has created an atmosphere in a number of schools in which teachers and administrators dare to be innovative.

Of course, there are some limits to the power that United Bronx Parents exercises, particularly in those areas that are seen by the United Federation of Teachers as threatening their most basic interests, (such as deviation from the assignment of teachers based on seniority and removal of teachers) and those areas seen by the central administration as threatening their most basic interests (such as some fundamental aspects of fiscal policy). In these areas, United Bronx Parents can work informally and through pressure tactics in key situations to gain specific concessions or accommodations, but not, at this point, alterations in basic policy.

As mentioned earlier, United Bronx Parents often involves itself in curriculum and teaching issues through special programs they initiate with teachers or principals (such as an art of Puerto Rican history experience) and use these as vehicles for heavy parent involvement in the curriculum. Thus far, a comprehensive approach to changing subject matter teaching practices or school curriculum has not been the major focus, except on the issue of bilingual education.

Issues For The Future

So far, United Bronx Parents has seen ten years of steady expansion of the scope and effectiveness of their work. Whether their effectiveness can continue to expand at this rate depends, however, on the successful resolution of certain actual and potential problems.

Presently, the problems which are most evident to the United Bronx staff concern the following:

1. The relative weakness of the Community Boards at the district level: The United Bronx Parents staff seem quite unequivocal in their feeling that the decentralization of the New York City School system is more apparent than real. Their opinion is that during the Ocean-Hill Brownsville incident and related disturbances concerning community control of the schools, the Board of Education, to appease the teachers' union and consolidate its own position, in fact made administrative changes which too the "teeth" out of decentralization, leaving the impression that the schools are, in fact, decentralized but subtly maintaining considerable power in the central administrative offices in Brooklyn. Thus the Boards exist at the local level with their elected membership, giving the impression of democratic and decentralized control, but actually being manipulated and controlled by the administration. United Bronx Parents feels that to create real community control possibilities, one would have to really decentralize, leaving the central boards as a service and support institution,

channeling resources to the local superintendents, who would in turn be accountable to locally elected Boards which were truly representative of their communities, not only in the place of residence of their members but in their nationality and class as well (i.e. local Boards tend ot be disproportionately white and "blue ribbon", composed of professional and business people as the situation stands at present.)

However, to produce this result, there would have to be legal changes at the city-wide level as well as efforts at the local and district level. This requires, of course, a city-wide political effort of a type that UBP clearly sees the necessity for but cannot create alone. This effort would be fought not only by the administration but most fiercely by the teachers' union as well. It would be tantamount to a re-opening of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville battle.

Recent massive cuts in social services caused by the city of New York's brush with bankruptcy have led to increased city-wide coalition efforts among people working in fields similar to that of UBP. Perhaps a by-product of this work of coalition-building might emerge in the form of a renewed effort to create further decentralization.

2. National/Ethnic Identity of the Organization: Although United Bronx Parents clearly has objectives which are not tied to the necessisties of any one ethnic group, the facts of its origin, its staffing pattern, and the nature of the area in which it has worked has clearly stamped in peoples'

minds the impression that it is primarily a Puerto Rican group, allied perhaps, with Blacks and other non-white minorities and working class people but primarily interested in issues of major concern to what in New York are called the "Hispanics". This is shown in some of the situations in which UBP has fought for increased programs of bilingual education and has been opposed by some Blacks on the grounds that "bilingual education is only a luxury program for Puerto Rican kids, not Black kids". This is, in UBP's view, a misconception -- bilingual education is not just an "ethnic pride" issue for a special group, but an absolute, bread and butter necessity for communities with a high proportion of non-English speaking children and directly benefits everybody. But the fact that there are still Blacks that feel this way indicates that United Bronx Parents is not necessarily seen as the major spokesman for all parents of whatever race in questions of parents rights and community control. It is, of course, an issue of which United Bronx Parents is aware, but this awareness does not necessarily make a solution easy to find. As noted in the previous point, for United Bronx Parents' perceived need to pressure for further decentralization and community control to be realized, it will be necessary to create community structures paralleling the Board of Education structure at levels higher than the local district. These structures will also have to have internal solidarity and coordination if they are to be effective. United Bronx Parents could proceed in two ways: It could retain its primarily Puerto Rican identity and rely on coalitions with other groups to create the wider structure, or it could try to be less of a Puerto Rican group and expands its own individual support base. According to the organization's staff, the second possibility is absolutely ruled out. The origins of United Bronx Parents and its present associations and activities are deeply rooted in the Puerto Rican movement. Thus, the ability of the organization to have the effects it wants to have at the highest level will make good alliances and coalition work with similar organizations representing other ethnic constituencies a very essential element in its future work.

3. Continuation and Expansion of Funding: One of the secrets of United Bronx Parents' success has been that they have been able to maintain a fairly large full time staff who can devote all their attention to the organization's work without having to worry about having another job for feeding their families. United Bronx Parents has to worry, then, about maintaining this staff through the ups and downs of funding availability. Massive support for this type of activity is now not as readily available as it was a few years ago; the city and state funds have reached the vanishing point, and federal policy is moving away from supporting grassroots groups, irrespective of their success in achieving their objectives. Foundation funding possiblities are of course also very limited.

If United Bronx Parents is going to continue to expand and intensify its efforts as its own assessment of the educational/political situation suggests it should, it is going to begin to run into major problems in continuing to find funds for this type of effort. A question arises: If United Bronx Parents' funding were wiped out tomorrow by some massive series of budget cuts, would they have reached a sufficient momentum in community organizing and grassroots politicization of parents that their effectiveness, or the effectiveness of the community people, could be maintained through purely volunteer, non-funded efforts? They are committed to try to do so. As one of their staff put it when this question was posed by us, "There's always welfare, unemployment and sugar daddies". But no doubt this would be an extremely difficult thing to accomplish.

In the search for more funds, there are several things United Bronx Parents can do, of course. One is to move into activities that have not yet been part of their repetoire, such as school program evaluation. At one point, this possibility came up, but the Executive Director of United Bronx Parents vetoed the suggestion on the grounds that becoming a contractor of the Board of Education to formally evaluate its programs would interfere with United Bronx Parents' advocate/spokesman relationship with the parents and community. This stance represents a big sacrifice for United Bronx Parents to make for principle, for two reasons: First of all because of the large amount of money being spent (inefficiently, says United Bronx Parents) on evaluation and secondly, because United Bronx

Parents feels that parents should be the main movers and the people most directly involved in evaluation, instead of being virtually ignored by the evaluation contractors as they are now. For United Bronx Parents to thus eschew evaluation money represents a major financial sacrifice for the sake of principle, and as well rules out one way in which a strong parental voice could be brought into evaluation.* However, it is true that United Bronx Parents' strength is largely postulated on their ability to be an uncompromised spokesman group for parents and community interests, and they cannot risk undermining this ability.

They could also try and move into more specialized and technical education activities, tapping funds that are available, for example, for educational research etc. This might have two disadvantages: First, it might interfere with their main priorities of parent training and organization and secondly, they are not willing to acquire staff who are not basically working class parents in their origin, which would undermine their representativeness of their constituency and have an affect on their internal dynamics. Thus specialized work would require specialized training for their present staff.

One thing that they have expressed a wish to do is to move into areas outside education but which have an impact on education and schooling, such as welfare, housing, jobs, health, etc. This type of extension of their activities does not necessarily undermine their stance as community spokesmen and advocates, while it also allows them to deal with other issues which they feel they could tackle beyond the schools. In a certain sense, their drug prevention program already represents this kind of strategy.

---

*"All parents are qualified to evaluate the school" (E. Antonetty, United Bronx Educational literature)

4. Activities Concerning The Technical Quality of Educational Programs: United Bronx Parents is interested in all aspects of schooling and curriculum, and would like to be able to have a voice in all decisions in their area that affect these topics. However, any organization is limited in what it can do in a limited length of time and thus they have not been able to look at all aspects of program and curriculum in all schools in their area with an equally critical eye. The task of educational change, especially when the objectives are as comprehensive as those seen by United Bronx Parents, is so massive that one asks oneself if it would not be possible for them to combine effort with other organizations, perhaps more specialized in curriculum questions or the like but sharing United Bronx Parents' ideology. However, they themselves feel that there are few or no other organizations around to whom they would really want to delegate such important tasks. Thus what remains is for United Bronx Parents to keep on doing what they have been doing, and to try and work at higher and higher levels and in the context of broader and broader alliances, at the same time providing their own staff with the specialized training to be able to speak authoritatively on virtually every aspect of the educational picture.

ATTACHMENTS

STUDENTS HAVE THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY

HERE IS THE BOARD OF EDUCATION DIRECTIVE ABOUT STUDENT RECORDS:

CONFIDENTIALITY OF STUDENT RECORDS

In keeping with the individual's right to privacy, all school personnel are reminded that no information concerning any student in our schools may be made available to any person or agency unless:

a) There is a written consent of a parent or legal guardian.

b) There is a court order for such information.

c) There is a directive from the Chancellor for such information to be made available in such form that the identity of the student is merged in a release of mass statistical data for research and evaluative purposes.

The restrictions noted above are to be considered as revising or modifying those portions of Special Circular No. 63 (1961-62) in which information concerning pupils may be made available directly to authorized personnel. The limitations described in the paragraph above take precedence over any conflicting portion of Circular No. 63.

A committee on Pupil Records and Confidentiality has been appointed to review past policies and prepare a revised circular on the topics for release to the schools. Recommendations, suggestions, or questions concerning the release of information on students may be addressed to Mr. Harold Zuckerman secretary of the Superintendent's Committee on Pupil Records and Confidentiality, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, New York 11201, Room 800, Phone: 596 - 8045.

UNITED BRONX PARENTS 791 Prospect Ave...1679 Boston Rd...563 E. Tremont
November, 1970 842-1484 323-2955 878-2055

LOS ESTUDIANTES TIENEN DERECHO A PRIVACIDAD

El siguiente es el directorio de la Junta de Educación sobre el historial del estudiante:

CONFIDENCIALIDAD DE HISTORIAL DEL ESTUDIANTE

Se le recuerda a todo el personal escolar que, ninguna información que concierne al estudiante en la escuela debe ser dibulgada a personas ó agencias individuales, a menos qué:

a) Los padres ó el encargado del estudiante dén su consentimiento por escrito.

b) La información sea solicitada directamente de la corte.

c) Por orden del Canciller, para hacer encuestas estadisticas que se usan para evaluaciones sin que se mencione el nombre del estudiante.

Las restricciones arriba mencionadas son para ser consideradas en la revision y modificacion de una porcion especial en el circular especial # 63 (1961-62) en la que autoriza la informacion concerniente al estudiante a ser dada directamente al personal. Las limitaciones descritas en el parafo anterior preceden cualquior porcion que haga conflicto del Circular # 63.

Un comite en Historiales Estudiantiles y Confidencial ha sido nombrado para revisar las polizas pasadas y preparar un circular revisado sobre el topico para ser utilizado en las escuelas. Recomendaciones, sugerencias, o preguntas concernientes a información sobre el estudiante se pueden dirigir al Sr. Harold Zuckerman, Secretario del Comite de Superintendentes en Historiales de Estudiantes, 110 Livington St., Brooklyn, N. Y. Room 800 - Telefono 596,8045

PADRES UNIDOS DEL BRONX 791 Prospect Ave....1679 Boston Rd...563 E. Tremont
November, 1970 842-1484 323-2955 878-2055

ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

Reading and mathematics achievement tests are given to the children in most grades twice a year.

The New York State Tests are usually given in October. They will tell you how well your school is doing, compared to the schools in the rest of the state.

The Metropolitan Achievement Tests are generally given in March or April. They will tell you how well your school is doing, compared to a national norm.

Your own child's reading and math score is supposed to appear on his report card at each marking period.

Almost every child should be reading and doing math on grade level.

Nationally, about 5% of the children are retarded; perhaps 10% of all the children score a year or more below level nationally. But in our area, the figures are devastating. Over two thirds of our children are seriously behind in reading and math.

** If only one or two children are failing in each class, there is probably something wrong with these children.

** But if two thirds of the children are failing, THERE IS SOMETHING WRONG WITH THE SCHOOL!

Get the facts for your school from your principal. The Decentralization Law states that parents have a right to this information!

Find out how many children are reading below grade level, for each grade in your school. How many are more than one year behind? More than two years behind? How many were not tested at all? Why?

Get the same information for math.

What is being done in your school to help each child?

Parents must understand the achievement score facts. And then parents must demand a change. Our schools must educate all our children.

UNITED BRONX PARENTS 791 Prospect Ave....1679 Boston Rd...563 E. Tremont
November, 1970 842-1484 323-2955 878-2055

PRUEBA DE CONOCIMIENTOS

Los examenes de medir conocimiento en lectura y matematicas se le dan a los niños, en la mayoría de los grados, dos veces al año.

Los Examenes del Estado de Nueva York, por lo general, se dan en Octubre. Le dirán a que nivel esta funcionando su escuela, comparada con las demás del estado.

Los "Metropolitan Achievement Tests", que tambien miden el progreso del niños por lo general, los dan en marzo ó abril. Estos le dejarán saber el nivel de su escuela comparado con las demás escuelas del país.

El nivel de conocimiento en lectura y matemáticas de su hijos debe aparecer en su "tarjeta" (el informe de grados) cada vez que la re la reciba.

Casi todos los niños deben estar leyendo y haciendo matemáticas al nivel de su grado.

A traves de la nacion, 5% de los niños estan atrazados; quizas 10% de los niños estan atrazados por un año ó más. Sin embargo, en nuestra area los resultados son asombrosos. Más de dos terceras partes de nuestros niños estan gravemente atrazados en lectura y matemáticas.

- ** Si hay un niño ó dos atrazados en cada clase, lo más probable es que la falta esté de parte de los niños.
- ** Pero, si dos terceras partes de los niños están fracazando, ¡HAY ALGO MALO EN LA ESCUELA!

Adquiera los datos, sobre su escuela, de su principal. ¡La ley de descentralización declara que usted tiene derecho a esta información!

Avergue cuantos niños están atrazados en cada grado de su escuela. ¿Cuantos están atrazados por más de un año? ¿Dos? ¿Cuantos no recibieron el examen? ¿Porque?

Adquiera la misma información sobre la matemática.

¿Que se está haciendo en su escuela para ayudarle a cada niño?

Los padres deben comprender los hechos sobre estos grados. Entonces demos demandar cambio. Nuestras escuelas deben educar a todos los niños.

PADRES UNIDOS DEL BRONX, INC. 791 PROSPECT AVE...1679 BOSTON RD...563 E. TREMONT
Noviembre del 1970 842-1484 323-2955 878-2055

MEET WITH YOUR PRINCIPAL

TELL THE PRINCIPAL ABOUT YOUR SCHOOL EVALUATION PROJECT

You want his cooperation and his suggestions. You don't need his permission. A good principal wants parents to visit their school. He knows they have a right to do so. He is not afraid to let them see what is happening. Of course, he must make sure that your visits do not interfere with the students' education.

These are reasonable administrative arrangements:

He may ask you to sign in at the office before you visit.

He may ask you to get passes or wear name cards.

He may ask you to limit the size of your group, so that too many visitors won't be in one place at the same time.

These are unreasonable arrangements:

He may say he needs to get permission from someone "higher." This is not true. He is in charge of your school.

He may want a staff person to go with you. If you want this, it is all right. But it should usually not be necessary. It implies that he doesn't trust parents; it is intimidating; and the staff shouldn't have so much free time anyway.

He may want to restrict you to certain areas or certain times. You should be free to go anywhere in the school anytime during school hours. He would have to give a very good reason to keep you out of a particular class.

He may want advance notice for every visit. This is unnecessary as long as you limit the number coming and sign in at the office. You want to know what the school is like when they don't expect visitors.

If your principal denies you the right to visit the school:

He is disobeying the law. The public has the right of access to public institutions, as long as they don't interfere with the orderly process of government. You don't want to interrupt anything. You simply want to observe. As a parent, you have the responsibility to protect your children, and see what is happening to them.

You must not allow your principal to deny you this right. If he tries to, you will have to go over his head, to your local Board of Education, to the State Education Department or even to the United States Department of Health, Education & Welfare, if necessary. You can also go into court to protect your rights.

But none of this should be necessary. If you stand firm, if you are polite, but do not give in, he will realize that you mean business, and he will stop blocking your efforts to visit your school.

MEET WITH YOUR PRINCIPAL (2)

A Good Principal will have the Facts at His Fingertips

He will give you the information in writing, clearly and directly. He will add other important information he wants you to have. He will be glad you want to know about the school and its needs. He will be willing to make the information public, so you can tell other parents what you have found.

A Poor Principal Will Give Excuses, Not Facts

He will give you the run-around. He will tell you the information is unimportant or unavailable. He will give you long, complicated, technical excuses why he cannot let this information out or why it is "unofficial." He will be anxious to hide what is happening so no one "will be embarrased." He will be more concerned with what his superiors say than how the students feel.

SHOW YOUR PRINCIPAL THE SCHOOL REPORT CARDS AS MARKED BY: PARENTS AND STUDENTS

Your committee will want to discuss its findings with your principal. Make sure you have done the following:

1. Completed all school visits
2. Collected a large number of report cards
3 Figured out the "Average Mark"
4. Collected all student opinion surveys (at the end of Section II)
5. Polled teachers and supervisors

Have all this information in your hands ready to discuss with your principal. Your presentation to him should be complete and precise.

MEET WITH YOUR PRINCIPAL (3)

KEEP IN MIND:

A POOR PRINCIPAL.....:

will try to make you feel stupid
will try to keep putting you off
will try to keep talking so you get nowhere
will make many excuses
will try to brainwash you that everything is good
will tell you he already tried your idea and it didn't work
will say "you don't understand what I'm up against."

A GOOD PRINCIPAL.....

will be easy to talk to
will listen to you and to students
will welcome your comments, ideas and suggestions
will talk straight to you
will be happy you are interested in the school
will be glad to look at failures and not just successes
will take your observations very seriously
will bring in teachers to meet and talk with you
will work out a plan of action with you
will invite you back to watch how things progress

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

CONTENTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

UNITED BRONX PARENTS
791 PROSPECT AVENUE
BRONX, NEW YORK 10455
212-842-1484

HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
SCHOOL EVALUATION PROJECT

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

1. Before parents, students or just taxpayers can fully evaluate their school, they should have accurate information about the school facilities, programs, staff, and student achievement.

2. This Principals' Questionnaire consists of 13 different sections. You may want to submit the entire form to your principal, or you may want to select just those sections which suit your immediate needs.

3. You should go over this or the section you choose with your principal, and ask him to fill in as many of the answers as he can.

4. Of course it takes considerable time to fill out these forms. But having complete information can be an important step toward improved parent-community-school relations.

PART #	CONTENTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE
1.	The School Organization (grades, length of school day, etc.)
2.	The Physical Facilities (age and condition of building, types of facilities available, etc.)
3.	Educational Objectives (your school's philosophy)
4.	Curriculum (what subjects and special programs your school has.)
5.	Educational Policies (grouping, promotion, homework, testing)
6.	Information about Staff (class size, staff turnover, etc.)
7.	Supplementary Services (health, after-school, lunch, transportation)
8.	Ethnic Information & Integration Policy
9.	Student Government and Student Involvement
10.	Parent Involvement (report cards, parent visiting, parent conference, etc.
11.	Suspensions, School Safety, etc.
12.	Budget (what it costs to operate your school)
13.	Achievement Data and Evaluations of Results

CHAPTER 5. AFRAM ASSOCIATES (Harlem)

Overview.

AFRAM has its roots in the community control movement of the late 1960's in New York City. The AFRAM philosophy is based on concepts of self-help and concern for one's family and neighbors, with an emphasis on direct action based on these values. From a base in Harlem, AFRAM won a federal Follow-Through grant that allowed them to expand assistance work based on these ideas to seven sites in the East and Midwest.

AFRAM sees the transformation of the power structure of education toward more power in the hands of families (parents and students) as key to any meaningful change in the schools for Blacks, other minorities and poor Whites. Closely interwoven with this emphasis on altering power relationships is a humanistic focus on strengthening the family and its supportive bonds--there is a strong moral thrust in AFRAM's work, and they ofen use such terms as love and truth in assisting parents. They begin with the premise that families have a non-negotiable right to be involved in the education of their children and that the wisdom to improve education lies in the family. In the process of pursuing their objectives, they have created a rich metaphorical vocabulary which they use creatively in their assistance efforts:

> If my son had a broken leg, who would challenge my right to decide what doctor to take him to and to see that the doctor set it properly? A broken leg will heal. How much worse is it to break a child's mind? Once it is broken it will never heal.

AFRAM works by strengthening local parent action groups involved in education. In the federal Follow-Through program these are the Parent Advisory Councils mandated by the Follow-Through program. AFRAM provides support and coordination for the main organizers of these efforts, hired locally by AFRAM and called the Local Stimulators. The Local Stimulator's job is seen as one of total dedication to serving community needs, not only in education but in other areas of life (e.g. by taking a sick child to the hospital and seeing that he is cared for properly). AFRAM aims ideally for the involvement of parents "as full partners" in education, which means a clear-cut role in decision-making, constant presence and a feeling of ownership in the day-to-day operation of the school, and a role as co-teacher in the classroom. In practice, AFRAM has adapted these goals to local conditions in their varied sites. In some settings, their efforts have been focused on helping people get a foothold in the school in the face of unrelenting opposition from the school authorities. In others, they have assisted parents to strengthen existing influence in the school in dealing with school staff who are somewhat supportive of parent involvement, but wish to contain it within clear limits. In several public and private schools that were already parent-controlled when AFRAM linked up with them, AFRAM's focus has been on supporting the full range of parent involvement that their philosophy endorses, including parents as co-teachers in the classroom.

AFRAM has developed a variety of mechanisms through which they attempt to help the local sites, including visits from AFRAM leadership, regular phone contact, and visits by consultants experienced in community organizing. In making visits to local sites, AFRAM staff identify closely with parents, staying in parents' homes whenever possible. Another major mechanism for maintaining a unity of purpose among the dispersed sites is the annual Family Conference, a time when active parents and children from all AFRAM sites come together to reflect and plan. The concept of the family is a major integrating mechanism in AFRAM's work. They emphasize a shift in power that results from families regaining control over their children's education and emphasize a constantly widening idea of what the family is--an extended family encompassing those working locally and nationally to shift the balance of power in the schools. They also emphasize the growth of self-reliance on the local site, and from their early contacts state that AFRAM is mainly a mirror for reflecting people's own potential back to them, not a group who will lead them or solve their problems for them.

One distinctive feature of AFRAM is their extensive and creative use of language and written materials. They send to sites a regular flow of short documents called Thought Stimulators and Humanizers, which include ideas for local work, reflections about struggling to change society, creative work from the various sites, and letters or documents related to the national community control movement. The Stimulators and Humanizers are part of a larger information service operated by AFRAM that includes a clipping service that draws articles from Black newspapers and a videotaping service.

In terms of the future AFRAM is at a crossroads. Shortly after our site visits were completed, AFRAM's funding was not renewed by the Follow-Through Program. AFRAM desires to maintain support to their sites, but the geographical dispersion of the sites makes such support extremely difficult. They are seeking alternative sources of funding, but have to contend with the shrinking base in federal and foundation funds for parent involvement and community control efforts.

History

Like United Bronx Parents, AFRAM grew from a mass popular movement. The seed of the organization was sown in the Black Power and community control movements that deeply affected educational activities in New York City from the mid-1960's onward. The involvement of AFRAM's founder in the community control struggle around I.S. 201 in Harlem and in the block-by-block organizing efforts of the United Block Association led very directly to the founding of the organization and gave AFRAM the initial orientation which it has never shed. It should be emphasized that while the links between AFRAM's work and these broader social movements are clear, AFRAM is very careful in selecting ideas on which to base their work and have, through this critical analysis, developed a philosophy of change that is unique to the organization.

The two individuals most critical in founding AFRAM were Preston Wilcox, its present head, and Ken Haskins. Both were interested in educational change and disgusted with the approach to change of school professionals and universities, which they saw as timid, uninformed, and self-serving. Preston Wilcox left a college teaching position in 1967 so that he could work more directly with the community control movement in Harlem. Ken Haskins was principal of a community-controlled public school in Washington, D.C. Together Wilcox and Haskins had led numerous workshops and meetings concerning issues of the Black movement.

In December, 1968, they and several other Blacks active in social change movements in various parts of the Eastern United States incorporated AFRAM as a not-for-profit corporation in the State of New York.

Initially, AFRAM was doing three types of work. Within the Harlem area they were involved in various activities in alliance with other grassroots Black groups. One particularly important link was with the United Block Association, a strong union of block clubs and other organizations. AFRAM contributed to their activities in education. Through this association with the United Block Association, AFRAM acquired vital elements of its philosophy. One such element is the emphasis on helping yourself, on taking action to improve conditions on your own block without anyone else's sanction. A second is aggressive action--the notion that you analyze a problem and then do something about it. A third is humanism--a concern for your neighbors that is concrete and immediate. The basic combination of militancy and humanity that characterize AFRAM's ideology today were firmly established through this relationship to UBA. The eloquence and conceptual talents of AFRAM's President, Preston Wilcox, fit well with this tradition.

AFRAM participated during this initial period (up to 1970) in numerous workshops and seminars across the country on educational and social change. This experience served to reinforce a national perspective for the organization. It put them in contact with many trends of thought, and, most importantly, increased the huge network of contacts that they were establishing. AFRAM staff served, for the most part, as conference conveners and co-conveners and short-term consultants, confining their long-term, intensive activity to their Harlem home base. But through these activities and through their media and information services, which they were initiating at this time, they prepared their own way to become a national organization which attempted to affect policy at all levels.

Ken Haskins became a consultant to the Office of Education's Follow-Through Program during this period. Follow-Through was intended to build on the Head Start program by providing more effective educational experiences for children in the early grades of elementary school. It was also intended as a social experiment in which groups with various models for educational improvement (Distar, open education, parent involvement, etc.) would provide technical assistance to local school communities. Follow-Through intended to study the relative effectiveness of these various approaches. Follow-Through funding brought substantial supplementary resources for extra staff and equipment at the local level in addition to this technical assistance help.

Because of knowledge of Follow-Through gained from Ken Haskins, AFRAM applied for a contract as a technical assistance group, and was successful in winning one of them. Local parents and school people at Follow-Through sites then had a role in deciding which Follow-Through model they would adopt, and the TAGs offering to assist local schools carry out a particular approach went to the schools and parents to explain what their approach involved. Preston Wilcox visited Follow-Through sites to explain the AFRAM approach, and AFRAM was selected by eight sites—with from one to three schools involved at each site. Seven sites were composed of predominantly Black schools; one site was all-White. AFRAM was the only one of the twenty sponsors to focus primarily on assisting parents, although several other sponsors had parental involvement as one aspect of their approach. The AFRAM model is called "Parent Implementation in Follow-Through" and will be described in detail in the later section on AFRAM philosophy. Briefly one can gain a feeling for AFRAM's approach in Follow-Through from the following statement from their model description:

> Parents/families have a natural non-negotiable right/responsibility to guard/protect the right of their children to be perceived as being human/educable, as being members of a community and to be involved in shaping the content/policy of their (children's) educational programs. The failure of school systems to effectively provide educational justice to all children, shifts the exercise of parental decision-making from a right/responsibility to an absolute necessity.

To carry this philosophy forward, AFRAM defined a number of roles involving their core staff and parents at the local level. AFRAM hired staff members from among the active parents at each site, called Local Stimulators. Through general Follow-Through procedures each local site also had a Parent Coordinator (who must be a parent), who is accountable not to AFRAM but to the local administrator of Follow-Through in the school system.

Follow-Through also mandates a Parent Advisory Council (called a PAC) with a parent chairperson. In practice the PAC Chairperson, the Parent Coordinator and the Local Stimulator often form an active team that spearheads the implementation of the AFRAM philosophy. Further, the Parent Advisory Council (PAC) becomes a cadre of active parents that support increased parent involvement.

To train and support this local leadership, Preston Wilcox (AFRAM's President) and other experienced organizers drawn from within the AFRAM network of contacts spent a great deal of time traveling to sites and maintaining contact through telephone calls and through the mails. The experienced organizers hired as part-time consultants to AFRAM were called Field Consultants and spent several days a month at a site to which they were linked. AFRAM also expanded their Harlem-based media activities to produce the short (one to three page) Stimulators and Humanizers and other materials that were sent regularly to the Follow-Through families.

The addition of parents as Local Stimulators shifted the AFRAM staff from long-time educational activists with national experience to parents who had been active in their local schools. Most of them were from low-income family backgrounds. Many were very religious, with some being ministers or lay leaders in Black churches. AFRAM's ideas about the integrity of the family, love, and cooperative responsibility fit well with the religious perspective of many of those recruited.

The sites AFRAM began to assist were extremely diverse. One was in a rural area outside a large midwestern city. Several others were in medium-sized cities, while some were in large cities. Three sites were private community-controlled schools, and another was a public school governed by a neighborhood board. Several had chosen AFRAM because they already had active parent efforts and knew of AFRAM through a network of contacts. There seemed to be three types of situations in which AFRAM found itself:

1. Settings where any significant parent involvement was consistently opposed or undermined by the school administration.
2. Settings where school administrations supported some form of parent involvement, although they conceived of it more in terms of input and advice than control.
3. Settings where the concept of parents as full and equal partners in the educational process was firmly established. This was the case in the three private and one public community-controlled schools.

In the first two types of settings (about which we have the most information), AFRAM's thrust was to do two things. First, AFRAM attempted to build parent confidence in parents' ability to contribute to the education of their children, i.e. confidence to ask questions of school staff, to act in the face of problems, to confront school staff when they felt it necessary. Second, beside attempting to build this general confidence, AFRAM tried to get people to analyze their local situation and develop plans to deal with the problems they saw as most immediate. These problems varied with the specific local setting and ranged from obtaining emergency food and clothing for families to getting a new school built to opposing excessive paddling of children and school suspensions.

In working with local sites, AFRAM continually stressed a close identification with parents and a respect for their ideas. AFRAM's President and AFRAM consultants who worked with local sites lived in people's homes whenever possible, rather than hotels. "They saw that the person who went to talk with the school superintendent was the same person they had over for dinner the night before." They also placed high value on the ideas of parents for changing their own schools, rather than pressing specific ideas of their own. "If you really respect someone, you don't try to change them. You help them understand their own abilities."

An important aspect of AFRAM's support for local sites, initiated first in 1973, is the Family Conference. The first Family Conference at Hampden Institute brought together all interested parents from the AFRAM Follow-Through sites. It included workshops, opportunities to share experiences and plans for the next year, and, most of all, a reaffirmation of the emotional bonds among the participants, giving people in widely scattered sites a feeling of solidarity. The conference was a time both for analyzing the work of the past year to refine AFRAM's approach to providing assistance and a time for reaffirmation of the underlying philosophy of the work.

During this period AFRAM also continued its general consulting, networking, and information-collecting activities within the Black liberation movement. AFRAM sought to become a national information center for "Afrikan" self-determination, collecting information, about college Black studies programs, community organizing efforts and a variety of other relevant topics. Using this information AFRAM developed a variety of resource publications and subscription services. The Stimulators and Humanizers developed for Follow-Through became an integral part of this information effort.

Each year AFRAM made refinements in its approach based on analyzing what had happened in the past year. For example, in its first year of operation the basic AFRAM approach was to ask local parents how AFRAM could be helpful and to depend on the parents to respond with suggestions. AFRAM found, however, that this approach was not focused enough. Subsequently, they developed a long list of areas in which local communities might need assistance and areas in which they thought AFRAM had some skills. These two lists were used as a tool in helping local people specify what kind of assistance they wanted from AFRAM. "Our approach from year to year was a problem-posing problem-solving approach. We tried to learn experientially by putting ourselves in contact with the sites and putting sites in contact with each other around pressing problems."

One problem area they dealt with over time was the role of the Field Consultants. It was difficult for consultants to tune in quickly to local situations with only a few days a month on site, and the travel involved was expensive. Further, some Field Consultants were seen as deviating from the AFRAM approach by imposing their ideas too much on local people rather than helping local people refine their own ideas. Thus, AFRAM moved to a concept of Local Consultants, parents who had carried out the Local Stimulator role exceptionally well. As time passed, these Local Consultants also became a key in elaborating AFRAM's model for change.

Another constant problem area was the relationship of AFRAM to the federal funders. The philosophy and tactics of AFRAM's parent implementation model were, to a degree, different from the other Follow-Through models and more controversial. In addition, AFRAM saw part of its mission as undercutting the mystique of professional educators and their perceived insensitivity to the needs of minorities. AFRAM contested Follow-Through policies and prepared "unconventional" reports on their work that consisted of materials produced by the local sites. For example, they refused to "evaluate" their sites, seeing their role as one of portraying the site's activities without judging them. Thus, each refunding cycle was a time of some tension and conflict over refunding.

In 1973 AFRAM acquired ownership of a farm in Upstate New York. The AFRAM farm is a working farm, a communal economic enterprise. It also has served as the site for subsequent Family Conferences, as well as other AFRAM meetings. Everyone who comes to the farm is expected to work--to cook their own food, repair buildings, feed animals, and harvest crops. AFRAM feels strongly about the value of shared physical work in building solidarity between people in the AFRAM family.

Through their work with the Follow-Through sites, AFRAM achieved membership in the National Follow-Through Parent Advisory Council. This council did not have any clear decision-making powers, but AFRAM and other parents from AFRAM sites who participated in it have pushed for a strong voice in the program's policy-making by parents and have sought to build it as a political force for protecting aspects of the Follow-Through program they value. They have involved other Follow-Through parents not served by AFRAM in this effort. This has also been a pattern in other educational activities of AFRAM--they have tried to create mechanisms for decision-making and pressure at all program levels, in addition to their focus on the neighborhood and school level.

In 1974 Preston Wilcox, the AFRAM President, was severely injured in an automobile accident, and was unable to work at all for six months. He had always been the strong central leader and omnipresent source of inspiration, moving around constantly to visit the sites, authoring many of the informational and inspirational materials, etc. Although the AFRAM staff and people at the sites were deeply shaken by the accident, it brought a strong closing of ranks and an effort to continue along the lines of the AFRAM philosophy which was by then internalized by many involved. One of the Local Consultants, Rev.Jim Wilkes from the Flint, Michigan site, moved temporarily to New York as Acting Director. There was some confusion and some strain both in the New York office and in the work at the sites, but the basic thrust of the work continued.

By spring of 1975 when we made our site visits, Preston Wilcox was resuming limited work in the program, and the Follow-Through effort was facing another refunding cycle. In the spring of 1976 the Follow-Through Program decided not to refund AFRAM. The position of the federal funders was that AFRAM refused to follow proper procedures and that the services being provided by AFRAM at that point were unclear. AFRAM's perspective was that it was not refunded because it refused to put the maintenance of relations with funders above its direct work with parents, because it pressed for more parent control of Follow-Through, and because it encouraged local self-reliance and encouraged local sites to take the primary credit for their successes rather than fostering dependency and claiming major credit for AFRAM.

Follow-Through has continued to fund the local activities at some of the AFRAM sites. AFRAM is attempting to maintain contact with the sites and is seeking other possibilities for funds to work with them. As this study is being prepared for publication, AFRAM has signed an agreement with Encyclopedia Britannica for marketing a reading program they have developed through which families can teach their children to read. This reading program, called New Approach Method or NAM, promises to provide AFRAM with a significant source of funding.

Internal Functioning

Proportionally more than other groups, AFRAM personnel are deployed in the field, rather than being concentrated in the central headquarters. In the Harlem headquarters are the clerical personnel, the technical staff responsible for publications and other media services, and sometimes the President, Preston Wilcox. However, the President is almost constantly traveling, and he was, until the time of his auto accident, the major program person employed full-time who was not tied to a specific site. The part-time Field Consultants were initially another major program resource not tied to local sites, but they have generally been replaced by Local Consultants. Thus, our discussion of support functions is not as extensive as for other groups, since many of the support functions fall on Preston Wilcox rather than a group, or they are closely intertwined with the assistance activities at the local sites.

AFRAM headquarters is housed on one floor of a building in Harlem that also houses the United Block Association, and several other community-oriented groups. The AFRAM floor consists of several large open office areas, a resource center area, and some smaller offices. The space is packed with materials produced by AFRAM or in the process of production, so that they normally cover numerous wall shelves and overflow desks and tables. The resource library is also jammed with materials, including many that are not widely distributed, making it an invaluable and probably unique information source on topics of interest to AFRAM (e.g. university Black Studies programs).

The Harlem office, in addition to its overt functions, also is a symbol of what AFRAM stands for. AFRAM literature speaks of Harlem as the ultimate home of AFRAM:

> ...the only place in the world where Black people can really feel at home in America outside of their birthplaces, etc. Harlem is the symbol, both of the victimization of Black people in this country and their resiliency--a celebration of it--against almost insurmountable odds.[1]

As mentioned earlier, AFRAM's ties to Harlem are not only symbolic, but are also reflected in AFRAM's continued links with the United Block Association. UBA and AFRAM are part of a network of Harlem organizations that call on each other for advice and share information. However, the demands of the Follow-Through project have decreased AFRAM's direct assistance to Harlem schools.

Development of Strategy and Tactics. As will be discussed later, AFRAM's development of philosophy and strategy is notable for the attempt to derive a strategy for educational change from a broader political philosophy and view about human relationships. The major development of this philosophical base has come from Preston Wilcox, drawing on and extending certain tenets of the Black pride and community control movements. The outlines of the Parent Implementation Model came from Preston Wilcox and Ken Haskins. Since a major tenet of the philosophy and strategy is to build the confidence of parents in their own ideas about what is good education and what action they should take in a specific situation, the specific tactics of dealing with various issues at the local level is left to a large extent to the ingenuity of the Local Stimulator and other parents. AFRAM will provide some advice on specific strategy and tactics, but only as part of an on-going local planning activity--they strongly resist telling people what to do at the local level. The dangers that Field Consultants or other AFRAM staff who are not locally-based will take over local situations and build dependency among local people are strongly underlined by Preston Wilcox as one of the worst errors the consultants can make. Probably more than other TAGs studied, the AFRAM approach places relatively greater emphasis on the emotional and motivating aspects of assistance as being primary and the communication of specific technical information as secondary.

While AFRAM does not endorse a specific set of tactics, it disseminates through its materials and conferences information about tactics that experienced organizers and active parents at the Follow-Through sites have used in dealing with their problems. By publicizing this information and praising the development of ideas from local parent groups, AFRAM seeks to motivate people to develop more such ideas and to further increase their confidence in their own capacities.

As mentioned earlier, each year there has been a conscious attempt to take stock of the AFRAM model for change and refine it, particularly through discussions at the AFRAM Family Conferences and the written materials that resulted from them. AFRAM is anxious, however, to avoid becoming too prescriptive to local sites--"We say,'Here is what some other people have done,' not 'Here is what you should do'.

Leadership Roles and Styles. Formal control of AFRAM rests with a five-member Board of Directors, comprised of those Black educators and organizers from various cities instrumental in founding AFRAM. They have been drawn on repeatedly for help as consultants at local sites, for advice, for information and for political support. Their advice is respected by Preston Wilcox, but it is clear that the power in the organization rests with him and that the Board of Directors is primarily a valued resource.

Within AFRAM as an organization, then, the final decisions rest with Preston Wilcox, and he exercises his authority in basically two ways: to insist on high standards of performance (e.g. high quality materials production, long hours of dedication from the Local Stimulators), and to defend the basic principles of the AFRAM strategy (e.g. he severely criticized a staff member when he felt that a report was giving too much credit to AFRAM and not enough to local people). He is then generally viewed as the legitimate interpreter of the AFRAM philosophy as it applies in specific situations.

Another aspect of his leadership style, alluded to earlier as a general characteristic of the organization, is his strong motivational and inspirational quality. Within the AFRAM family (and building on the family metaphor that underlies AFRAM's philosophy) he is "Uncle Preston".

In thinking about leadership, however, one must again underscore the strong emphasis placed on the development of local autonomy and the emergence of Local Stimulators and Local Consultants in developing AFRAM's ideas through experience. Local groups are not seen as extensions of AFRAM control, but as groups who must be helped to stand on their own as soon as possible. Thus, despite his strong and inspirational leadership style, Preston Wilcox's approach is to press for the development of local leadership and to press this leadership to make its own decisions.

Staff Recruitment and Socialization. Initially, there were three sources for different types of staff people. Clerical and technical staff were drawn from Harlem. Field consultants were drawn from a network of experienced organizers including the Board of Directors. The facilitators or Local Stimulators were drawn from the local sites from among active parents. As mentioned earlier, there has, since the Follow-Through contract started, been a consistent tendency to rely on those recruited from the local sites to fill key positions. Local Consultants have replaced Field Consultants. When Preston was injured, the Local Consultant from Flint became Acting Director of AFRAM.

Within the Harlem office Preston Wilcox has played a critical role in clarifying people's jobs over a period of time, motivating them to do high quality work. In his absence the efficiency of the staff and the clarity of their responsibilities suffered, since they had been dependent to some extent on regular interaction with him. Another important socialization and social control mechanism in the headquarters is the family concept, and it exerts some strong motivational pressures on people to do good work and work long hours.

At the sites one can see a socialization mechanism operating similar to that of the United Bronx Parents, in which AFRAM can identify the most capable active parents and place them in positions of responsibility as Local Stimulators, then promote the most effective Local Stimulators to the Local Consultant position. The socialization of staff at the local sites will be discussed more extensively later in describing the technical assistance effort.

Fund-Raising and Fund Maintenance. AFRAM has had three major sources of funding: the Follow-Through contract, income from the sale of materials, and income from short-term speaking and consulting.

The Follow-Through contract is the aspect of AFRAM that is of most interest to us. As mentioned earlier, AFRAM obtained information about the availability of Follow-Through funds through the network of people with whom Preston Wilcox was in communication. Since their successful funding, AFRAM has been in fairly regular conflict with the funding source. Among the causes of this conflict appear to be the following:

1. AFRAM sees the funder as part of the system that dehumanizes education and feels AFRAM has some responsibility to challenge them. Thus, while other groups would tend to minimize differences with the funder or keep them at arm's length, AFRAM feels that part of its responsibility is to challenge the funding agency about its policies.

2. AFRAM disagrees with conventional external evaluation and has resisted it, although (as discussed later) they support specific types of documentation.

3. AFRAM has not documented and highlighted their own contribution to strengthening many local efforts--rather they have emphasized that local people did it themselves. This left them in a weak position when called on to prove their value as a TAG.

4. Unlike every other TAG studied, Follow-Through, AFRAM's funder, was also closely involved with AFRAM's RTAs. The federal program made decisions that affect the local sites. Thus, in defending the interests of the parents they work with, AFRAM was often challenging its own funder.

Supportive Resource Network. Already noted are the close ties of AFRAM with others active in social change efforts, including ties through Board of Directors members. In addition to such informal network ties for information, political support and advice, AFRAM works consciously to develop and support national organizations to press for changes in public policy. The role of AFRAM in organizing Follow-Through parents to exert national political pressure to protect the Follow-Through Program has already been noted. AFRAM also indicates an active involvement in the following organizations:

National Coalition of ESEA Title I Parents

Parent Network
National Black Parents Organization
Black Child Development Institute, Inc.
National Council for Black Child Development
United Communities for Black Child Development
United Communities for Child Development
Black Advisory Task Force, Child Development Associate Consortium
Freedom House Institute on Schools and Education
United Black Protective Parents

Developing Materials for Assistance Efforts. A major AFRAM support function is the production and distribution of AFRAM literature. AFRAM staff are extremely proud of this aspect of their organization, which has developed to its present complex state due to the wide distribution over the country of AFRAM family members and the need to (1) keep them informed of various facts that are crucial to their work; (2) maintain a feeling that the central office and the other AFRAM people in different locales have not forgotten them; and (3) to keep up a constant process of reinforcement of the philosophical precepts of AFRAM. When the funding has permitted it, AFRAM has maintained staff at its headquarters to carry out the task of writing up informational and inspirational pieces, mass producing them and distributing them to all people in the AFRAM network in New York and elsewhere. The scale of this operation over the past five years has been enormous--hundreds of "Thought Stimulators" (brief philosophical comments on education-related topics) have been written. Many of them are written by Preston Wilcox himself, but other staff members and people in the communities in which AFRAM is working also prepare them. The Thought Stimulators might include, for example, a description of a teaching technique developed by parents at a particular site, a copy of a letter from Preston or from someone outside of AFRAM commenting on or praising the work of someone at the local level, or a poem or short essay by a Local Stimulator or student. All the separate pieces that are published through this information system have a distinctive format, so that the materials system is used to legitimate the expression of ideas from the sites and share them with others. Some examples of the Thought Stimulators are included at the end of this case study. (See Attachments)

The latest list of AFRAM materials and media activities includes the following items:

1. AFRAM DRUM (formerly National Afrikan Kalender of Events and Information).
2. AFRAMAILIBRARY (includes the Thought Stimulators and other informational and inspirational material).
3. AFRAMVIDEO (a visual documentation service within Harlem).
4. From the Outhouse (the newsletter of the AFRAM farm).
5. Afrikan Reference Library (a library of interest to the Black community, at the Harlem headquarters).
6. FILMEDIA (a supply of films, videotapes and slides, available for purchase or rental).
7. AFRAM Printers and Publishing Service (produces the AFRAM materials plus serving needs of local Black community groups).

8. Black Newspaper Clipping Bureau (the most complete clipping service for Black newspapers and magazines throughout the country)

Drawing on Research and Analysis Concerning AFRAM's Work and That of Others. AFRAM sees evaluation not as a neutral scientific enterprise but as a political tool that can be used either to help people or to control them. It regards the traditional external evaluation and research efforts as part of the larger control mechanism that dehumanizes education. AFRAM is particularly critical of the research and evaluation based on the assumptions of "cultural deprivation." They oppose, for example, evaluations that tend to focus attention on whether parental involvement increases reading scores, since they regard parent involvement in children's education as a right, not an educational "treatment" that can be accepted or rejected because of its short-term measu[illegible] effects. However, they have been supportive of research that operates within their basic value assumptions and have collaborated with several organizations on such research projects.

Internally, AFRAM places a strong emphasis on the documentation of local efforts through videotape, through written accounts, and through collecting documents produced. They emphasize creating an accurate record of what particular groups did in particular situations, so that others might look at this record and see how it applies to their own situation. (AFRAM's emphasis in building such a record is reflected, for example, in a systematic effort to forward copies of this documentation to the Library of Congress.) This analysis often becomes part of the Thought Stimulators or other AFRAM materials. AFRAM also emphasizes self-evaluation, a process of looking at yourself and your work through reflective sessions in local parent meetings or in Family Conferences. In such instances AFRAM sees itself as a "mirror", reflecting back to people what they are saying so that they can see it more clearly. Finally, information collected for the Resource Library and the various publications reflects an effort to keep up with what other groups are doing in the areas of educational and social change. Through the Thought Stimulators, some of this information is also communicated to the local Follow-Through sites.

Clerical, Technical and Fiscal Operations. As mentioned earlier these activities are centered in Harlem and carried out primarily by a distinct group not involved in local assistance. The AFRAM style of carrying out some of these operations is often frantic, with everyone pitching in at the last minute to get a mailing out, for example. Such an approach has an advantage in emphasizing the family aspect of the organization, although it seems to have some negative aspects in contributing to work overload. The technical quality of the media and materials production is very high; the people involved are skilled and strongly committed to AFRAM.

AFRAM has experienced some problems maintaining reliable bookkeeping and routine fiscal operations, and sometimes key leadership is drawn back into performing these tasks.

Philosophy

AFRAM is more explicit than many of the TAGs in articulating not only a philosophy of technical assistance, but also of education and social relations in general. The creation and transmission of this philosophy to AFRAM staff and people outside the organization involves the creation and use of a special AFRAM vocabulary. Therefore, in this report we will explain and use the AFRAM vocabulary as much as possible.

In terms of the origin of AFRAM philosophy, it is clear that the President of the organization, Dr. Preston Wilcox, is the specific source of many ideas. Again, the general direction of the ideas frequently is indistinguishable from that of the Black movement in general, but Preston Wilcox seems to be the person who functions most in the putting of those ideas into words that can serve as guides for policy, specific action in the field, and the exploration of new areas in which AFRAM's stance has not been clarified. Preston Wilcox also feels that his involvement in the Follow-Through sponsored activities has been useful in educating him. At various times, he and other staff members have been challenged to make various AFRAM ideas much more concrete. The contribution of other staff and of the people with whom AFRAM works is seen in many of the AFRAM Thought Stimulators. In short pieces of prose and poetry, the different contributors to the Thought Stimulators express ideas on any number of issues, from people's attitudes to work, to the emotional differences they perceive between Blacks and Whites, to the proper relationships between mothers and children.

According to AFRAM, commitment to the expressed values should be emotional and all-encompassing, rather than just strategic and cognitive. When asked questions about their "strategy for change", they reacted negatively to the term "strategy," emphasizing that they were "not talking about a strategy but a way of life." A number of other institutionalized mechanisms within the organization are used to promote and reinforce emotional commitment to the values that AFRAM considers key, including the cooperative economic activities exemplified by the AFRAM farm near Elmira, New York.

The AFRAM philosophy has been set out in a number places. The following values are each labeled with a Swahili word. Many are derived from the "African Socialism" tradition of Tanzania's president, Julius Nyerere and other African political thinkers of the left:

"SEVEN PRINCIPLES"

1. UMOJA (UNITY). To live for, and maintain unity in the family, community, nation, and race.

2. KUJICHAGULIA (SELF DETERMINATION). To define ourselves, and speak for ourselves, instead of being defined and spoken for by others.

3. UJIMA (COLLECTIVE WORK AND RESPONSIBILITY). To build and maintain our community together and to make our brothers' and sisters' problems our problem and to solve them together.

4. UJAMAA (COOPERATIVE ECONOMICS). To build and maintain our own stores, shops and other businessess and to profit together from them.

5. NIA (PURPOSE). To make as our collective vocation the building and developing of our community in order to restore our people to their traditional greatness.

6. KUUMBA (CREATIVITY). To do always as much as we can, in the way we can, in order to leave our community more beautiful and beneficial than when we inherited it.

7. IMANI (FAITH). To believe with all our hearts in our parents, our teachers, our leaders, our people and the righteousness and victory of our struggle.[2]

These "Seven Principles of Blackness" are a good point to start in discussing the more specific aspects of AFRAM philosophy and its application to education.

UMOJA: The metaphor of the family. One of the most important threads that runs through the thinking of Preston Wilcox is that of alienation and division among people. According to this analysis, one of the major weaknesses of United States culture is that human relations which should be familial in nature, are instead, characterized by just the opposite: alientation, division, expoitation, and non-nurturant, non-emotional relationships. According to AFRAM, a great many, perhaps all, of the institutions of society are supportive of this destruction of human relationships. Above all, the schools, which have such a control over the lives of children, have created this alienated situation in ways that will be outlined below.

The destruction of a family spirit in society is seen as unnatural and wrong, and is specifically characterized in the AFRAM literature and AFRAM attitudes as a product of "European" (including white North American) culture, society, and values. Black values, often called Afrikan (spelled with a K to indicate that the word is being used in a special, more inclusive sense -- inclusive of Black

Americans especially) are seen as diametrically opposed to European values. It is felt that the European-dominated institutions are insidiously trying to dominate, control and de-Afrikanize Black children and their families. But AFRAM does not limit its analysis to the effect of dominant values on Black families. It sees all families affected adversely by these values and therefore sees its humanistic philosophy drawn from Afrikan culture as having relevance to the whole American culture.

The destruction of humanistic values is accomplished in American culture by robbing people of the power to make decisions concerning the social institutions that affect their own lives, by marginalizing them economically, and by propagandizing them into rejecting the cooperative, warm, family-based society from which they ultimately come.

The duty of a humanist (Preston Wilcox and the AFRAM people are frequent in their use of this term to describe themselves) is to push forward an attack on all of these mechanisms of control and domination. Like the people of United Bronx Parents, the AFRAM people are concered with the totalities in which their constituencies function -- it is not enough just to deal with education, one has to deal with economics, too. It is not enough just to deal with power, one has to reshape ideas and vocabulary as well. That AFRAM works mostly with school issues is a reflection of their concern, with children, who are so profoundly, they say affected by the experience of removal from the family setting to the typical school setting.

The way to push forward with this struggle is to work for the re-establishment of family relationships in the wider sense. All legitimate human social relationships concerned with education and other social institutions must be restored to a family basis, in the sense that they become mutually supportive, materially and emotionally supportive, open in the expression and reaction to both ideas and emotions, and based on bonds of loyalty that can not be broken. This should characterize relationships not only between parents and children and brothers and sisters, but between children and teachers, teachers and parents, and so forth. AFRAM staff state frequently that the key to effective teaching comes when the teacher begins to see and treat the children in his class as his own children, as members of his family.

AFRAM staff clearly state that this type of human bond cannot be re-established between people who remain in relationships of unlegitimized and unequal power. They feel that the major unequal and exploitative relationship that affects the people they work with (and by implication the whole nation) is the relationship of Black and White. They feel that Europeans and Afrikans cannot be reintegrated until the Europeans realize and reject the degree to which their own prosperity and security is based on the exploitation of Blacks and other minority groups (when poor Whites are mentioned, it is characteristic that they are seen as another minority rather than a segment of the majority White population). To the degree that institutions are controlled by the dominant White-controlled economic interests of the society, they must be aggresseively challenged and forced to make room for participatory activity of all kinds by Blacks and other minorities, acting in unison and not as individuals. It is not enough just to put Black faces into important positions -- these people also have to be part of the family, i.e. have to be themselves, accountable and close to their supposed constituencies. Blacks, including Black teachers and administrators, who are put into positions in the institutions of education, etc. and just carry out the work in the same bureaucratic, dehumanized way without seeing themselves as part of and accountable to the Black people are just as bad as the Europeans -- in fact they have become Europeans. Whites, on the other hand, who are willing to bring themselves closer to the Black community, i.e. in the case of teachers, by living in it and facing its everyday struggles, are seen as part of the AFRAM family.

Another term that is used repeatedly by AFRAM is the "little people" i.e. children. Preston Wilcox and other AFRAM staff feel that to work with parents alone is divisive of the family -- it takes them out of those activities which bring them closer to their children to place them in activities in which "no children are allowed" -- all in the name of benefiting the children. Thus, the creation of activities for parents must be integrated with the creation of activities for children. Children are welcome at all AFRAM-sponsored activities of any kind -- one "Thought Stimulator" goes as far as saying that one should not go to any place which forbids the presence of children. Special AFRAM literature is directed at children, and in the local communities where AFRAM works, children are brought into the activities in a variety of ways, always with a thought to developing their own psychological potentials while improving their integration into both their own families and their other social relationships. AFRAM stresses that even a child's own parents do not have the right to "mess over" (i.e. exploit, dominate or maltreat) him, and are explicit that they will side with the child in such situations.

AFRAM's specific philosophy of education is an outgrowth of these general principles. Their basic criticism of the schools is that they break up families and replace them with non-familial, competitive, non-nurturant relationships. Teachers, who have frequently had all their good instincts based on their essentially human nature "programed out" in the process of their formal and on-the-job training, are the main agents of this dehumanizing process. They act as the frontline soldiers of the establishment in the struggle to control the minds of children, unless they too are turned around and made to face these shortcomings and reintegrate themselves into the human family. Therefore, although AFRAM recognizes that teachers are potentially part of the family, they feel that without outside pressure neither teachers nor their administrative superiors will act to promote correct values for children. Therefore, teachers *must* be secondary to parents in making decisions about educational policy. One AFRAM staff member expressed outrage at the thought that teachers, through their union, dare to claim that their desire to have higher salaries and benefits and an easier job in the classroom outweighs the right of parents to ensure the well-being of children when it comes to educational policy making. This is held up as the height of selfishness which could only be found in people who themselves had been thoroughly alientated and dehumanized by their own upbringing and present jobs. Thus, AFRAM is strongly in favor of community control of the schools, which they see as one major tool in reestablishing the relationships they value.

AFRAM's attitude toward conflict and cooperation strategies stems from this analysis. They feel that injustice has to be fought against, that those in control who benefit materially from the current situation will not act as the liberator of the oppressed person , that the oppressed person has to act to liberate himself. This effort will inevitably be resisted, so that AFRAM holds itself open to the use of conflict tactics when necessary. On the other hand, they also emphasize reintegration of people of all kinds into a family relationship -- this includes those teachers and administrators who have ceased to oppose them. Cooperative strategies are appropriate in dealing with such people. Thus there is no contradiction between cooperation and conflict tactics -- they each have their place within an overall strategy.

Specific educational practices are supported if they are integrative of the individual, of the individual's family, and of the total community as a "family" unit. Desirable practices include those which effectively teach skills which will allow the child to survive economically when he becomes an adult (there is a strong emphasis on reading scores, etc.). They also include the teaching of democratic, expressive, self-confident and warmly supportive social attitudes, characterized as "familial". They include teaching techniques which reintegrate the child with, or at least do not alienate him from, his roots in the community and beyond. The AFRAM people put great stress on the "Afrikan" ancestry of the majority of the "little people" on whose behalf they work, and teaching through the creative use of the symbols of African and Afro-American expressive culture is valued and supported. Examples of this emphasis include the use of African proverbs as a rich store of wisdom and the use of African artistic designs and patterns. In the past, AFRAM has managed to cosponsor trips for Black U.S. children to West African nations.

At the same time, it must be stressed that AFRAM does not simply fit into the category of "alternative school people" who only advocate expressive cultural activities. The family metaphor means also that people are kept out of trouble and that they are taught, forcefully if necessary, the skills that they need to survive. One staff member, trying to describe AFRAM's concept of "love" told a story about his own childhood in which his misbehavior was stopped by a neighbor who spanked him. "Loving someone," he said, "means setting them right."

The family metaphor also affects the internal functioning of AFRAM Inc. AFRAM is considered to be a family, and its internal workings are supposed to be carried on as a family group. This means that although "Uncle Preston" is in a sense a father figure with definite authority over policy, ideally the internal relations of the organization are democratic, expressive, open, mutually supportive and affectionate. Although there are sometimes fierce fights within the organization, these are likened by staff to family fights -- they are emotional because the emotional relationsips are close, but they do not break up the family no matter how emotional they get. Various mechanisms are employed in the internal workings of the organization to maintain it as a "family," including the literature, the media network, the Family conferences, and cooperative work at the farm. The family concept is constantly reinforced, e.g. when crises and conflicts occur, the people involved are repeatedly reminded that they are of one family, and that things must be decided and relationships maintained in a family-like way. These were the people's reactions, for example, in the crisis following Preston Wilcon's accident.

In sum, the use of a number of key vocabulary terms, the most important of which are the family, the little people, Afrikan, is a mechanism which gives philosophical coherence to AFRAM's work, and from there, provides a guide to technical assistance strategy and tactics and to the running of the organization. The vocabulary itself is largely derived from the Black liberation movement and is highly useful in cases in which AFRAM is dealing with an urban Black population.

They have also had some experience in applying their ideas in other settings. In one case, AFRAM's entry into a small Black community required them to modify somewhat the tone of their vocabulary, as the people in the community were not used to the "aggressiveness" of expression that had been developed by AFRAM through largely big-city experiences prior to that time. However, they felt that they made the adjustment without major difficulties. In addition, one of AFRAM's Follow-Through sites has a population that is almost totally White. Philosophically this has been important to the AFRAM staff. In this community, there are no Blacks and yet they see no lack of poverty and oppression there. AFRAM staff found, in their words, that "you do not have to be Black to be a nigger." Yet they feel that through working in Black communities they have gained experience which allows them to work effectively with people who face difficulties similar to those faced by Blacks. They feel that by showing the poor Whites of this community the example of Black communities who have struggled to improve their situations, they can help to motivate those Whites to do the same. At the same time, they feel that by continuing to use the vocabulary derived from the Black experience even while working with other groups, they are helping to dismantle racial fears and prejudices.

Philosophy of School Community Assistance. The specific philosophy and strategy of assistance to particular school communities flows from the overall AFRAM philosophy. Their assistance philosophy begins with this basic premise:

> Parents/families have a natural non-negotiable right/responsibility to guard/protect the right of their children to be perceived as being human/educable, as being members of a community and to be involved in shaping the content/policy of their (children's) educational programs. The failure of school systems to effectively provide educational justice to all children, shifts the exercise of parental decision making from a right/responsibility to an absolute necessity.[3]

AFRAM stresses in the same document the difference between parent participation and parent implementation:

Parent participation: reaction/consultation/advise/community

Parent implementation: Enactment/decision-making/accountability/community development/parents as co-owners and full partners.[4]

What would "parent implementation" look like ideally? AFRAM lists some of the characteristics of local school communities that parents should strive for:

1. Belief system. In the right/obligation/necessity of parents to be involved in educational affairs.
2. Parental Decision-Making. As a non-negotiable parental obligation.
3. Existence of Leadership Cadre. A group of experienced, informed parents who can act collectively in response to local will and interests.
4. An Extra-School Base of Operations. For the conduct of business, keeping of records, holding meetings, and for meeting community needs when the school is closed.
5. Extra-School Leadership Opportunities/Exercise. Ability of parent leadership to exercise communal leadership outside of the school organization on "non educational" issues.
6. Access to Informal Channels of Influence and Power. Ability to obtain prior information, to meet with school authorities informally, - or in the community, etc.
7. A Sense of Local Autonomy. A sense of ownership over the local town and a sense of responsibility to review/meet local needs/interests first.
8. Application of a Problem-Solving Approach. The ability to research problems, to ask questions, to pose issues, etc.— and then, to act on the new-found information.[5]

Some other aspects of an effectively functioning school community seem to be as follows:

1. A constant "presence" of parents in the school so that they know what is going on there and to alert other parents so that school staff are kept on their toes.
2. A school atmosphere that is both loving and purposeful, an extension of AFRAM's notion of the family.

3. An emphasis on acquiring basic skills of reading and computation.

4. An emphasis on Afrikan culture and the use of Afrikan culture in the curriculum.

5. The hiring of parents for paid roles in maintaining school-community contact and working with children in the classroom. Ideally, these parents are co-teachers, full partners in the educational process whose knowledge of their children complements the teacher's knowledge of instructional methods. If the notion of co-teacher is not achieved, parents in these paid roles within the school should try to move the school toward this conception and at the same time represent parent interests in the school and inform other parents about what is going on there.

In supporting a movement toward these goals, AFRAM operates on a number of premises that have been touched on earlier. First, they identify primarily with parents and work with school staff only in conjunction with parents. They are anxious to avoid a broker role between parents and school staff which they see as promoting an unhealthy dependency on AFRAM. Second, they project their view of how schools should function through techniques aimed at motivating and stimulating local people to analyze their own situation and to act. Third, they do not emphasize or advocate any specific local action, rather they try to reflect back to people what they are saying and doing, so that the response is one of the local people's own choosing.

In considering the plan of organization and operation that AFRAM has initiated to carry out these aims, it is interesting to constrast AFRAM with United Bronx Parents. UBP and other community pressure groups have sought objectives similar to AFRAM through a gradually expanding localized geographical base. Specific schools, school districts, and neighborhoods are worked with until they reach a point of organization that allows for further expansion. AFRAM, however, does not want to limit itself to a particular geographical area, and further, AFRAM has been thrust into a Follow-Through situation in which it must work with widely dispersed sites. AFRAM therefore faces the problem of carrying out an essentially political task in a dispersed group of settings and cannot make use of a geographical base to integrate its work. Given this problem, the first requirement that AFRAM sets for itself is to establish the local base to be as responsive as possible to local conditions and as independent as possible from AFRAM, while at the same time coordinating with the Harlem Office. In attempting to do this, AFRAM must also reconcile its aims with the program structure of Follow-Through. The structure of the roles within AFRAM's approach to Follow-Through is a response to these problems. The major relevant groups and individuals have been mentioned earlier and are listed below:

1. Families: It is important to emphasize that AFRAM does not only train a few key local people, but also assists parents and children directly through its conferences, distribution of materials, etc.
2. Parent Advisory Council (PAC): A parent body mandated by Follow-Through that AFRAM seeks to stimulate toward its concept of parent implementation.
3. PAC President: Unpaid role; often PAC Presidents move into the paid roles in the program.

4. Local Stimulator: A parent hired by AFRAM who plays the key role in organizing parents to carry out the parent implementation philosophy.

5. Parent Coordinator: A mandated Follow-Through role. This person is responsible to the local Follow-Through Director, not to AFRAM. Ideally, the Local Stimulator and Parent Coordinator are doing very similar work.

6. Field Consultant: A part-time consultant who regularly visits a local site or sites. Generally, a skilled organizer drawn from AFRAM's network of associates. Now being de-emphasized in favor of Local Consultants.

7. Local Consultant: The most effective and experienced Parent Stimulators become consultants and coordinators of Local Stimulators in the area. Allows greater familiarity with the local situation and more resources to be spent at the local level because of diminished travel costs.

The role of the Local Stimulator is key at the local level. AFRAM describes some aspects of the role this way:

> He/she helps organize educational meetings in parents homes that are directed toward a variety of purposes, including self-education; education of the school staff to parent and community needs and concerns. He/she encourages parents to develop community-based programs to deal with problems that persistently interfere with the education of their children, such as narcotics addiction, deteriorated housing, lack of health and medical services, unemployment and the like. AFRAM depends on both actual field learning experiences and training sessions to provide this person with the skills, knowledge and desire needed to be of meaningful assistance to the community.[6]

The Local Stimulator attempts to build a strong parent cadre to work for Parent Implementation through a combination of organizing and social service. The Local Stimulator is instructed to begin with those concerns that are most immediate to the community, including those extending beyond education. They are always to be on call to meet community needs. Many specific examples of their activities will be presented later in discussing specific sites.

To train and support the Local Stimulator and other key parent activists, AFRAM uses a variety of mechanisms, including training sessions that bring together Local Stimulators from different sites, the Family Conference, the AFRAM materials, phone contact, and site visits to local sites by Harlem program staff (primarily Preston Wilcox) or by consultants. Whatever the setting, the training process consists mainly of facilitated discussions of issues that exist in the local setting. The ideal role of the AFRAM staff member working with local leadership seems to be as follows:

1. To encourage people to express their concerns about local problems and their conceptions of them. To listen carefully and to understand and respect these perceptions.

2. To emphasize emotional as well as cognitive processes--to allow people to get their emotional reactions out and to support the legitimacy of these feelings when they touch on the adequate education of children.

3. To introduce relevant technical information, sometimes by calling on specialists, at appropriate times in the process of these discussions. AFRAM emphasizes the need to limit this input to appropriate points and not to overwhelm people with information.

4. To press people to act on the issues they have surfaced and analyzed, without advocating any specific course of action.

By modeling this process for Local Stimulators and other parent leaders, it is intended that these local parent activists will employ aspects of this process in working with others, so that they will stimulate collective action rather than becoming an elite group separate from the bulk of parents.

Various aspects of the AFRAM model in operation can be seen in looking at specific sites.

Technical Assistance Work

Project A: Glover County: Glover County is located on the outskirts of a large southern city. It contains several small towns surrounded by an area that is predominantly rural but with an expanding suburban population. AFRAM assists three schools in the county, employing three Local Stimulators and a Local Consultant. The money expended for AFRAM's services is only a small part of the local Follow-Through grant, which totaled $421,000 in 1972-73 (for example) or about $700 per pupil. The following list of staff supported by Follow-Through will give some idea of the scope of the program:

Two Coordinators
Two Counselors
Two Social Workers
Two Social Workers Assistants
Two Nurses
Two Parent Coordinators
One Resource Teacher
Twenty-seven Classroom Teachers
Twenty-seven Teacher Aides
Two Implementors
One Secretary
One extended day aide
One Custodian
Three Local Stimulators

AFRAM began to work with the schools in Glover County in 1970, one year after Glover County entered the program, because of a request from the Parent Advisory Councils there.

The three schools in Glover County are all located in primarily Black communities of a similar type. A few facts about one of these communities, Hampton, may give the reader some idea of the kinds of conditions that exist and the problems these conditions present to a group whose orientation is the mobilization of parents and community as a support for educational change.

Most of Hampton's population of about 5,000 are recently settled in the area, having come from more distant, agriculturally oriented regions of the state. Although living conditions in most of Hampton are poor by national standards, in many cases the current living conditions are seen by the local people as an improvement over what they had experienced before. Most of the houses are small frame houses with three to four rooms, built up off the ground. People from the area listed some of the advantages of living in Hampton:

1. Living on your own land, not that of a White landowner.
2. Indoor plumbing and bathroom facilities.
3. Houses that are close together.
4. In walking distance to the school and stores.
5. Property that might possibly increase in value.

There are disadvantages, as well:

1. Close to airport yet very few Hampton people can get a job there.
2. The City wants Hampton to become part of it, but Hampton would not have any of the advantages of public services in exchange for loss of autonomy.
3. There is pressure to give up land in order to build public housing. This is seen as a disadvantage because people can only rent public housing, never own it.
4. The only businesses there are two or three small food stores and two small taverns.

5. Many young people are forced out of school and end up spending a great deal of time out on the street, or leaving the town for the city.

6. Transportation must be primarily by automobile.

Economically, the people of Hampton are very frequently low income. Often survival becomes such a basic worry that it impedes participation in school affairs, and this economic situation has influenced the direction of AFRAM's work decisively. To illustrate the economic pressures on local families, residents told of several incidents in which students broke into the local school, not vandalizing it or taking equipment they might resell, but rather taking food and clothing. Partly in response to the economic conditions in the area, the federal government has channeled a considerable amount of poverty money into the community, and the Follow-Through funds in the schools are part of this funding. There is some sense of community and local loyalty, partly due to a past history of community organizing. The school and its Follow-Through program are also considered by local people as a source of pride as well as problems, and seem to be factors in integration and solidarity of the community.

Schools in Glover County are a source of complaint and problems to local people whose children attend them. People we talked to in the region listed the following kinds of problems:

1. In some of the classroom situations, it is still the case that White teachers and students feel free to insult Blacks.

2. School rules and suspension policies are sometimes applied with a double standard for Whites and Blacks, pushing many Black students out of school.

3. There are both Black and White teachers who are inclined to show favoritism to White students.

4. There is a problem at times with discontinuities of experience and teacher practice between pre-school programs and the first grades of the school. Children who are further ahead than the primary school teachers expect them to be, due to having been in a Day-Care program, are labelled as hyperactive and are punished when they get bored and jittery.

5. There is a feeling that a "push-out" situation exists with local youth, that in fact the schools use suspension so excessively that children are pushed out before graduation.

Thus, the problems that are identified by local people and AFRAM staff in the Glover County schools reflect a combination of economic problems, racial injustice, and general abuses in teaching and administration. School officials were not at all supportive of the idea of parent involvement and tended to view active parents as "trouble-makers." For the Glover County effort, the first task became one of creating an interface between parents and the school system rather than working with one that already existed. To this end, AFRAM's Local Stimulators and other active parents began by designing programs that would get parents into the school to see what was going on and to ask questions for the first time. For example, the Local Stimulator started sewing classes through which parents could make their children's clothes, since they often could not afford store bought clothes. The classes were popular. Learning to sew helped people survive economically, brought them together as a group at the school, and helped them see the relationship of the school to other aspects of community life. Another approach that the AFRAM people used was to collect clothes and food which were stored at the school and made available to local people. Again, this had the effect of getting local people into some initial contact with the school and helping them to see it as a place that could potentially serve community needs. Other work of the Local Stimulator was also focused on dealing with people's immediate needs, such as taking children to the doctor when families had no transportation. Through such a process, each of the three school communities involved with AFRAM built up an active core of about a dozen parents who regularly attended PAC meetings and were able to mobilize a much larger number of parents in crisis situations. Also, through the regular presence of parents in the school, especially the Local Stimulators, and through the network of parent contacts developed by the Local Stimulators, there was a sharply increased parent awareness and communication about what problems existed in the school. The active parents have also grown confident enough of their own judgments to express their feelings to school staff and sometimes to get changes made. Further, some teachers and teacher aides have cooperated with AFRAM. However, the school staff response is often a minimal one, and the parent action has not been sufficient to bring about a basic change in the school's attitudes or procedures. Thus, the relationship that exists between the active parents and many of the school staff is still basically a conflict relationship, with the active parents constantly labelled trouble-makers. For example, parents had set up a parent room in one school and gone to a great deal of trouble decorating it. The principal then said he needed the room and said that, parents could instead use a small windowless room that was formerly a shower room.

In the period during which we made our site visit (spring 1975), a great deal of local work had been focused on the threat that the Hampton school would be closed because of court-ordered school desegregation. The courts had decided that schools in the area had to be desegregated, and the state and county educational systems had to comply. However, there was a choice about who would be bussed where. In the end, the power of White community residents prevailed, and it was decided that the Black children from Hampton would be bussed and their school closed, because Whites did not want their children bussed to a Black area.

Hampton people were upset by this decision for several reasons. The school had become more a center of the community and one of the few institutions with which people identified to some extent. Further, it was evident that the Follow-Through resources for the school would be lost as well if it was closed. Not only did this mean a loss of educational resources for the community, but the loss of an economic resource as well, since a number of community people and parents were employed by the program as teacher aids, auxiliaries, and resource people of various kinds. AFRAM also saw their aim of re-integration of school, family, and community being lost in the interests of racial integration as ordered by the courts. Thus in Hampton, everything came to depend on the ability of AFRAM and the community people it had marshalled and trained to stop the machinery of bussing through judicial or other action. School employees themselves could not be aggressive in the fight because they feared they would lose their jobs if they became conspicuous. Thus the major burden was put on the active parents, with AFRAM advice. AFRAM's informational mechanisms were thrown into the fray, and the AFRAM Local Stimulators and Consultants worked intensively with the parents in developing, phrasing and presenting their demands to the school board and their petitions to the courts. Eventually, after a long battle, the school was closed, except for the kindergarten classes.

Project B: Sawyer. Sawyer is an industrial city with a population of about 150,000 people. AFRAM has worked with two Follow-Through schools in Sawyer. In this area, AFRAM encountered a quite different socio-economic environment from that of Glover County. Sawyer is a fairly prosperous Northern manufacturing center, with a mixed Black and White population of largely blue collar people who have had a long history of union activity. Although the area is by no means wealthy, and there is significant unemployment, economic security is much higher both for Blacks and Whites. Further, there were a significant number of Black professionals in the school system who could exercise some measure of independent action. Further, there was a previous history of strong parent activism around a number of Sawyer schools--the parents at one school had made so many demands on the school district before AFRAM arrived that some central office administrators labelled the parents as "uncontrollable." Thus, when AFRAM arrived, the initial political tasks of creating a viable structure for parent participation had occurred, since the PAC already had people on it who had won victories in dealing with the school system. And the schools already had some administrators and teachers who were in favor of some type of parent participation in the schools, although usually not to the degree that AFRAM envisioned.

In many respects, AFRAM's procedures in Sawyer were similar to those in Glover County. Initial work was done by Preston Wilcox and other key AFRAM consultants. Parents were somewhat distrustful of AFRAM's nationalist vocabulary and symbolism, which was derived from the Harlem experience but caused some concern in Sawyer. People involved in these early contacts say that a key aspect of Preston Wilcox's style that won them over was the respect he conveyed for their own ideas. The various roles in the AFRAM model were established as planned, and the Local Stimulators have followed AFRAM's model of seeking to broaden parent involvement through aiding individual parents, presence in the schools, and organizing parents on issues of local concern. Over the past several years, the following are cited as significant instances of parent participation in the functioning of the two Follow-Through schools:

1. Parents screen and select teachers for the Follow-Through program.
2. Parents have successfully pressed for a new school building.
3. Parents convinced the school system to rent a church in the community rather than to bus children out while a school was being renovated.
4. Parents are customarily in the schools without a special excuse for being there, and their presence is not generally feared by teachers.
5. Parents have carried out extensive independent fund-raising and established their own bank account.
6. Parents decide how Follow-Through funds will be allocated.
7. Parents have successfully pressed for the transfer of several teachers that they felt were insensitive to Black children.

In one school, parents see a basic turn-around in the school's image, from a reputation as one of the worst schools to a school that parents want their children to attend and one that will fight for what it needs to educate children.

It is of course difficult after the fact to separate out the distinctive contribution of AFRAM to this parent activism. The general consensus of parents and school people interviewed was that AFRAM's contribution had been decisive in sharpening the focus of parent concerns and in broadening the scope of parent involvement. They believed that the feeling of confidence in parents' rights to shape their children's education, basic to the AFRAM approach, had been built through contact with AFRAM. As one active parent put it, "They have made parents feel they can question anybody where the welfare of their children is concerned." Further, general credit is given to AFRAM for providing a great deal of expertise in understanding how the school system works and what tactics might be used in various situations. AFRAM has also helped build local parent and school staff collaboration to press for concessions from the downtown office. Finally, credit is given to AFRAM for the development of local leadership who fit the AFRAM ideal of the Local Stimulator and have become increasingly sophisticated in dealing with school, city, and national issues. Sawyer parent leaders took a key role in the national campaign that AFRAM spearheaded to successfully oppose federal cutbacks in Follow-Through. One final tangible change that AFRAM advocates and which has taken place in Sawyer is that local parent activists have started their own non-profit assistance organization and have won a number of federal grants. The development of this group can be traced directly to support from AFRAM.

One final indicator of AFRAM's effect is that a significant number of school staff have participated in their training and assistance activities. As one teacher put it, "More teachers and students here know Preston Wilcox than know the Superintendent of Schools." Conflict tactics have been used much less in dealing with local schools than in dealing with higher levels of the school system, often with tacit support from local professionals.

Patterns in AFRAM Assistance Efforts. The preceding analysis of AFRAM activities illustrates a number of patterns in their assistance activities that are summarized here:

1. We saw consistent evidence of the power of the AFRAM moral appeal concerning the parent's right to shape their children's education and the strategy of helping them surface their feelings and judgments about the schools, translating them into action.

2. We saw consistent evidence of the effects of AFRAM's help in developing tactics for dealing with the school system.

3. There was significant evidence of the growth in sophistication of Local Stimulators in providing local leadership and eventually training others.

4. The extent to which AFRAM achieved its complete set of ideals for the functioning of the school community in any one place was shaped decisively by the local community and school situation that they entered. We can distinguish roughly three levels of local conditions:

    a. A lack of existing mechanisms for any parent involvement in the schools, coupled with a determination by most school staff to consistently oppose such involvement.

    b. Some existing mechanisms for parent involvement and a willingness among some school staff to accept or positively support some form of parent involvement.

    c. Community control of individual schools through a neighborhood board.

5. The three situations described above represent a con-

tinuum of situations in which AFRAM works to develop parent implementation. The degree of success is related to the characteristics of the initial situation, and ranges from a conflict-dominated monitoring role in relation to local schools to significant involvement in some aspects of decision-making and an alliance with school staff on some issues to a full acceptance of parents as partners in education (including widespread parent involvement in teaching).

6. The basic mechanisms for supporting efforts at dispersed sites were visits by leadership and consultants, conferences for Local Stimulators, Family Conferences, materials distribution, and telephone contact. Through all of these means, AFRAM stimulates focused discussion of locally perceived issues in light of AFRAM principles.

7. The major weakness of the support network has been variability of part-time consultants in working with local groups in light of AFRAM principles, and the overload of responsibility on Preston Wilcox.

Issues for the Future

Funding. The overriding issue for AFRAM at this point is funding. The funds for community action and social improvement programs that were the source of support for many of the community organizing efforts in the 1960's have decreased dramatically. Money now funneled to state and local governments for revenue sharing is much less likely to be used to support "controversial" programs like AFRAM's. The geographical dispersion of AFRAM's sites raises an additional complication. United Bronx Parents, for example, when it faces funding cutbacks, can shift personnel between projects, easily maintain some appreciable level of on-going support to efforts whose major funding is cut off, and concentrate political efforts at the local level to obtain some measure of local financing (e.g. through local business contributions or local government). All of these possibilities are made more difficult by the wide dispersion of AFRAM sites and the varying levels to which local people have internalized the survival skills and strategies of the organization.

Thus, AFRAM is falling back on its media and short-term consulting work as a means of basic support. They are seeking to maintain some contact with the sites, while they search for other funding sources. It is a reflection of the times that one of the few sources of potential funding that fits AFRAM's priorities is a federal research and assistance contract for which there is the most intense competition, involving several major groups that have worked with parents as well as a number of the larger national research organizations. Even given a strong proposal for carrying out this work, this competition is a difficult path to finding support.

AFRAM has also been seeking a company to market the New Approach Method reading program they have developed and was recently successful in reaching an agreement with Encyclopedia Britannica to market it. AFRAM has sold the door-to-door sales rights to the New Approach Method to Britannica, while maintaining institutional rights. They plan to involve their Follow-Through sites and others in the AFRAM network to train teachers in the method and monitor its use in school districts around the country.

Dealing With Overload on the President. As is clear from the other case studies, a major source of strain in a TAG is the overload on key program leadership, in this case Preston Wilcox. When he was injured, the organization demonstrated that other strong leadership had been developed within it and that AFRAM could maintain key services without him. Nevertheless, many of the key functions, both internally and at the sites, depend on his continued intervention. The regularizing of some of the more routine tasks plus the further development of leadership which can play the inspirational and assistance role that Preston Wilcox does seems to be an important element in strengthening AFRAM's assistance.

Continued Strategy Clarification. Over the period of Follow-Through funding AFRAM made considerable progress in developing an internal shared concept of what the AFRAM strategy is, how it can be applied in a variety of situations, what tactics should be suggested in dealing with specific problems, what difficulties the Local Stimulator is likely to encounter, and what tactics should be used to avoid dependency at the local level. However, as is the case at CTW, this information is often only in the heads of various people. It seems to us that this information could be recorded systematically in some way--in writing, through videotaped interviews with key figures in AFRAM--and could then be used as part of training and for other informational purposes. For example, one experienced AFRAM staff member cited a pattern that he had seen at several sites. AFRAM had supported the development of strong parent leaders who had developed a great deal of influence in their local schools, but had become isolated from the bulk of the parents. He then described ways in which this problem can be dealt with early in the assistance effort. AFRAM could develop documentation and communication mechanisms so that such insights are more widely shared. This would be helpful between sites which are at different levels in terms of carrying out the AFRAM approach; we observed a tendency (for example, at the Family Conference) for those with similar immediate problems to cluster together and less tendency, for example, for sharing to take place between the sites where people were struggling for a foothold in the schools and sites that were already controlled by a parent board.

Documenting AFRAM Accomplishments. Documentation of AFRAM accomplishments represents a serious dilemma. On the one hand, the AFRAM ideology calls for minimizing the credit given to AFRAM for local accomplishments and giving maximum credit to the local people to build local confidence in their own capacities. Further, AFRAM resists conventional outside evaluation which it sees as a political tool. On the other hand, AFRAM's focus on motivating people more than on training people in a highly codified method, plus the controversial nature of its work, makes the documentation of AFRAM's contributions especially important to its survival. Thus, a high priority for survival seems to be the development of ways to document AFRAM's contributions to local change efforts that are consistent with AFRAM's basic ideology.

Relation to Non-Black Communities. Roots in Black nationalism have provided many of the fundamental ideas of the AFRAM approach to educational change. As described earlier, the Follow-Through experience has given AFRAM an opportunity to assist a number of different Black communities and an entirely White community. One possible direction for further work is with other non-Black communities, raising questions of what adjustments in AFRAM's terminology and style might be necessary to work in such situations. Based on their experience so far, AFRAM feels it can be effective in these situations while continuing to draw directly on concepts from the Black nationalist experience. They cite specific examples of their success in working with the all-White community that was part of Follow-Through as evidence that this approach has already proven workable.

ATTACHMENTS

afram

AFRAM ASSOCIATES, INC. 68-72 EAST 131st STREET, HARLEM, NEW YORK 10037 AREA CODE (212) 690-7010

PARENT IMPLEMENTATION IN FOLLOW THROUGH

EVERY CHILD IS IMPORTANT. ASK HIS PARENTS

Thought Stimulator #100: Resolution Adopted by the Committee of College Station School*

1) BECAUSE since 1954 Black students, parents and communities have borne the total burden of working toward a unitary system, Black and other poor people have been systematically excluded from the school board membership and top administration positions especially in Pulaski County School District, and because the Superintendent and the Board have been steadfast in refusing to respond to the need, advice and requests of Black communities and

2) BECAUSE the Superintendent and Board have willingly and publically been totally responsive to the white community.

---

1) We demand that the School Board take immediate steps to revise its present plan of desegregation for the College Station area and petition the court or courts to retain grades 1 through 6 at College Station Elementary School, a school in our community which is vowed to our community, and we refuse to sacrifice our children and our community any longer to satisfy the whims of individuals who do not know or care about us and our problems.**

2) We demand that the Board appoint a bi-racial group or committee to seriously analyze problems of this district and develop recommendations for the Board's consideration. This is especially significant in that the presently constituted board has no direct input from the Black community. This is not only important for College Station but in other areas where the Board has shown its unwillingness or emphasis to deal fairly with the Black community.

3) We further demand that the Board immediately take steps to see that the Follow Through Program is administered fairly and in accordance with its contract with the U.S. Office of Education. This includes but is not limited to

PRESTON WILCOX, PRESIDENT • LEE MONTGOMERY, VICE PRESIDENT • RONNIE MOORE, SECRETARY, TREASURER • KENNETH HASKINS, GREGORY SIMMS, ASSOCIATES

a) staff salaries
b) considerations or recommendations
c) limitations of unnecessary administrative red tape which has harmed and retarded progress of the program.

4) We would futher like explanation of the following issue:

a) If transportation is furnished to College Station students attending McClellan and Cloverdale, why is transportation not furnished for College Station students attending Mills High?

*Adopted by the community on Thursday afternoon, September 3, 1970; presented to Pulaski County School District Board on Thurday evening, September 3, 1970.

** The College Station Elementary School is located at P.O. Box 197, Genevia, Arkansas 72053, just outside of Little Rock.

Dec., 1970

afram

AFRAM ASSOCIATES, INC 68-72 EAST 131st STREET HARLEM, NEW YORK 10037 AREA CODE (212) 690-7010

PARENT IMPLEMENTATION IN FOLLOW THROUGH

EVERY CHILD IS IMPORTANT ASK HIS PARENTS

ACTION STIMULATOR #146

AFRAM Reaction to a Local Stimulator Report

Sister Carrie Hamlett
754 East Warren Street
Flint, Michigan 48505

Dear Carrie,

Thanks a great deal for your October 1972 report. I received it after your November report came in - and my letter of December 21, 1972 was mailed to you.

We will continue to add their names to our mailing list.

I note that you visited 54 families (WOW!) that you involved (4) other parents in contacting 21 other parents by telephone - and that you yourself contacted 28 others by telephone:

> Explaining Follow Through Programs to the parents, telling them how important it is to get involved and come out to the school.

Walk On! Talk On! Write On! Parent Power/Involvement On!

If you are making the phone calls from your home along with the other parents, AFRAM can meet your telephone expenses!

It would be good to be able to know how each parent responded; did they become active, volunteer, etc, etc. Please, please write me a letter to let me know how they responded.

Please give my special credit to Sisters Youngblood/Robinson/Peeler/Scott. They derserve it.

Happy holiday.

Never lose touch with yourself,

Preston Wilcox

Preston Wilcox
Program Administrator

PW:ph

PRESTON WILCOX, PRESIDENT • [illegible] MONTGOMERY, VICE PRESIDENT • RONNIE MOORE, SECRETARY, TREASURER • KENNETH HASKINS, GREGORY SIMMS, ASSOCIATES

afram

AFRAM ASSOCIATES, INC 68-72 EAST 131st STREET, HARLEM, NEW YORK 10037 AREA CODE (212) 690-7010

PARENT IMPLEMENTATION IN FOLLOW THROUGH

EVERY CHILD IS IMPORTANT ASK HIS PARENTS

Action Stimulator #148 Parents Questionnaire Atlantic City, N.J.

A very important part of any new program in schools is how the parents feel about it. The questions below are to see how you feel about your child's Follow Through School Program.

CHILD'S NAME____________________ SCHOOL________________

Circle one answer

1. Do you feel you know enough about what your child is doing in school?	Yes	No	Not Sure	
2. Do you feel the parent/teacher conferences are better than receiving report cards?	Yes	No	Not Sure	Did Not Attend
3. Have you visited your child's classroom?	Yes	No		
4. Do you think having children of different ages in the same room is a good idea?	Yes	No	Not Sure	
5. Do you feel your child is getting the individual attention he needs in school?	Yes	No	Not Sure	
6. Does your child like to go to school?	Yes	No	Not Sure	
7. Would you prefer to have your child in a regular classroom and not a Follow Through Classroom?	Yes	No	Not Sure	
8. Do you feel you are a part of what your child is doing at school?	Yes	No	Not Sure	
9. Do you think your child is learning as much as he should?	Yes	No	Not Sure	
10. Would you like to be of more help to the teacher?	Yes	No	Not Sure	

Other Comments:

* This questionnaire was conducted by the parents of the Atlantic City Follow Through Project in May, 1972.

Dec. 26, 1972

457

PRESTON WILCOX, PRESIDENT • LEE MONTGOMERY, VICE PRESIDENT • RONNIE MOORE, SECRETARY, TREASURER • KENNETH HASKINS, GREGORY SIMMS, ASSOCIATES

afram

AFRAM ASSOCIATES INC 68-72 EAST 131st STREET, HARLEM, NEW YORK 10037 AREA CODE (212) 690-7010

PARENT IMPLEMENTATION IN FOLLOW THROUGH

EVERY CHILD IS IMPORTANT AND HIS PARENTS

Action Stimulator #168: Good Financial Reporting

While attending the PAC Meeting of the Pulaski County Special School District, Little Rock, Arkansas on Wednesday, March 1, 1973; a financial report was provided to the Policy Advisory Committee in which the parents of Follow Through children comprise the majority.

The parents had complained earlier of an inability to fully comprehend the disbursal of funds since, monthly financial reports included the following items only:

a) the balance in each category at the end of a given month

b) total amount in each category at the beginning of the year

c) total amount spent in each category

It was not possible from such a financial presentation to ascertain the purpose and amount of each expenditure.

The school staff responded by developing an additional report that included the following information:

a) the name of the addressee of each check written

b) the amount of such checks

c) the check number of such checks

The checks were listed in chronological order, such that; we could easily tell the total number of checks written.

It was generally felt that this kind of reporting made it easier to understand non-fixed expenditures, i.e., expenditures for items other than salaries, rent, etc...that are the same each month.

What we do not know is whether its parents were actually involved in developing this new format for presenting the financial report. We also felt that it would have been helpful to indicate the budget category; to which each check was assigned -- and then to summarize the total expenditure by category. In this way, parents would learn exactly how such expenses are assigned.

Please feel free to write to AFRAM for other such examples.

The Pulaski County Special School District Follow Through Policy Advisory Committee is to be commended for its contribution to parent implementation theory and practice.

March 7, 1973.

afram

AFRAM ASSOCIATES INC   68-72 EAST 131st STREET   HARLEM, NEW YORK 10037   AREA CODE (212) 690-7810

AFRAM's Philosophy of Evaluation

As a social research, educational consultation agency, AFRAM views itself as being a tool of the people. It places its technical skills, talents and interests at the disposal of its consumers in the benefit of the consumer's goals. As a consequence it refuses to participate in evaluating others; it will utilize its talents to enable consumers to evaluate themselves. AFRAM's philosophy can be stated concisely as follows:

> Humanists have no time to evaluate anyone else. They are too busy evaluating themselves.

Such a philosophy predisposes AFRAM to involve the consumers in the process of evaluation as follows:

a) identifying the indicators of effectiveness in their own words and out of their own experiences.

b) listing the key questions to be asked.

c) identifying the major subjects to be interviewed.

d) participating in the interpretation of the findings.

e) approving the final report and how and to whom it will be distributed.

Such a process makes evaluation a learning tool for the consumers themselves rather than a coercive tool to be used by "outsiders". When viewed from this perspective, evaluation should be utilized as a tool:

PRESTON WILCOX, PRESIDENT • LEE MONTGOMERY, VICE PRESIDENT • BONNIE MOORE, SECRETARY TREASURER • KENNETH HASKINS, GREGORY SIMMS, ASSOCIATES

a) to prevent a repetition of yesterday's mistakes.

b) to deepen and expand upon that which works well.

c) to prevent even one more consumer from falling through the cracks.

Importantly, such a process is much more honest on several scores. The consumers do not have to conceal their subjective feelings; they can acknowledge them and take them into account. It provides the consumers with positive self-feedback rather than feedback from outside of themselves. Consumers will tend to look for strenghts and how to enhance them. Finally, during the process, consumers will learn how to use technical consultation rather than how to be used by technicians. There is a difference.

AFRAM seeks to involve locally-designated persons in paid positions as collectors of data, convenors of meetings, research assistants and the like.

In the final analysis, the feelings and the attitudes of the consumers are the key measures of effectiveness. Why should not the consumers be helped to evaluate themselves rather than to submit to external evaluation by persons/technicians who may not be able to respect them as human beings?

Joyce Ware Thomas
Nancy Mamis
Preston Wilcox
June 7, 1971

FOOTNOTES

1. Thought Stimulator #233. "Harlem is the Biggest African City in the World."
2. Action Stimulator #48. "The Seven Principles of Blackness."
3. AFRAM Associates. "Parent Implementation in Education: An Educational Model," July 4, 1974.
4. Ibid.
5. Action Stimulator #276. "AFRAM and Parent Implementation."
6. AFRAM Assoicates, "A Manual for Local Stimulators," November 2, 1971.

CHAPTER 6. RURAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

Overview

The Rural Education Program (REP) is one of more than fifteen programs which make up the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory in Portland, Oregon. The present thrust of REP is to develop a replicable model of change and improvement in education in rural communities. The goals of the strategy are to effectively involve citizens in rural areas with local school administrators, teachers, and students in educational decision-making, planning and improvement; as well as to develop the long-range capacity of those rural communities to address future educational needs. REP is refining procedures and materials which are designed to be used with all participants in the strategy -- state educational agencies, intermediate educational agencies, and local school staff members, school boards, and third party problem-solving groups. State agency personnel are prepared by REP to train and support the work of process facilitators and their supporting personnel who are housed in intermediate districts. On the local level, a representative group of community, student, teacher, and administrator opinion leaders is helped to assess local school district needs, search for ways to meet those needs, implement appropriate projects and programs, and evaluate both the total strategy and the projects the group implements. This work is often accomplished by forming subgroups called task forces.

History

REP had its beginnings as the Small Schools Program, Program 400, of the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory. In the mid-1960's, the United States Office of Education supported an educational needs assessment in the Western States to determine if an educational laboratory was needed in the region and what the foci of such a lab should be. Improvement of education in rural communities proved to be one of the four priority areas defined by the needs assessment. Thus, when the Northwest Lab was formed in 1966, one of its programs was the Small Schools Program, Program 400.

At this time, the Northwest Laboratory was funded as a whole with a single grant from the Office of Education. The Lab as a whole had about ten staff while Program 400 had only two staff. A basic purpose of the Program was to improve learning opportunities for rural youth. One of the major thrusts was to develop and disseminate self-instructional curriculum packages for use in rural schools. This plan recognized that limited school staff and resources frequently limited the number and range of courses available to rural students. Program 400 was attempting to effect educational change by bringing in materials which are immediately useful in the classroom. Program staff felt that if they could successfully install these programs in specific field test sites, they would serve as model or demonstration centers for other school personnel, who would then attempt to carry out the same programs.

Program 400's work did not have the impact it was intended to have. This situation is described in a 1969 memo from Ray Jongeward, Program 400 staff member: "In practice, of course, it has not worked. The breakdown occurred in many of the original field test sites. The reasons are varied, but relate to level of commitment and understanding of the change being instituted."[1] Recognizing that the desired changes in educational practice were not taking place, Program 400 staff began to explore alternative ways to promote these changes:

> Closer examination of the data from the failures to cause desired changes resulted in extending the involvement beyond the teachers. Administrators and community leaders whose opinions were deemed crucial in making school changes were involved. The involvement of both school and community leaders slowly evolved into a series of loosely defined procedures which began being referred to as a change process.[2]

During this evolution of the change process, workshops were held and assistance given to groups in Grassrange, Montana; Grand Forks, British Columbia; Kremlin, Montana; and Willitts, California. Some of these communities had significant populations of minority parents and students of various Indian tribes who had historically little voice in educational decision-making and few skills to effectively participate in existing school processes.

In 1969, a service contract was written between Seldovia, Alaska, and Program 400 to carry out a process that would involve community people with administrators and teachers in assessing needs and designing programs. This proposal was the first formal articulation of what was to become the Community Oriented Change Process Model (COCPM). By this time, six stages of the change process model had been determined: entry, needs assessment, skills building, search for new ideas, installation (of these ideas), and evaluation.

Program 400's early work was carried out by two full-time staff members, with occasional help from other Northwest Lab staff members. Work done on developing and implementing a change process was carried out primarily by one individual, Walt Hartenberger. When Hartenberger announced his intentions to leave Program 400 in early 1970, questions were raised concerning the continuation of the Program, including the change process work. "There was doubt that the Change Process could be successful without Walt Hartenberger. Aside from the working notes, there was nothing written to explicate the Seldovia processes so that others could read it, understand it, and/or criticize it. To a large extent, success at Seldovia was attributed to the person of Walt Hartenberger."[3]

One of the Lab employees, Ray Jongeward, had made a strong case for the generalizability and potential of developing the change process. He was assigned, subsequently, to work with Hartenberger during his last few months with Program 400 and to document the change process activities.

In the spring of 1970, a special contract was written with the Inchelium (Washington) School District for four of the six identified stages of the change process model to be carried out there during the remainder of the school year. During this time, Jongeward worked with Hartenberger and others, documenting and observing the work done.

In the summer of 1970, following Hartenberger's departure from Program 400, a full scale implementation of the Community Oriented Change Process Model (COCPM) was begun with a consortium of Alaskan communities. Warren Adams was hired by Program 400 to work with Ray Jongeward in implementing the model in Alaska. Jongeward and Adams began to work as the training team implementing the COCPM in the community of Healy. State educational agency people observed this work to learn the process and the skills needed to facilitate the process. All six stages of the COCPM were completed there.

After work had begun in Healy, the Alaska state agency people who had been observing Jongeward and Adams to began to act as training teams in two other communities, Nulato, an Eskimo community, and Wrangell, a fishing community with a 37% Tlingit Indian population. Jongeward and Adams then served as consultants to these training teams. Their plans were to continue this procedure in which the observers from one site became the training team in the next site, with help from the previous training team. However, elections in the state of Alaska caused administrative changes and Program 400's work with the consortium ended. Nulato and Wrangell had completed only four of the six stages of COCPM.

It is important to note that throughout the first six years of work on the change process, only a few individuals were directly involved in this work. These individuals were key in the development and implementation of the process. At the same time, they felt, based on their experience, that the process was not dependent on these individuals and could be generalizable to different implementers and situations. As Jongeward wrote in 1971:

> The question has been answered in my mind at least, that someone other than a Hartenberger can make COCPM work. The experience of this past year indicate that a person who can establish rapport with community groups when he follows COCPM guidelines, can be successful in bringing about changes in school-communities. We believe that criteria do exist and can be identified that will predict the success that can be expected for individuals engaging in COCPM.[4]

Two other things about this early work are worthy of note. First, the change process ideas and methods were "passed on" from one individual to the next largely through a modeling/demonstration method, with only limited use of written materials. Hartenberger worked with Jongeward who in turn worked with Adams. This concept of modeling was built into the work plan in the Alaska consortium.

Second, the early implementer/facilitators of the change process were all white males who had backgrounds as former teachers, administrators, and educational professionals. Most held PhDs in the field of education. They began their work with teachers and local school administrators, but soon recognized that the educational change and improvements would not take place unless other segments of the educational community (e.g. parents, students, school board members) became more involved in and accepting of the changes.

Throughout this time, Program 400 had been operating as a combination of small projects under one administrative umbrella. As part of an effort to provide programmatic focus for Program 400, the man who was director at that time stepped into a different staff position within the program as a coordinator of the community work. Rowan Stutz was hired as the new program director in April 1971. Stutz came to Program 400 with a strong background in rural education as a former teacher, principal, and superintendent. He had worked on the Western States Small Schools Project (Ford Foundation) and in the Utah State Department of Education. For the three years prior to assuming the directorship of Program 400, Stutz had served on an external review panel for the Northwest Lab.

During this period of attempting programmatic focus, Program 400's self-instructional curriculum packages were dropped. The decision was made to place emphasis on developing the educational decision-making model. Building in part on concepts and principles already being developed and tested in the COCPM, efforts were expanded to include processes involving the learner in the classroom, the teacher and administrator in the school, the family with preschool children, and educational service agencies.

A conceptual conference was held in December 1971, bringing together a number of consultants/experts in three main topic areas: ideal rural school, rural school problems, and promising practices in rural schools. Consultants included John Williamson, specialist in the development of schools as organizations; Ed Moe rural sociologist; Aashel Woodruff, specialist in learning theory; Bill Shannon, from the American Institute of Research in San Jose, California; Bob King, school superintendent in

Meeker, Colorado; and Larry Heldman from Catskills Small School Project. The purpose of the conference was to gain information that would be useful in developing a comprehensive program for rural education.

Efforts continued to implement and refine the COCPM. Work was done in Neah Bay, Washington, with Makah Indians, as well as in Molalla, Oregon, and Inchelium, Washington. Several new staff members had been added to Program 400 to carry on the development and research work necessary in the efforts to refine the change process, incorporating relevant literature, theory, and research. The refined COCPM was called the Community Change Process (CCP) and was now one of several processes being developed by REP to bring about change in rural education. A full scale field test of the CCP was launched in 1972, in the intermediate school district encompassing the Pippin Valley in a Northwestern state. This field test was designed to take place over three years. Ultimately a cluster of four local school districts participated in the process. The original design called for training a team of two process facilitators working out of the Intermediate School District office to implement and facilitate the CCP. This project is described in detail later in this case study as one of the two REP projects visited by the CNS field worker.

During 1972 and 1973, REP also worked with the Montana State Department of Education. They provided facilitator training for approximately fifty instructional, administrative, and supervisory staff from the Montana State Department of Education. This was a unique effort for REP in that it took place exclusively as training sessions, working with state department staff. REP was not involved in the actual on-site work.

During the time that the Pippin Valley project was getting underway, it was announced that educational laboratories, including the Northwest Lab, would no longer be funded as a whole, with grants from the U.S. Office of Education. Specific programs within the labs would be funded based on proposals submitted. In the spring of 1972, REP submitted their Basic Program Plan for the development of their full-scale change process. Using the COCPM as a conceptual catalyst, the Plan laid out a four strategy effort called Rural Futures Development (RFD) which detailed a comprehensive way to help rural communities and school systems improve local learning opportunities. The RFD Strategies were designed to involve all segments of the rural community. They brought together a wide variety of existing change theories with REP's previous experience in rural education. Consultants were used extensively during this conceptualization and planning period, bringing to REP expertise in rural education, rural sociology, and change theory. The four strategies outlined in the Basic Program Plan were called the community-centered strategy (this strategy was already being field tested as the CCP), the school-centered strategy, the learner centered strategy, and the support agencies-centered strategy.

REP's Basic Program Plan was funded in 1972 for fiscal years 1973-1975, with options for continued funding in 1976-77. After the Basic Program Plan was submitted to the Office of Education, the National

Institute of Education was formed to centralize educational research efforts in an agency independent of the Office of Education. It was this new agency that funded REP's plan to develop the RFD model. This funding marked the beginning of a tremendous growth period for REP as they prepared to develop the RFD Strategies. Simultaneously, other programs in the Northwest Lab were funded, making it one of the largest educational laboratories in the country, expanding total staff members from about thirty to over two hundred in this period of time.

As REP began to develop the RFD Strategies, it underwent rapid organizational change. Staff size went from less than ten in the spring of 1973 to approximately thirty-five by January of 1974. The strategies were expanded from four to six. The school-centered strategy now included both school renewal and teacher development strategies. The learner-centered strategy now included both family and curriculum strategies. REP was now organized into nine different teams. There was a team of staff members for each of the six strategies as well as an Administrative Unit, Research and Evaluation Unit, and Production Unit. New staff members being hired were often chosen for their specific technical skills, such as writing or for their knowledge of a related field, such as organizational development, and not necessarily for extensive knowledge of rural education. Development of the six interrelated strategies proceeded. Plans called for the development of the strategies and some thirty written products to accompany them. The field test of the CCP continued in Pippin Valley, providing input into the refinement of the Community Strategy.

By the spring of 1974, only the Support Agency Strategy had not been completed, and several factors began to converge which signaled another major shift in REP's organization. Most of the projected products for the strategies were in the exploratory stage of development. Funds were short due to the effects of inflation and a reduction in the amount of money available to NIE. The work of the various strategy teams was not being closely coordinated across teams. While the close interrelatedness of some of the strategies in terms of all the strategies together had not been planned until 1975, REP and their funders felt the need to see products more quickly and to move on to a more comprehensive field test of the interrelated strategies.

In the summer of 1974, an all-staff retreat was held and a consensus decision was made to initiate a major reorganization of the RFD Strategies. The six strategies were restructured into one integrated strategy, focusing on strengthening local problem-solving in schools and communities. Basically, the strategies which centered on community change, school renewal, and support agencies were incorporated into an integrated RFD Strategy, while the family, curriculum, and teacher development strategies were dropped. The originally planned thirty products were reduced to seven, incorporating many of the original ideas including portions of products from the curriculum and teacher development strategies.

Organizationally, the separate strategy teams were restructured into functionally defined teams: Development, Installation, and Diffusion. These three teams were first managed separately, then combined administratively into one unit headed by a Unit Coordinator.

The previous Administrative and Production Units were conbined to form a Management Unit, with the REP Program Director as its Coordinator. Research and Evaluation remained as a separate unit with its own Coordinator. The three unit coordinators formed REP's Administrative Team, providing for closer coordination of the various development and field activities within REP. By the fall of 1974, staff size was down from thirty-five to thirty due to the program changes and funding cutback.

Since beginning development of their RFD Strategies, REP had been searching for a site where they could conduct a full-scale pilot implementation of the model. In the fall of 1974, they began work in the Canyon County School District in a Southwestern state. This field test involved working with both the State Department of Education and with the local school district (there are no intermediate districts in the state). REP trained four process facilitators to work in the school district. They also trained one school district staff member and two State Department of Education staff members to be RFD Specialists, capable of providing support to the facilitators and of training future facilitators. A site visit was made to Canyon County in the spring of 1975 and a detailed description of that project follows in this case study.

TAG Study site researchers visited REP offices in Portland in March of 1975. A more detailed discussion of the office functioning, support functions, staffing, and RFD Intergrated Strategy follows.

Internal Functioning

This section presents an overall analysis of REP's support functions and other information about REP's internal functioning not directly related to technical assistance, organized and treated in a manner most relevant to REP.

The Setting. The REP office is located in downtown Portland, Oregon. At the time of the TAG Study site researchers' visit (March 1975), REP occupied one entire floor and part of another in the seven-story office building which houses the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory. The entire Research and Evaluation Unit of REP had their office space on part of the floor below the rest of REP. They were planning a consolidation at the time, to put Research and Evaluation on the same floor with the rest of the program.

The main office space was square, with meeting rooms and a small kitchen at its core, small offices ringing the edges, and open, continuous space between. The program staff members each had an office, either alone or in pairs, while the clerical staff worked in the open space. The general appearance and atmosphere of the office was more formal or "traditional" than most of the TAGs studied. This includes amenities such as carpeting, coordinated office furniture, and striking super-graphic designs on the walls.

The office atmosphere was one of pleasant, quiet activity. The tempo, for the most part, seemed even-paced and even-tempered. The program staff members divided their time between solitary desk work and meetings. Most staff members kept regular business hours, although flexible scheduling on an individual basis was not uncommon. Office attire ranged from businesslike suits and dresses to more casual clothes.

The nature of interpersonal relationships between REP and the rest of the Northwest Lab were somewhat difficult to discern. People involved in the different programs knew each other and were familiar with each others' programs. There were instances of staff members moving from one job to another, in different programs in the Lab. We did not observe much socializing between REP and other Lab staff members. Several REP staff members said they originally applied to REP on the advice of someone they knew in the Lab, outside of REP.

The official relationship between REP and the Northwest Lab was fairly clear-cut. The Lab had a central administrative staff that handled functions such as personnel, research and evaluation, media, and data processing. The rest of the Lab was organized into four divisions: Instructional Systems Development, Curriculum Development Programs, Career Education Programs, and Technical Assistance Programs. The Lab's divisions were seen as being functionally defined, moving from Instructional Systems to Curriculum Development to Technical Assistance. Each of the Lab's programs, of which REP was the largest, fell under one of these divisions.

REP was one of two programs in the Division of Instructional Systems Development. We were told by a Lab staff member that this placement of REP in Instructional Systems rather than Technical

Assistance was mainly because REP's past emphasis was on the development of instructional systems. REP was seen by this individual as moving more into technical assistance as they placed their emphasis on developing a process, rather than instructional materials, although REP's present technical assistance work is only within the context of work in developing the RFD process.

In terms of the hierarchy of the Lab, each of the four divisions had a director. The REP Program Director was directly responsible to the Division Director (an Acting Director at the time of our site visit) who was in turn responsible to the Lab's Associate Director.

As part of the Lab, REP's personnel and administrative procedures and policies were based on those of the Lab. Lab policies concerned governance, programs, organization, personnel, finance, and administration. Our impression is, based on documents and interviews, that REP took the Lab's policies as a framework on which they built defining policies and procedures more tailored to the needs and staff of REP.

In terms of direct accountability, REP had to seek approval from the Lab for any personnel action, evaluation instruments developed, marketing plans, products written, and yearly resource allocation and management plans. REP was directly accountable to the Lab for their budgeting and use of funds, rather than directly to NIE. Our data does not include information on the relationship between REP and the Lab in areas such as program planning and proposal writing.

The Staff: Definition of Roles, Subsystems, and Tasks. At the time of our site visit, REP had thirty-six permanent, full-time staff members, as well as two graduate student interns and one part-time employee. A visual survey of the staff showed that it consisted of twenty-six females and thirteen males. Thirty of REP's employees were white, three black, two oriental, and four employees were not seen by us and we have no data on their race/ethnicity. An estimated two-thirds of the staff were between twenty and forty years of age, the rest being over forty.

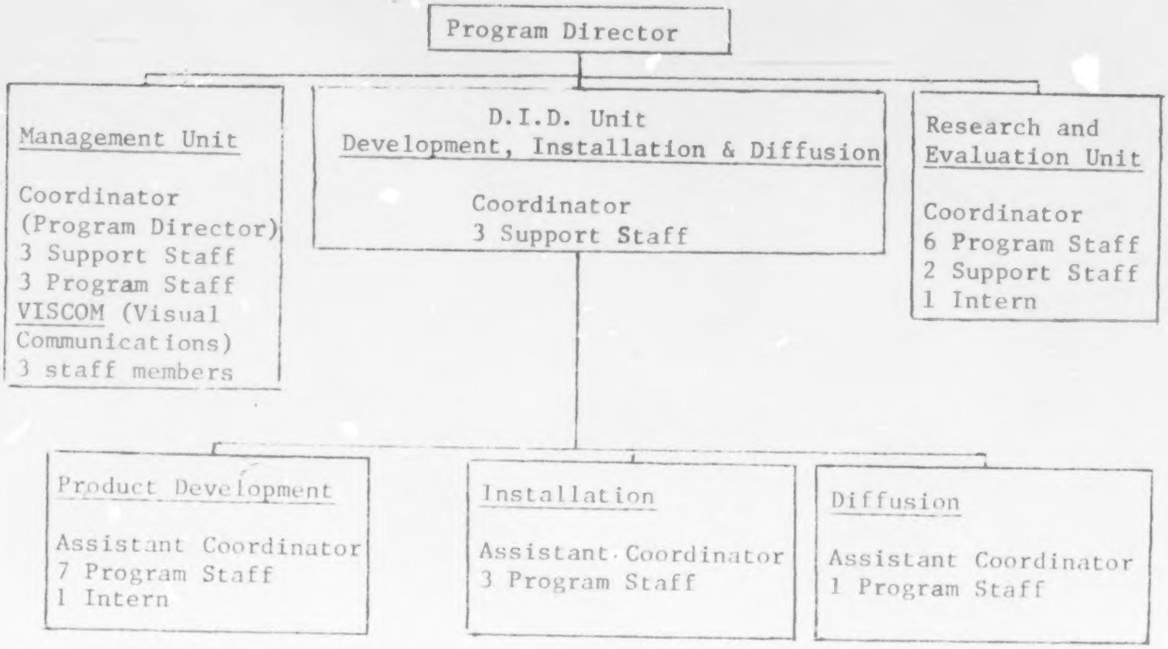
These visual characteristics broke down by job category as follows: of the six people who held positions as unit coordinators or assistant coordinators, all were white, five were male, and three or four were over forty. Of the other twenty-four program (professional) staff members; nineteen were white, one black, and four not known; sex and age distribution were roughly the same as for overall staff. Of the nine support (secretarial) staff; all were female; two were black; two oriental; and all were estimated to be under forty.

Not included in these figures were the process facilitators who were being trained by REP. Since they were technically not employed by REP, their characteristics, backgrounds, and roles are discussed in the project descriptions later in this case study. In general, there was an effort made by REP to match the cultural and social characteristics of the facilitators with the communities in which they worked.

The organizational chart which follows (Figure 6-1) indicates the way in which the three units of REP were set up and the distribution of staff within

Figure 6-1 REP ORANIZATIONAL CHART

March 1975


Program Director
Management Unit
Coordinator
(Program Director)
3 Support Staff
3 Program Staff
VISCOM (Visual Communications)
3 staff members
D.I.D. Unit
Development, Installation & Diffusion
Coordinator
3 Support Staff
Research and Evaluation Unit
Coordinator
6 Program Staff
2 Support Staff
1 Intern
Product Development
Assistant Coordinator
7 Program Staff
1 Intern
Installation
Assistant Coordinator
3 Program Staff
Diffusion
Assistant Coordinator
1 Program Staff

these units, broken down here by program staff and support staff. As can be seen on the chart, the three REP organizational units are Management; Development, Installation, and Diffusion (D.I.D.); and Research and Evaluation. The Management Unit handled overall administration of REP, including fund and resource maintenance, program development, coordination of daily office operation, quality assurance, relationships with the Lab and NIE, and issue resolution. The Management Unit also included VISCOM, the Visual Communications team. It had been called the Production Unit prior to Summer 1974. They handled the editing, layout, and graphics on all of REP's written materials.

The actual product development and field test activities were carried out by the D.I.D. Unit. The Unit was actually three sub-units or teams under one coordinator. Each team was headed by an Assistant Coordinator who was responsible for the work of that team. The Product Development team was responsible for the development of the seven written pieces intended to accompany the RFD Integrated Strategy. This task entailed integrating REP's past work and materials with relevant theory and concepts, REP's current conceptualization of RFD, and information gathered from the Canyon County field test of RFD. At the time of our site visit, this team was the largest of the three in the D.I.D. Unit, due to the fact that their team's activity level was at its highest. Initial product drafts were scheduled to be completed by June 30, 1975, with completion of initial versions by November 1975. At the time of the site visit, all but one of the

Development team members were planning on leaving REP by August 1975, as their work drew to a close and funding for their positions ran out. The products themselves and the complex process followed for product testing and revision are described later in this case study, under the section on the "Development of Materials."

The other two D.I.D. Unit teams (Installation and Diffusion) were those who were working out in the field. The Installation team members trained the on-site RFD process facilitators. This was the key point of "technical assistance" for REP, as the process and materials were passed on to the facilitators to implement. Facilitator training included structured training sessions, ongoing advisory support (called Guided Field Experience), and the provision of the written materials which accompany the RFD Strategy. The Installation staff also trained RFD Specialists in the state and intermediate educational agencies. These Specialists were provided with the skills and materials to train future facilitators, provided Guided Field Experience to them, and generally provide support for the process in schools and communities.

The Diffusion team was responsible for building the mechanisms to support continued use or "recycling" of the RFD process and to spread the process to other agencies and communities. In the field test in Canyon County, this meant working in the State Department of Education to communicate to their staff what REP was doing in Canyon County, and how it might be applicable to other educational activities and communities in the state. The Diffusion team also played a part in planning for future REP efforts to disseminate RFD and to design a marketing strategy, once the products and field tests are complete.

The Research and Evaluation Unit was working primarily in two areas: doing formative evaluation of the RFD process and testing the products being developed to accompany the strategy. In each case, Unit staff members developed evaluation instruments and analyzed the data collected. This work is described in greater detail in the section on "Carrying Out Applied Research, Evaluation, and Formal or Informal Analysis of REP's Own Work."

There were five functions within the Research and Evaluation Unit. Some staff were working on coordination and management, others on exploratory testing of the products being developed, evaluation of the field test in Canyon County, development of instruments to evaluate the RFD, and evaluation of the work in the second field test site (REP work at the second site had not yet begun at the time of our site visit).

Both the Research and Evaluation Unit and the Product Development team had an intern working with them. The intern in Research was from Brigham Young University in Salt Lake City. He was at REP for a six month period, as partial fulfillment of his requirements for a masters degree. The other intern was a PhD student from Montana State University. He was with REP for a twelve month period. These men were both filling "regular" jobs within REP -- not positions created just for interns.

There was almost total congruence between the organizational chart we were given upon our arrival at the REP office and what we observed people to be doing. There seemed to be much singularity and clarity of job duties and roles, with few people working on more than one function or topic. The exceptions to this were those staff whose jobs involved cross-unit work by definition (e.g. those in the Management Unit).

Staff working style was observed to be low-key, professional attitude, with people basically "going about their business." Most staff were observed working by themselves or in paired teams. Larger staff meeting held were usually for information sharing, coordination of work, or decision-making. Working in pairs or small groups seemed to be a prevalent and productive work pattern at REP. There was a pair of Program Assistants working in the Management Unit. The Development team members were working in pairs on each product being developed, with one designated as leader. The Diffusion team consisted of only two people who we observed working as a complementary team in Salt Lake City with the State Department of Education. The Research and Evaluation Unit was teamed in pairs also to work on evaluating REP's effort in Canyon County and on instrument development.

From our interview, observations, and information collected about individuals' past experiences, we felt that over all the REP staff was committed to their work and to the organization. We did not get a sense of employees just "putting in their time" or just punching the clock. There were, however, some different orientations towards the work being done.

These differences were reflected in both interviews and in reviewing staff members' past work experiences. On the whole, those staff members working on research, writing, production, and clerical tasks seemed primarily motivated to use their skills and experience to perform their role in the organization. On the other hand, most staff members working in the field as well as those in key managerial positions appeared to be motivated primarily out of a commitment to the improvement of rural education.

Related to these different orientations towards their work are the differences in staff members' past job and educational experiences. To summarize, of the thirty-nine staff members, there were approximately five who had what could be termed extensive experience in rural education; as teacher, administrator, facilitator, or student. One-third to one-half of the staff members had been involved in the field of education prior to coming to REP, at different levels, locales, and tasks. This would include those who had been involved in early childhood, elementary, secondary, and college level teaching; adult education; educational research and development; alternative education; Peace Corps; and work on Indian reservations. Other skills and experiences brought to REP were in fields such as writing, anthropology, sociology, psychology, research and evaluation, journalism, management, program development, physiology, graphics, social work, counseling, secretarial, political science, architecture, visual communications, editing, and organizational development. Of the seventeen program staff members for whom we have data on education level, nine had PhDs, five had masters degrees, and three had bachelors. It is assumed that of the other thirteen program staff members, most had at least a bachelors degree.

One distinct staff subgroup, based on past work experience, consisted of those who came to work at REP from John Adams High School in Portland. Adams was an innovative, alternative public high school. Four REP staff members left Adams to come to work at REP. When REP was developing its separate RFD Strategies, three of the seven work units were headed up by former Adams' staff. These three men were also EdD graduates of Harvard. Given their common academic and professional background and their key positions in REP, it is reasonable to assume that these men had a distinct influence on REP's developing approach. At the time of our site visit, two of the four staff from Adams had left REP and a third had plans to leave.

In general, the staffing pattern at REP has been that those who were involved in the program in its earlier stages were those whose backgrounds were based in rural education. As REP received NIE funding for its strategies, they hired more people for the specific skills which they could bring to the organization, including some who were not familiar with rural education, or education in general, as a field. This has had, we feel, a payoff for REP in terms of the high level and diversity of skills brought to the organization. However, it has also meant that many of the REP staff members who are not directly involved in the field work lack experience in and familiarity with rural education. One REP staff member we interviewed felt this had a detrimental effect on the development of the RFD approach -- too many REP staff members do not have an understanding of the problems the strategies are designed to address and of the settings in which the process is being implemented. Two of the individuals we interviewed when we visited REP's field sites expressed similiar perceptions.

Because of the nature of staff experiential background and because the staff has been functionally organized, there was virtual consensus among those we talked with that more program staff members, particularly developers and researchers, needed to get out into the field, into the schools and communities where REP was working. We heard a great deal of talk about the need for this and observed some specific steps being taken in this direction. For instance, at the facilitator training in Canyon County, a member of the product development team was brought along to serve as documenter of the training -- the first time this particular individual had been in the field. Also a member of the research staff (In addition to the two individuals whose role is evaluation of the work in Canyon County) traveled to the site to field test some observation and interview schedules.

Decision-Making. Our data on REP decision-making comes primarily from the REP document entitled "Recommendations on REP Internal Decision-Making," adopted January 13, 1975, one month prior to our site visit. How these recommendations actually worked out in the day-to-day operations of REP and how much of a change they represented from decision-making at REP prior to January 1975, are questions for which we do not have very substantial answers.

As described in the 1975 document, decision-making within REP was well-worked out and fairly clear cut. It defined four different categories of decisions: policies and standards, administrative procedures, personnel action, and quality review procedures. Also defined were six different decision makers: the Northwest Lab, REP's total staff, REP Policy Board, REP Administrative Team, REP Program Director, and REP's Units. A matrix of decision makers and categories of decisions appears on the next page, (Figure 6-2) taken from the 1975 recommendations document.[5]

All of the REP's policy and decision-making took place within the framework and limits of the Northwest Lab's policy standards and contract requirements. These requirements included areas such as affirmative action, non-discrimination, reporting requirements, consultant services, and copyright and publications agreements. Therefore, the Lab was classified as a decision maker for each of the decision categories on the matrix.

Decisions related to policies and standards involved two different areas. One was designated as RFD Policy Decisions. These related to the developing RFD Strategy and included things such as definition of the strategy, objectives, and concepts drawn upon.

Figure 6-2. REP DECISION MAKING RESPONSIBILITY CHART

Decision Categories / Decision Makers	Northwest Lab	REP Total Staff	REP Policy Board	REP Administration	REP Director	REP Units
Policies and Standards	*	*	*			
Administrative Procedures	*			*	*	
Quality Review Procedures	*				*	*
Personnel Action	*				*	

The other was designated as REP Policy Decisions. These related to the basic operating of the program itself, within the Northwest Lab, and included policies related to staff development, the relationship between REP and other Lab programs, and the overall decision-making policy.

Most Policy Decisions within REP were made by the Policy Board. This Board was made up of the Program Director, as ex-officio member, and elected representatives from the REP units at a ratio of one representative for each five unit members, which worked out to be one representative from the Management Unit, two from Research and Evaluation, four from the D.I.D. Unit, and one representative from the support staff. The nine support staff were represented both through the one specific support representative as well as through their work unit representative. Board members were designated to serve no less than six months and no more than one year on the Policy Board, which met regularly once each month, with special sessions convened on occasion.

In addition to making the basic policy decisions within REP, the Policy Board was responsible for monitoring the implementation of these decisions to ensure internal consistency and quality. The Policy Board had the authority to appoint a task force team to deal with a particular issue and make recommendations to the Board. The task force members determined their procedures and time schedule, expected outcome, and ways for others to input into the task force's work. Note that the concepts of a representative, decision-making group and the use of task forces which were operating internally at REP were also key to the RFD Strategy as it was being implemented in rural communities.

An exception to the Policy Board's decision-making power was that "when an issue has high effect upon the work of all members of the program staff, a policy decision may be treated as a direct decision involving the entire staff directly."[6] Staff members could petition the Policy Board to transfer one of the Board's agenda items to an all-staff meeting.

Administrative procedure decisions were those which dealt with managing tasks and people. They included who does what, when, and the management of budgets and timelines. Administrative decisions are "classified as delegated decisions, with the program director having ultimate responsibility; many of these decisions, at the discretion of the program director, will be delegated to unit coordinators and by them to team leaders."[7]

The Administrative Team was also involved in administrative decisions at certain points. The Team was made up of the Program Director (and coordinator of the Management Unit), the D.I.D. Unit coordinator, and the Research and Evaluation Unit coordinator. The Administrative Team was involved in making decisions which related to coordinating work across units within REP.

Personnel action and decisions were those involving specific individuals and their relationships to REP and other staff members. These decisions included areas such as job classification, assignments, salary level, and continued employment. The REP policy document stated that "These decisions have legal implications and are often private. . . Nonpolicy personnel decisions are the responsibility of the program director after personnel consultation with the individual(s) affected. At his discretion, he may delegate these decisions to unit coordinators when appropriate. Never would these be direct decisions in which the REP staff, in general would participate."[8]

Quality review procedure decisions were those concerning the content, format, and style of REP documents and products. They reflected the application of policy decisions and established criteria for judging quality within REP. "Quality review is a function of accountability and is therefore delegated according to established accountability lines. Thus team leaders decide ultimately what is acceptable work for a team, unit coordinators for a unit, and the program director for the program."[9]

As was pointed out earlier, it is important to note that the document pertaining to recommendations on decision-making began with an explanation of REP's philosophy on decision-making. This philosophy for internal decision-making was consistent with the basic principles of the RFD Strategy, which was designed to affect educational decision-making in rural communities.

One of the basic tenets of decision-making within REP as well as in the RFD Strategy was that "People affected by a decision should have the opportunity to influence and/or participate in making it."[10] People are affected by a decision when they are responsible for carrying it out and/or when the decision results in a change in those individuals' environment. The main ways the REP saw for people to share in decision-making were through direct participation, as in a majority vote or use of consensus, and through delegated or representative decision-making. REP's use of a Policy Board and occasional total staff participation in a decision are evidence of their attempt to adhere to this tenet within their organization.

Another basic tenet of both REP's internal decision-making and the RFD Strategy was that decisions should be made based on data collected from the individuals involved and from others' experience. Therefore, prior to making a decision, those responsible sought input from others directly affected as well as individuals not immediately involved, from literature, and from other sources of information. Similarly, those affected by a decision had the responsibility to provide data to decision makers.

A key word in REP's philosophy on decision-making was "ownership." Ownership is, basically, the feelings which individuals have about a decision which involves them at some point. A high degree of ownership is achieved when individuals perceive themselves as having input into and influence on the making of a decision. The higher the level of ownership, the more commitment people will feel to carry out a particular decision. The word "ownership" recurred throughout REP's documents, staff vocabulary, and projects.

One of the basic goals of the RFD Strategy was that school and community people feel an ownership of the RFD process and of the educational decisions made in that community.

As stated earlier, we do not have enough data on decision-making as it actually occurred within REP to make any definitive statements or generalizations. We did note examples, in the written communication at REP, of the procedures described above being carried out. For example, a memorandum which proposed a sequencing of RFD Strategy Events (January 1975) was prepared by a Policy Board task force made up of seven individuals: three from the Management Unit, three from the Product Development team, and one from the Diffusion team. A memorandum from the Administrative Team was written on the subject of exploratory testing procedures for RFD products. The memo came from the Administrative Team because it concerned a cross-unit topic. We also observed the functioning of the Joint Planning Group, formed of representatives from each of REP's work units. The Joint Planning Group reviewed materials written for use in Canyon County, and had to approve those materials before they could be taken into the field.

An event that was frequently referred to by REP staff members in our interviews was an all-staff retreat held in the summer of 1974. Out of this retreat came the decision to reorganize REP into functional units to develop the RFD Integrated Strategy. The entire staff was directly involved in making that major program decision.

Related to decision-making in REP is information about the key administrative people within REP, those who had ultimate responsibility for the entire program. The program director carried the main responsibility for the program and its relationship to the Northwest Lab and to NIE. Our observations were that he was highly accessible to his staff. His style appeared to be one of informality, first-name-basis, supporting and facilitating the work of his staff. We observed his checking in on several meetings, apparently for informational purposes, but not staying through their entirety. At the time of our site visit, his energies were directed primarily toward maintaining communication with the Lab and its board of directors, negotiating the contract with the Canyon County School Board, and exploring future funding and program prospects for REP.

The coordinator of the D.I.D. Unit had a major role in the development of the RFD Strategy and in the management of the work teams' functioning. When REP was reorganized in 1974, the Development, Installation, and Diffusion teams were placed under one coordinator to maximize the linkage between teams, and coordination and consistency of their work.

The coordinator of the Research and Evaluation Unit seemed to split his time between management and program. Although it is difficult to draw a line between the two functions, it appeared that he participates in management oriented activities as a member of the Administrative Team and as head of the Research Unit. In terms of program work, he was highly involved in the development of evaluation procedures for the RFD Strategy, particularly in the evaluation work taking place in Canyon County.

It is of interest to note that two of the three key administrative people in REP were brought in specifically to perform that role. This contrasts with the situations we observed in some of the other groups we studied where the staff members who had been with the group the longest time, generally the founders of the group, usually held the key managerial positions. Several factors have contributed to REP's situation. First, REP was a program within a larger laboratory rather than an independent group founded by a small number of individuals. Another factor was that some REP staff members of longer standing preferred to remain involved more with program development and implementation than with administrative and management functions. Another factor related to REP's more recent staffing pattern of hiring people for specific skills and field of expertise. Thus, when there was a need for individuals with management skills, such individuals were hired. Of course, each management position carried with it a need for other skills in addition to management skills.

Staff Selection, Promotion, Demotion, and Termination. We spoke with several staff members about how they came to work at REP. Most said that they heard about their job through someone they knew at REP or in other programs in the Northwest Lab. Some individuals working together now at REP had worked together previously. An example is the group of staff members who had worked at John

Adams High School in Portland prior to joining REP. Another group of three REP staff members (including one of those also in the first group) had worked on a school evaluation program prior to joining REP, coming to REP over a period of three years. We noted one instance of REP's hiring an individual from one of the other programs in the Lab.

We have only one partial example of REP's actual staff selection process. At the time of our site visit, one of the staff was planning to leave. A job description for her position was posted on a central bulletin board in REP's office. Applications were being accepted from within REP, from within the Lab, and from outside the Lab. Resumes of those applying for the position were available to REP staff members, who could review the resumes and comment on those individuals as candidates for the position. There was evidence of staff promotion and movement within the organization. We talked with several staff members who had moved up within REP in terms of their level of responsibility. Several other staff described the changes between what they were doing when they first came to REP and what they were doing at the time of our site visit. In some cases, individuals had moved up in terms of level of responsibility. In other cases, the movement had been more horizontal, representing a change of basic role and assigned tasks, rather than of responsibility. Most staff movement seemed to represent a recognition within the organization of skills which particular individuals held. Examples of these kinds of shifts are from executive secretary to writer, from writer to facilitator trainer, from writer to team leader, from trainer to materials development, and from secretarial work to graphics work. There were also several examples of individuals who had joined the organization while continuing formal education outside of work hours, gaining skills which enabled them to shift within the organization (see section on "Staff Development").

There were also several instances of little correlation between educational credentials and level of responsibility. Within an organization that boasted at least nine staff with PhDs, two of the individuals with major program responsibility did not have one. This points to REP's putting an emphasis more on demonstrated skills than strictly on educational credentials.

Judging from the written material we have, there does not seem to be a high staff turnover rate. Of those who have left REP, reasons given included leaving to take another position, termination due to incompetency, leaving due to feeling that there was no future in the program for that individual, leaving because pieces of the development work were terminated prior to completion, leaving because pieces of the development work were completed, and leaving due to disagreement with the leadership style of the director.

Staff Development. REP, building on the Northwest Lab's policies, had a detailed plan for providing and supporting staff development opportunities. As described in a 1975 memorandum on staff development policies and procedures:

> We in the Rural Education Program (REP) recognize that our work affords us many opportunities to meet professional and personal growth needs. Inherent in the work we do is a commitment to renew ourselves as learning, inquiring, growing individuals. The Rural Education Program supports this commitment through a staff development plan that relates Program needs to individual personal and professional growth needs."

This staff development plan was based on balancing staff needs and interests with Program needs and goals.

The REP staff development plan called for each staff member to write a personal development needs statement. This statement provided a context within which staff development requests could be considered. The plan suggested some priority areas and laid out criteria for determining staff development needs, employee eligibility for participating in activities, limits to participation, procedure for requesting staff development activities involvement, and financial considerations.

Examples of REP staff development activities included temporary reassignment with the Lab; various activities within the Lab including staff retreats, training and conferences, field experiences, presenting papers, writing, reading and synthesizing, and observing to collect data; participation in professional seminars or workshops; tuition assistance for approved coursework; extended professional leave; community service activities; and publications development.

On the subject of publications development, REP's staff development memo stated: "It is reasonable to expect several pieces of serious writing from the REP staff each year, with all work teams having an opportunity to produce them. These publications might be written for presentation at an appropriate convention or for some important publication."[12] We observed that a number of REP staff members had published articles and/or presented papers. For instance, five REP staff members contributed to papers presented at the 1974 National Conference on Rural-Regional Educational Programs. REP staff also participated in the 1974 conference of the National Federation for the Improvement of Rural Education, which featured an address by REP's Program Director. At the time of our site visit to REP, several staff members in the Research and Evaluation Unit were leaving to present a paper to the 1975 meeting of the American Educational Research Association. We also obtained an article published by an REP staff member in the Community Education Journal.

The impressions given by the documents and memoranda we saw, as well as by our observations, was that REP actively supports staff development activities. We were able to sit in on one session of a four-part workshop series held for REP staff on consultation skills. The workshops were being conducted by two consultants with expertise in all phases of counseling. The series involved one all-day session followed by three half-day sessions. The topic was consultation skills and much of the discussion centered around how those skills related to the various phases of REP's work and strategy, particularly facilitator training and the facilitator's work with school and community people. All REP staff members were given the opportunity to attend the workshops. At the session we observed, fourteen REP staff members were present, with at least one person from all the teams except Research and Evaluation (the staff of this unit was out of town at the time). There was one member of the support staff there.

Our interviews showed that some of the REP staff were attending school outside of working hours, earning credit in subjects related to their work with REP. One staff member discussed how her job entailed a variety of tasks. One reason she had the variety was to familiarize her with the work of the unit, seemingly in a training capacity.

Internal Communications. REP had several effective mechanisms for internal communications. One was the use of memoranda. Many proposals for new ideas and descriptions of decisions made were documented and communicated to the REP staff through the use of memos. We, as site researchers, found them quite useful as data on REP's functioning. Many memos served to document facts and help us build chronologies of the development of different ideas.

Another means of internal communications was periodic meetings attended by a cross section of staff from the various program units. One of the potential problems in REP's organizational set-up was that with individual jobs clearly defined and with units functionally organized, communication could break down and individuals or work teams could work isolated from the rest of the organization. One procedure developed to counteract this tendency was regularly schedule cross-unit meetings. We observed a meeting of the Joint Planning Group which was responsible for reviewing material being developed for use in Canyon County. This group was made up of staff members from each unit. Another example of this procedure was in debriefing sessions, such as a debriefing of individuals who worked in or had just visited a field site. These debriefing sessions were attended by key relevant staff from each work unit. As one staff member described it to us, these kinds of meetings "legitimize" communication across unit lines. Individuals may or may not share information in informal conversations. When people were rushed, this kind of sharing stopped. Therefore, a legitimate mechanism was needed to maintain communication.

Internal communications was also one of the objectives accomplished by REP's administrative set-up. The staff was organized into three major units. The coordinators of those units formed the Administrative Team which functioned, in part, to share information with each other, therefore across unit lines.

Also noted during our site visit was the use of the bulletin board near the elevator in the REP office for information sharing. Posted on the board were, among other things, an announcement of the CNS site researchers' arrival, a notice of an REP job opening, and a copy of the notes from a phone call made to Portland by the REP staff member living (at that time) in Canyon County.

Performance of Day-to-Day Administrative, Clerical and Financial Tasks. REP had a support staff of nine, which gave them a basic one-to-four ratio of support to program staff. The day-to-day administration of the office was coordinated by the office manager who was part of the Management Unit. Each support staff person was assigned to work in one of the three units and each had a specific title. REP had four administrative secretaries, two secretaries, one stenographer, one manuscript typist, and one clerk. These titles reflected a hierarchy among the support staff, as well as indicating the kind of tasks they perform. REP's administrative set-up was based on the Northwest Lab's Policy and Procedure Manual.

It appeared that an administrative secretary oversaw the clerical work for a given unit. The Management Unit had one administrative secretary. Work was distributed among the support people in that unit. When the workload was beyond what a unit's immediate support staff could handle, for example to meet a report deadline, the office manager was responsible for securing additional help, either from another unit or from a temporary office help firm. The office manager was also responsible for coordinating work that involved more than one unit. We interviewed a support staff member within the Research and Evaluation Unit and learned that within that unit program staff members projected their need for clerical support on a month-by-month basis. When it became evident that the bulk of work was going to fall in the same time period or that there were conflicting deadlines within the unit, the administrative secretary either renegotiated deadlines with program staff or arranged for extra help for that unit. This procedure arose in response to persistent problems with work overload, conflicting deadlines, and lack of coordination of work within the unit.

Another procedure followed within the Research Unit was that the administrative secretary attempted to maintain some consistency in terms of the work that was passed on to other support staff. For instance, an attempt was made to have one person work on all the material pertaining to REP's field test in Canyon County. This helped the support staff have a better understanding of the work that they were doing and help develop a feeling of "ownership" of the work, as well as a better understanding of some of the pressures and time factors involved. The other REP work units now use similar administrative procedures.

Other administrative procedures that we observed were the use of staff mail slots and certain routing procedures for communications and memos.

The office manager kept track of the budget and individuals' time. Staff time was categorized according to a chart of accounts. Within each unit there were several categories to which individuals' time could be charged.

Development of REP Philosophies, Strategies, and Major Program Directions. As described in the previous section on the history of REP, the program was originally formed to contribute to improving rural educational opportunities through the development of instructional systems. Out of the work of the small group of original staff members came attempts to develop strategies for involving administrators and community leaders in educational decision-making and planning.

These early efforts formed some of the basic tenets of REP's work which continue in the present RFD Strategy. For instance, the Program 400 staff members were all former rural education professionals. They took as their starting point the local school district and school board, establishing contractual relationships with those entities which then enabled them to work with all facets of the community. They also worked to establish relationships with the state and regional educational agencies for long-term support of educational change. This contrasts with those groups we studied which were founded by parents and community leaders, who generally took parent and community groups interested in educational improvement as their starting point for assistance work.

Another tenet evident in the early work which is still part of REP's strategy is bringing together school administrators, school staff, students, and community people to cooperate in educational change and improvement efforts, recognizing the existence and value of diverse viewpoints and educational needs in any given community. REP's work has often been in communities where there is a distinct minority group that has historically not been well served by the educational system. In rural areas in the Northwestern states, these minorities have usually been American Indians of various tribes. Despite the differences of opinion inherent in such situations, REP is committed to bringing representatives of various groups and opinions together, rather than to supporting various specific groups to pressure for changes in the local power structure, as do some of the other technical assistance groups we studied.

REP's basic tenets of assistance work have carried with them certain limits, as does any other approach to assistance.

Since REP, and Program 400 before it, have worked to establish contractual relationships with local school districts, they have entered only into communities where the school board and local administrators are agreeable to an outside group such as REP entering to help solve educational problems. These have also been communities where the school board and local administrators perceive educational needs and desire to involve citizens in addressing those needs. One REP staff member estimated that only one out of every ten rural communities is one in which REP could successfully function while several others feel the percentage is much higher. Another staff member felt that REP's ideal community is one where the problems are primarily communication-oriented. Therefore, bringing together representatives of various interest groups in the community would effect improvement of the situation.

REP's early work was primarily based on service contracts developed between the program (then Program 400) and a given school district. Using the combined skills and resources of the two groups, that community's needs were assessed, problems defined, and an appropriate program developed. Over time, and prompted by one key staff member's intentions to leave the program, questions arose of how generalizable these procedures were:

> The involvement of both school and community leaders slowly evolved into a series of loosely defined procedures which began being referred to as a change process...As these procedures became more clearly defined, increasing reference

> was made to a "change process model"...Several other very legitimate questions have been raised regarding the "model." Is the process generalizable? What influence does the trainer have on the successful use of the "model"? Can others use it? Is it a tangible product?...there are positive indicators that would encourage continued efforts toward the development of a "change process model."[13]

These continued efforts resulted in the development of the Community Oriented Change Process Model, with the help of consultants and with reference to existing research and literature.

With the arrival of the present REP Program Director in April of 1971, the program began to look more at ways in which they could focus their work and build on the concepts of the COCPM. Out of this thrust for programmatic focus came the Basic Program Plan, submitted to the U.S. Office of Education for funding in 1972. The Basic Program Plan laid out a comprehensive plan for improving rural education which marked a major expansion in the scope of REP's work from what had gone before. The Basic Program Plan described the Rural Futures Development (RFD) Strategies for reaching all segments of the rural community with training systems and support materials.

Considerable use of consultants and references to existing social science research and literature contributed to the development of the RFD Strategies. This process is described in more detail in the section on "Understanding and Analyzing Theory, Research, and Experiences of Others for Possible Improvement of REP's Own Approach" which follows.

Similarly, REP drew extensively from their own experience with the Community Change Process (CCP). One staff member referred to it as a "conceptual catalyst" for the Basic Program Plan. Again, how REP incorporated their own past experiences into their program is dealt with elsewhere in this case study, in the section on "Carrying Out Applied Research, Evaluation, and Formal or Informal Analysis of REP's Own Work."

Of the six RFD Strategies, it was the community one that drew most directly from the CCP; the support agency strategy drew more indirectly from the CCP. The curriculum, school, and family strategies, although related to the others, seem to have their roots elsewhere. The curriculum and family strategies were dropped in 1974, but parts of them have been incorporated in the RFD Integrated Strategy.

When REP restructed their program in 1974 from six strategies to an integrated strategy (as described earlier) there were several forces that directly shaped this shift in program direction. Internally, REP still looked to the Basic Program Plan document for their philosophy, goals, and strategy model. However, the components that remained as key parts of the integrated strategy were those which had most directly grown from the past work of REP as well as on the change agent notions applied to organizations: the community, school, and support agency components. As development work had proceeded on these components, the interdependence among them became clearer. To treat them as dimensions of the same essential thrust was a logical and more efficient way of developing them and presenting them to potential users. The curriculum, teacher development and family components were clearly complementary to the others, but not necessary for the success of the attempt to strengthen local problem-solving.

Externally, NIE had expressed several key concerns about REP's work which necessitated a re-evaluation of the RFD program and development work. One such concern was "NIE's interest in seeing a successful installation of the integrated strategies. It seemed imperative to see all products and processes at work in one place so the Program could study relationships among them and so funders and other audiences could see their combined impact."[14] The original plan called for the development of the six components and their products, with the products to be tested separately, revised and then field tested as an integrated strategy. The change in development made a field test of the entire integrated strategy possible. "The focus of the Program was shifted from product development supported by field tests to field installation supported by developed products."[15]

Another concern expressed by NIE was the need to begin diffusion planning: to develop ways in which a number of rural communities could have access to the RFD Strategies. To meet this need, Diffusion became one of the three dimensions of the RFD Integrated Strategy, with REP drawing on consultants to help them plan for diffusion, "beginning to establish linkages with agencies and organizations that might become part of the diffusion system"[16] and developing a more comprehensive plan for diffusion, out of which came the proposal for the Center for Rural Development (discussed later under "Issues for the Future").

The final major force which contributed to REP's decision to restructure their program was awareness of "the impact of inflation and of the need to focus and limit its efforts within the constraints imposed by reduced budgets."[17] The Integrated Strategy met this need by requiring less staff members, entailing fewer products, and, therefore, requiring less product testing.

As REP worked to complete development of the RFD Integrated Strategy, they established procedures for making decisions concerning the restructured RFD program and for making revisions in the program based on input from various sources.

Decisions on the specifics of the RFD Strategy (those concerned with objectives, stages, events) were called RFD Policy Decisions. As discussed earlier under the description of REP's decision-making function, these decisions were made by the REP Policy Board, consisting of representatives of REP's various units. We noted several instances where the Policy Board had used task forces of five or more staff members to devise a proposal on a given subject, such as RFD Strategy Events. The proposal then went back to the Policy Board for approval and/or revision.

Input was made into strategy development from various sources. One was the installation team of REP--those who went into the field to train facilitators and provided Guided Field Experience to them. We are not certain of all the formal mechanisms for feedback from the Installation team to the Development team, but we did observe the use of debriefing sessions, memos, and phone calls.

Another source of input was from the facilitators themselves. Some of their experiences, information, suggestions, and problems encountered were carried back to the REP office by REP staff members who visit the field. In other instances, facilitators traveled to Portland to debrief with staff members. We attended one such debriefing session. All the units of REP were represented in that debriefing session (except Research and Evaluation, whose members were out of town).

A final source of input into strategy development was the Research and Evaluation Unit. As they worked to develop instruments to evaluate the strategy and to do formative evaluation of REP's field test in Canyon County, they provided ongoing feedback to the other units in REP. This usually took place in the form of a written report following visits to the field test site.

What began with Program 400's technical assistance work based on service contracts became, with the funding of the Basic Program Plan, an effort to develop a comprehensive strategy which could serve as a replicable model of change improvement in education in rural communities.

Carrying Out Applied Research, Evaluation, Formal or Informal Analysis of REP's Own Work. Up until the development of the Basic Program Plan for the RFD Strategies, there does not appear to have been much formal evaluation or analysis of REP's work primarily due to the exploratory nature of the early work. The individuals involved in this early work apparently kept their own records and notes, building each effort on the experiences that had gone before. The Community Change Process (CCP) grew out of REP staff members' work in rural schools and communities. However, we could not find much in the way of records of the early work and were told that in most cases the individuals involved still held them.

Using the CCP as a base or "conceptual catalyst," REP put together their Basic Program Plan for the RFD Strategies, drawing on much existing theory and literature (see section that follows on "Understanding and Analyzing Theory, Research, and Experience of Others for Possible Improvement of REP's Own Approach"). The Basic Program Plan addressed itself to evaluation of REP's work largely in terms of product evaluation:

> The evaluation process emphasizes the collection and analysis of information to support decision-making. It must (1) provide the development team with data on how well the product works, and identify specific weaknesses and limitations of the product for possible revision and (2) make explicit to people outside the Laboratory the effectiveness of products under given conditions.[18]

Since the products embodied the processes and procedures of the RFD Strategies, implicit in product evaluation was a more comprehensive evaluation of the strategies. The evaluation plan called for specific stages of development and testing of the products. The three basic testing stages involved, first, various parts of the proposed products being tried out with "a limited number of potential users under simulated conditions." The second stage involved "an intensive tryout of the product with a limited number of potential users under controlled conditions." Finally, the product was to be used in a field test of the strategy where "the focus is on assessing the achievement of the program objectives. The predominance of the data collection and analysis focuses upon the product performance."[19]

During the time that REP worked on developing five separate strategies, the only one that reached a field test was the Community Strategy. In this project, REP materials were used. The facilitator involved told us that he had kept extensive records and logs of events, meetings, etc., over the three years of the project. However, no one at REP had used the records, to his knowledge. The complicating factors here appeared to be (1) that the REP Research and Evaluation Unit changed coordinators during this time, thus changing evaluation plans somewhat; (2) REP also underwent major program shifts and integrated their RFD Strategies during this time. We did observe a joint evaluation effort (as the project was coming to an end) involving REP and the school district where the Community Strategy was field tested. An outside person was hired to conduct a series of interviews with a wide range of school and community people to write a final report on this particular project.

With the change of Research and Evaluation coordinator subsequent to the change in REP's program directions, new evaluation plans were defined. As described in the REP Prospectus:

> The focus of evaluation was reconfigured from products to RFD Strategy events. As such, evaluation in Site A (first pilot installation) is primarily focused on seeking to determine the essential elements of the RFD Strategy. In Site B the evaluation will be focused on the degree to which implementation of intended practices takes place and the occurrence of targeted outcomes.[20]

The efforts of the Research and Evaluation Unit were then focused on two major efforts. One was the exploratory testing of the products being developed to accompany the RFD Strategy. This testing was essentially a process involving review of product drafts by a variety of experts and potential users, and resulting revisions in those products (described in more detailed in the section on "Development of Materials"). The second major effort was formative evaluation of REP's work in the Site A and Site B pilot installations of the RFD Strategy, based on a defined set of process and outcome objectives for the strategy. Building on these, a sequence of testing and instrument development activities were defined for the formative evaluation process. The kinds of instruments planned included logs, observations, interview schedules, questionnaires, rating scales, checklists, knowledge tests, work sample reviews, and record reviews.

At the time of our site visit, REP was working on formative evaluation of the RFD Strategy in Canyon County as well as further development of evaluation instruments. Instruments specifically being used in Canyon County included observation schedules, interview formats, and questionnaires. Two of REP's staff were responsible for formative evaluation in Canyon County. They made periodic trips to the site where they observed meetings and events, as well as administered questionnaires to the facilitators, agency staff members involved in the program, school board members, and school leaders. They also conducted interviews with other school and community people involved in the process.

The data collected in Canyon County was written up into formal reports which included the evaluators' recommendations and rationale for them. The informal reports provided feedback to the facilitators and REP staff, particularly those concerned with Development and Installation. Periodically, more formal reports were written for NIE. Evaluation procedures for these reports were such that unless both evaluators agreed on a given point, it was not included in the feedback.

Understanding and Analyzing Theory, Research, and Experience of Others for Possible Improvement of REP's Own Approach. The earliest reference we found to the use of outside literature and theory for the development of REP's approach was in a document entitled "A Preliminary Review of Research Literature Related to the CCP (Community Change Process) Model." This document made reference to an earlier one which we were unable to obtain information on. This document represented an extensive review of periodicals and books on subjects related to REP's work. Key people cited included Chesler; Fantini; Glidewell; Havelock; Lippitt; and Watson, Goodwin, and Glaser. These individuals are noted primarily for their work in the fields of organizational development, community involvement in education, and planned change. The main categories of information in the document were training processes, methods, and outcomes; organizational change and development; decision-making; participation, influence, authority, and self-determination; information/resource retrieval/utilization; interventions; change strategies; power redistribution; community roles; and power/conflict.

The Community Change Process grew primarily out of REP staff members' own field experiences and surveys of change literature in the social sciences as well as the military and industrial areas. In REP's development of the other parts of their RFD Strategies, they drew extensively on literature and consultants.

A document entitled "Theoretical Foundations of the Rural

Futures Development Strategy" (1974) traced in detail how the RFD Strategies were based on concepts of learning theory, organizational development, change theory, and rural sociology.

In terms of learning theory, REP drew heavily on the Life Involvement Model of Aashel Woodruff and Philip Kapfer. Learning/training processes were key to the implementation of REP's Strategy, and REP's generic learning and change model was the basis for all aspects of the strategy. The curriculum, teacher development, and family strategies were based heavily on this learning theory. Also cited by REP were other research and development programs such as Project Change, Stanford Research and Development Center, and the Improving Teacher Competencies Program of the Northwest Lab.

REP cited John N. Williamson's Model for Organizational Renewal as an important source of organizational development information and the major source of the school strategy. This information was key to REP in helping people in schools increase their ability to solve problems and achieve educational goals. Havelock's work on change theory also contributed to REP's Strategy.

REP has drawn much on the work of rural sociologist Ed Moe, both through his writings and as an REP consultant. He is one of an apparently few rural sociologists in the United States. Since REP's work was designed to involve and affect rural communities as a whole (rather than just the school), this kind of theoretical knowledge proved valuable to them.

Other individuals' work cited as having made important contributions to REP program development were: Fielder, learning and instruction; Schmuck and Runkel, organizational development; Lippitt, change agentry; Schalock, teacher education; Tuckman, group development; Bales, personality development; and Bennis and Chin, organizational development. The first five individuals have served as consultants to REP at various times.

REP has, apparently, made extensive use of consultants in their program development, particularly in the writing of the Basic Program Plan. For example, a series of conceptual conferences, mentioned earlier, held in December 1971 brought together consultants such as John Williamson, Ed Moe, Aashel Woodruff, and Bill Shanner to help provide information to REP that would be useful in developing their program for rural education.

Development of Materials. A key part of REP's RFD Integrated Strategy is the materials which were specifically designed to accompany it. REP's plans called for the development of seven products in all, five of which they were working on at the time of our site visit, scheduled for completion in November 1975. The other two were scheduled for completion at a later date. These written products were not designed to stand on their own or to be a packaged version of the RFD program. Rather they were designed to complement and supplement the technical assistance/ training process by which the RFD Strategy was implemented.

The seven written products were the RFD Manual for School-Community Process Facilitators, RFD Guide for Training Process Facilitators, RFD Notebook For School-Community Groups, RFD Guide For Schools, RFD Guide For School Boards, RFD Strategy Descriptions, and RFD Support Agency Guide. The first five listed were those which were being developed at the time of our site visit.

REP's RFD Strategy products were written by the Development team. At the time of our site visit, each of the five in-progress products was being worked on by a pair of Development team staff members, one of whom was designated team leader, with primary responsibility for writing that product. As described earlier, all decisions related to RFD Strategy products were considered Quality Review decisions and

> are the application of policy decisions or criteria for judging quality. These are decisions about what content, format, style, etc. changes are needed in documents and products in order for them to be approved...Quality review is a function of accountability and is therefore delegated according to established accountability lines. Thus team leaders decide ultimately what is acceptable work for a team, unit coordinators for a unit, and the program director for the program.[21]

REP had a very detailed and precise set of procedures for product development. The procedures followed were broken down into thirty steps which involved, basically, the writing and approval of specifications for the particular product; writing and review of the first draft in-house; editing and printing of a revised draft; development of product evaluation instruments; review of the product both in-house and by outside reviewers; and final revisions, approval, and printing of the product for use in the field.

Individuals responsible for a given product devised a document consisting of a request for approval of the specifications for that product. This request contained information on the product's audience, outcomes, contents, methodological bases, and visual presentation and format. The request was submitted for approval to the head of the Development team, the D.I.D. Unit coordinator, the Program Director, and anyone else the Program Director deemed appropriate. Based on these specifications, a preliminary version of the product was written and circulated in-house for developmental input. Based on this input, revisions were made in the product, which was then submitted for approval. A revised and approved version of the document was then edited, illustrated, and printed; ready for exploratory testing. The VISCOM team of the Management Unit did the technical editing and production work.

The exploratory testing stage was an intricate process for obtaining input from a variety of sources, both within and outside of REP, which represented a number of perspectives on the products. Product-specific evaluation instruments were developed by REP's Research and Evaluation Unit, using a pool of sample instruments obtained from a variety of sources. All instruments were approved, prior to use, by the Northwest Lab's Office of Research and Evaluation Services and a program designee who reviewed them according to Lab guidelines for the Protection of Human Rights. If the instruments were to go to ten or more people, they had to be approved by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget.

In addition to developing product evaluation instruments, the Research and Evaluation Unit of REP was involved in the entire exploratory testing procedure, including analysis of data collected. There was a member of the Research staff assigned to each product to see it through the completion of the testing stage.

A review panel for each product was assembled. This panel was made up of "3-5 Outside Experts, 2 NWREL (Northwest Lab) Experts (optional), 3-5 Potential Users, 2-5 REP Colleagues." The reviewers were given the draft of the product along with much contextual information about the RFD Strategy. They then completed the evaluation instrument(s), usually a questionnaire, as well as returning a copy of the product with annotations. This data was collected by the Research Unit, analyzed, and written into a report. From this report and individuals' responses to it, the Development team made appropriate revisions in the product. The revised version of the product had to be approved by the Program Director for printing and use in the field and was then called a "prototype" product.

The understanding we gained from interviews was that these products were then ready for use in the second field installation site of the RFD Strategy. All products were subject to ongoing additions and revisions based on input from their use in the field.

In spring 1975, RFD product development was taking place at the same time REP was working on their first pilot installation of the RFD Strategy in Canyon County. This field test had begun in 1974, while the products were planned to be completed in the late fall of 1975, in time to be used in the second field installation of the strategy. Our perception is that this sequencing of field test and product development had both disadvantages and advantages.

The advantage of having product development and pilot installation of the strategy occur at the same time was that the installation work could provide important information for the development work being done. Pieces of the products could be tried and information gained on their usefulness. Specific or recurring situations, settings, and problems in the field provide useful information to the developers as to what kinds of needs they should be addressing in their products.

However, having to begin working in an area without the materials intended to support that work also put the REP Installation staff, facilitators, and support agencies at a disadvantage This disadvantage had been most acutely felt by the facilitators having to work in school settings. Little written material on the RFD Strategy in the schools had been available to them. The facilitators who primarily were involved in community settings were able to draw more on the past materials and information used with the Community Change Process work done by REP. It would appear that one of the factors which resulted in this disadvantageous sequencing of events was pressure from funders to begin a field test of the RFD Strategy, with or without the products. Both NIE and REP saw the need for a pilot installation of the RFD Strategy.

One procedure developed to compensate for this disadvantage was the development of site-specific materials to be used in Canyon County, tailored to the needs of those trainers, facilitators, and support agencies. These materials were being developed mainly within the Installation team, using available information on the RFD Strategy and on-site situations and needs. The materials were then presented to REP's Joint Planning Group for approval. This group was made up of representatives from all of REP's work units and made the decisions on which materials were to be used in the field. The actual usefulness/value of these materials in the field was another source of feedback to the Development team.

As pairs of staff members worked on particular products, coordination of their work cross-products was accomplished by several means. The Development team leader had responsibility for coordination of all work being done by the Developers. There appeared to be a standard format or structure for each product which coincided with the others. The in-house collegial review of product drafts provided input into coordination of products. In addition, we attended a regular meeting of Product Development staff. They discussed their week's schedule, deadlines, and the issue of consistency among products in the use of various terms and in style of printing (e.g. use of italics). They also discussed the exploratory testing process.

Other materials produced by REP which provided more indirect support to their technical assistance work included those written for specific audiences such as NIE and professional educational and research associations; as well as general descriptive, publicity-type materials. Most of the material written for NIE came out under the Program Director's name, unless it was addressed to a specific subject, such as evaluation, in which case it came directly from that unit. Papers presented to professional organizations were written under specific staff members' names. Publicity or descriptive material on the RFD Strategies was developed by the Management Unit, including the Program Director, and the

Diffusion team. The VISCOM team oversaw the final layout and production of all REP material.

Publicizing the Organization, Its Approach, and the Services It Has Available. We did not observe much activity at REP that could be termed as "publicizing." This was consistent with the fact that REP was then developing and evaluating a process, not yet marketing it. The literature which we read was primarily directed towards a specific audience, internal or external to REP. Internal audiences included those within REP itself and those within the Northwest Lab, such as the Lab's Board of Directors or their Research and Evaluation Services. REP's primary external audience was the National Institute of Education. In addition, REP's staff members were involved in various professional organizations such as the American Educational Research Association, the National School Boards Association, the Rural Education Association, and the American Association of School Administrators. Through these involvements, they occasionally presented papers at professional conventions and seminars.

In terms of the groups that REP had developed working relationships with, it seems that initial contact with these groups was made because someone within REP knew someone in the other group. Following the initial contact, REP usually explained its work, approach, and services through a workshop presentation. We did observe REP staff members' work with a Task Force within the

State Department of Education concerned with REP's work in Canyon County. REP was attempting to communicate to the Task Force what their strategy was, how it was working in Canyon County, and what its potential applicability was. They are doing this through workshops and written materials.

In talking with people outside of REP, it became evident that many, particularly in the Northwestern states, were familiar with the Northwest Lab and its work. In this context it was likely that many people had heard of the work that REP was doing, but may not have recognized it as a separate program within the Lab.

In general, since REP was still in the stage of developing its strategy at the time of our site visit, it did not have a great need or desire to publicize its approach. Our assumption is that this need would come as REP completed its strategy and became more concerned with diffusion of it and with the creation of a center for rural development or other diffusion mechanisms. This is reinforced by the fact that much of REP's literature which was designed for more general distribution (such as their RFD brochure) rather than for a specific audience was written in a future sense. It described what REP will have and what they will be able to offer after completion of their strategy.

Funding and Resource Allocation and Maintenance. At the time of our site visit, March 1975, REP had firm funding from the National

Institute of Education through Fiscal Year 1975. They have since negotiated their option to obtain funding for Fiscal Years 1976-77 from NIE.

We only have REP's budget figures for 1975. During this year, their budget totalled $1,049,734. These budget figures were broken down by function--field work, product development, research and evaluation, and administration--and then by expenditure categories within these functions. Of these functions, product development had the largest budget ($317,000) and field work the smallest ($166,820). These figures clearly reflect REP's involvement, during 1975, in completing strategy and product development.

Within the various budget categories, by far the largest was Personnel Compensation, representing 62% of the total budget. Consultants were used most heavily in the area of product development. Travel costs accounted for 6% of the total budget, with Research and Evaluation staff travel as the largest function expenditure ($21,000 as opposed to approximately $8,000 for each of the other functions). Information on expenditures for those REP projects we studied are contained in the project descriptions, later in this case study.

REP budget matters were classified as administrative decisions, as described earlier. This means that responsibility ultimately rested with the program director, which could be delegated by him to unit coordinators and by them to team leaders. Since the Administrative Team of unit coordinators dealt with subjects effecting more than one unit, they had a key role in budget allocation decisions.

As also described earlier, REP was immediately accountable to the Northwest Lab for allocation of their funds. Salary levels were fixed by the Lab. The Lab also charged REP a standard cost per person day for their use of office space in the building, as well as phone, supplies, and postage allocations. The Lab was involved in all major negotiations undertaken by REP to obtain program funding.

REP was funded primarily by the National Institute of Education. One other source of income was the field installation sites, generally in the form of partial compensation from the local or intermediate school district to REP for costs incurred by REP in training facilitators. Our data indicates that the major portion of the work entailed in maintaining relationships and contract compliance with NIE was done by the Management Unit of REP, principally the Program Director. In addition there was an NIE contracts officer concerned mainly with fiscal matters who dealt directly with the Lab contracts officer. REP was ultimately responsible to NIE for completion of their strategy and products, and two completed field installations of the strategy. In addition, periodic reports on the various stages of REP's work had to be submitted to NIE as well as feedback from the evaluation process. During the course of our site visit to REP's field test in Canyon County, a visit was made to the site by REP's project officer from NIE. These visits from NIE to REP's field sites were generally made annually.

During our visit to Portland, there was frequent mention made of attempts to obtain refunding for REP's family-centered and learner-teacher development strategies. The implication was, at that time, that REP was not looking to NIE, but exploring other possible sources of funds.

At the time of our site visit to Portland, REP had just completed their Prospectus FY 1976-FY 1977 which outlined their proposed work plan for those two years and beyond. They estimated financial needs totalling approximately $1,000,000 each year to complete the development of their products and strategy, two field installations, and the development of a model Center for Rural Development to diffuse and refine their strategy. They outlined a plan which recognized NIE's intention to provide only developmental funds. This recognition resulted in REP's plans to obtain increasing funds from sources other than NIE, as NIE funds decrease with the completion of strategy development. The other main potential sources of funding for REP discussed in the Prospectus were client payments to REP and the Center for Rural Development for direct services provided, and "funds from other supplemental funding agencies that will subsidize clients who are unable to pay for the services they receive."[22]

Philosophy

The problem to which REP addresses itself is essentially the limited capacity that rural communities and schools have to solve educational problems, given the resources and strengths in those communities. More specifically, REP literature points to limited local control in rural communities, schools that are unresponsive to community people and their needs, and little agency support for rural schools.

REP literature clearly articulates a set of broad of goals for the RFD program, and the beliefs and assumptions that underlie those goals. As stated in the REP Prospectus: "Over time, the Rural Education Program's mission has been 'to improve learning opportunities in rural communities.' Following from this goal are two others: 'Control of rural educational change by rural people' and 'Improved support services for rural schools'."[23] Control by rural people means that the local communities acquire more influence and decision-making power as opposed to state and regional administrative bodies. These goals reflect the three basic areas in which REP has worked: (1) the school, (2) the local community and school district, and (3) the support agencies (regional and state educational agencies).

When REP was forced to shelve the development of their learner-centered strategy, the articulation of their goals shifted, placing the emphasis more on the process of involving citizens in educational decision-making rather than on improving specific learning opportunities, although the ultimate thrust of REP's work is educational improvement. As described in REP's January 1975 program brochure:

> Rural Futures Development (RFD) is a program designed to accomplish three major goals:
>
> * To help citizens in rural communities identify and solve problems related to improving educational opportunities for their children
>
> * To help local school boards and school leaders share educational decision making with those people who are affected by such decisions
>
> * To help state departments of education, colleges, universities, and regional educational agencies to improve their supporting services to rural schools and communities 24

REP's work is based on a set of principles or beliefs which are summarized as follows:

> 1. People who are affected by the decision are involved in the decision making process from the beginning, in a way that they can have influence on the decision and feel a sense of ownership in any changes that are made.
> 2. A carefully thought out, systematic process for decision making is followed which allows for the open consideration of alternatives for meeting defined needs.
> 3. Change strategies focus not on individual or piecemeal change, but recognize the complex interrelationships among students, the teaching act, the structure of schooling, and the nature of the community setting and focus in a comprehensive way on influencing all of these factors.
> 4. There are outside resources such as trained personnel and uncommitted funds which not only can be used for, but can be controlled by, the local decision makers to help solve local problems. 25

Building on these goals and principles, REP has developed the RFD Strategy. The specific components of this strategy have varied over time, with ongoing input from their field experience, from others' experiences and knowledge, and given REP's resources and the field situation at a particular time. Within the descriptions of the two REP projects which follow, we will describe specific planned strategies and objectives. Here we will describe the key concepts that have been parts of REP's work throughout.

One such concept is the role of a neutral facilitator who works with representative groups of citizens, school staff members, students, and administrators to improve education in their community. The facilitator acts as a person outside the immediate community whose role is to help people become active participants in the process described in the summary document of REP's Basic Program Plan:

> The program emphasizes the development of training systems for people who are to be involved in educational change, and materials that suggest and support new structural patterns and participatory decision making processes for rural schools and communities...Rural school staffs, rural students and rural citizens will be engaged in the systematic processes of inquiry and problem solving which will result in a more significant role in making decisions that affect them collectively and as individuals.

These processes of inquiry and problem solving are based on generic learning and decision making models which REP has developed out of their "reviews of the past, the future possibilities, American values and behavioral research."[27] Following from these models are the seven phases of the RFD Strategy: awareness of needs, forming a representative school-community group, focusing on the problem and establishing goals, searching for alternatives, selecting an appropriate project, implementing it, and evaluating the effectiveness of the project. These stages are described in more detail later in the case study.

As described earlier, REP has made a conscious effort to draw on existing theory, literature, and expertise held by other individuals and groups. They have drawn principally on the field of organizational development, learning theory, social psychology, change theory, counseling theory, and rural sociology. They have also detailed procedures for building on their own past experience and refining their strategies as they continue to work in different communities.

REP's strategies have always been grounded in the concept of participatory democracy. "All voices and factions in a community must be heard, since they are all affected by community educational programs and they all have potential contributions to make to those programs."[26] Since these voices and factions are potentially affected by educational decisions made in the local community, they need to be involved in the decision-making process. In the RFD Strategy, that involvement is achieved through the formation and functioning of the representative school-community groups.

This strong grounding in participatory democracy has proven to be a strength for REP as it has sought to establish relationships with rural communities interested in educational improvements. Rural communities are often skeptical of outside groups bringing new programs. On and near Indian reservations this skepticism of outside groups frequently includes an indifference toward new program because these areas have been inundated with new programs, funds, and agencies. REP's approach differs from many other programs in that it addresses local needs with local, regional, and state resources, bringing in training systems and processes rather than ready-made programs.

Following from the concept of participatory democracy is another element basic to REP 's philosophy. Through the formation of the school-community group, a wide variety of people are brought together to attempt to cooperatively assess educational needs, and design and carry out programs to meet those needs. As expressed in the "Assumptions of the Community Change Process":

> Differences of opinion, values and attitudes represent rich human resources; conflict among such difference can be dealt with constructively through open and honest communication. 27

Through this open and honest communication, solutions and courses of action are sought which use all available resources to meet the wide variety of needs in a given community. In this, the facilitator acts as a third party problem solver or change agent, assisting people in carrying out the process and providing access to the skills needed.

Technical Assistance Work

First Project Description: Pippin Valley. We were able to make a site visit to Pippin Valley just as REP was finishing three years of work there. REP had worked in four communities over the course of the three years. We observed meetings, visited schools, and conducted interviews in two of those communities. What follows here is a summary of REP's work within these communities. We have organized this information to present a general description of the area, its population, and schools; a brief chronology of the project; and some of the key dynamics in the technical assistance work during this time.

The Setting. Pippin is a river valley in a Northwestern state. A series of small towns are scattered along the valley, with high hills surrounding it, making it accessible only by the road which runs along the river. A few roads lead over the hills to adjacent valleys, but these are not useable in the winter. Geographically, therefore, the population of the area is distributed along the river. Those who do not live along the river tend to be quite scattered and isolated from other people.

The Pippin River forms the western boundary of an Indian reservation. Many different North American Indian tribes are represented on that reservation. Most of the Indian children attend school on the reservation, but some who live close to or in Pippin Valley towns attend public schools in those communities.

Other North American Indian tribes are also represented in the Pippin Valley, off the reservation. Most of the Indians in the area are "Anglicized" in terms of dress and language, but clearly identified as Indians.

The main source of income in Pippin Valley is from the apple industry. The land is semi-arid, with orchards strung along the river, most supported by irrigation systems. Away from the river, the dry, grassy land can support beef cattle, making ranching another major economic endeavor in the region. In addition to the residents of the area who are involved in the apple and ranching industries, there are a small number of "professional" people who live in Pippin Valley and service the population. This group includes business owners, educators, doctors, etc. There is modest tourism in the area, mainly hunters and campers. There are also some families engaged in subsistence farming. These farmers are often young people who have recently come to the area to attempt a simple life. This community subgroup includes some communal groups, some using drugs heavily, and some middle-class professionals seeking an escape from urban life. These subsistence farmers are usually referred to, by the "native" population, as hippies, freaks, or hill people.

The Pippin Valley is generally considered a middle- to low-income area. Average family income is in the $9500/year range.

Unemployment ranges from 15-25%, depending on the season. Employment is highest during the fall apple harvest.

These various sources and levels of income are the basic determinants of the subgroups within the communities. Orchardists, ranchers, professionals, farmers and the people they employ form the major perceived groupings. The other major groupings perceived in the community are by race/ethnicity. The area is 90-95% Anglo (white), with the other 5-10% being Chicano and Indian.

Politically and socially, most of the influence and elected offices (including school board members) in the area are held by middle-class white males, professionals, some orchardists and ranchers. The "out" groups include Indians, Chicanos, women, the employees (apple pickers, ranch hands) and the subsistence farmers.

In contrast with the urban and suburban settings in which most of the TAGs we studied are working, this rural region is politically quite conservative. The extreme represented is a significant number of members of the John Birch Society. These individuals constituted a potential problem for REP, since REP is an organization which comes from outside the area and is federally funded. However, the nature of the REP change process, its goal to involve local citizens in decisions which affect them, and its strong reference to democratic ways of functioning minimized conflict with the more conservative members of the community. As we were told by a facilitator, when he was challenged by some members of the

John Birch Society, he invited them to participate in the process and find out what it was about. They declined his offer but ceased to question his work.

The first community we looked at was the local school district of Forest. The district's two schools, elementary and secondary, are located together, on the top of a hill overlooking the town of Forest. The town has a population of about 1,000. However, the population served by the Forest schools numbers between 4,000 and 6,000. The Forest School District covers a 1,000 square mile area, which takes in the surrounding ranches, farms, and orchards; as well as many smaller communities. These smaller communities at one time had their own schools, but due to their small size and lack of resources have been consolidated with the larger districts.

The issue of school consolidation is an important one in rural education. Much of it has already taken place and many rural schools exist with the ever-present threat of consolidation. Although there are some obvious advantages to consolidation in terms of efficient use of resources, in most cases rual communities oppose consolidation. Two of the major disadvantages of consolidation are that children must travel farther to school and that many very small communities lose some of their sense of identity as a community if they lose their school.

We were able to obtain statistics on Forest's high school which houses grades 7-12. It has 1,000 students, 95% of whom are Anglo, 2% Spanish surnamed and 3% Indian. There is a 10-16% student turnover rate per year, and a 20% teacher annual turnover. Average reading and math scores are .5 grades above national norms. The teaching staff is, in the superintendent's words, "100% white by visual evaluation." Each of Forest's two schools has its own principal, with a superintendent who oversees the entire district.

The second town we looked at, Caxton, has a higher than average number (for the area) of middle-class professional people residing there. This is due to the proximity of lumber industry facilities, apple packing/storage sheds, and a satellite communications station. Caxton schools serve a much smaller area and population than do Forest's. The area served is 200 square miles, while the combined student bodies in grades kindergarten through twelve number 533. Of these, 92% are Anglo, 3% Spanish surnamed, and 5% Indian. At the eighth grade, Stanford achievement scores are 1.2 grades above the national norms. The student turnover rate is 8% per year, while for staff it is 10%. The staff is 90% Anglo and 10% Indian. As in Forest, two principals and a superintendent make up the administrative structure of the district.

Each of these towns has an elected school board. The board has final authority over most administrative decisions in the local school district, including use of financial resources, and curriculum offerings and requirements.

REP's Plan for Work in Pippin Valley. As REP was developing the concept of multiple, interrelated change strategies, it was clear that one of these strategies would be targeted towards the community. Building on their past work with the Community Oriented Change Process Model, REP developed the Community Change Process (CCP). It was this CCP that was field tested in Pippin Valley.

The CCP called for a process facilitator to work with a representative School/Community Group (SCG) to implement the six stages of the change process. Each local school district would have an SCG composed of representatives of the students in the district, the teachers, and the community. An SCG generally was made up of six students from grades 7-12, six school employees, and twelve community members. The representatives were intended to be opinion leaders chosen from the school's and community's major identified subgroups. This SCG would then be given the skills, knowledge, and facilitative help needed to participate in educational needs assessment and problem-solving, along with the local school administrators and school board.

The process involved six major stages with very clearly defined tasks, events, and objectives for each stage. The chart on on the next two pages (Fig. 6-3) summarizes some of the key elements of the CCP. REP's written material on the CCP breaks the process down into the specific steps for each role group involved, with alternatives and suggestions built in to make it applicable to a variety of anticipated situations. The projected time frame for the implementation of the CCP was designated as eighteen to twenty-four months.

Consistent throughout this CCP model is the cycle of awareness-data collection-analysis-decision making-action-evaluation. This cycle is the basis for the six stages of the CCP. The cycle is also evident within the CCP. For instance, in the entry stage the school district first becomes aware of the CCP; the facilitator gathers information about the community; the information is analyzed to determine the community's readiness for the CCP; decisions are made by REP and the school board to work together; and action is taken to form a school-community group.

At each step of the model, the appropriate role group to carry out that step is identified. It is clear, at each point, who is responsible for collecting data, who provides input and serves as a resource, who makes final decisions, and who acts on those decisions. The SCG, or their task force, collects data on a given topic. Input is sought from a wide variety of sources and viewpoints. Resources are explored both within the immedi-

Figure 6-3. STAGES OF THE COMMUNITY CHANGE PROCESS

STAGE 1 -- SEEKS HELP (ENTRY)

Information disseminated on process; inquiry from school district.
Facilitator gathers information for community profile, contacts school board and administration.
Readiness of community for CCP is considered.
Agreement is reached with school board; financial arrangements.
Temporary school/community group is created.
Facilitator starts community notebook with temporary group.
Temporary group determines community mix (key subgroups) and conducts opinion leader survey in community.
Based on survey, school board selects permanent school/community group (SCG) and asks them to serve.

STAGE 2 -- IDENTIFIES & ANALYZES NEEDS & PROBLEMS

SCG determines needs assessment strategy and conducts assessment.
Needs assessment results tabulated, report written, distributed, and feedback obtained.
SCG begins problem-solving and decision-making training.
Needs assessment report and feedback analyzed.
Priorities agreed upon; goals statements written.
SCG begins informal evaluation training.
SCG makes report to school board.

STAGE 3 -- SEARCHES FOR ALTERNATIVES

SCG organizes task force team for search process.
Resources for Decision-Making (RFD) box utilized.
SCG begins communication skills training.
Task force identifies local and outside resources; uses school personnel as local resource.
Task force completes information gathering; reports options, selections to SCG and community.
SCG studies reports and develops preliminary plans.
SCG presents progress report to school board for review.

STAGE 4 -- PLANS FOR ACTION

Task force teams make plans (with skills training) for installing and evaluating each new idea, using identified resources.
Plan for working with students, staff and community on understanding new programs.
Task force reports to SCG; SCG studies, modifies, makes long-range plans.
SCG reports plan to school board for decisions.

STAGE 5 -- IMPLEMENTS THE PLAN

SCG and school staff appoint task forces to make initial installations
of plans.
Task force aids school staff in installation; begins collecting data.
Task force monitors and reports to SCG and school staff.
SCG responds to needs arising from new program(s).
SCG continues school/community education on new programs.
SCG makes regular reports to school and administrator.
SCG continues to identify new needs for school improvement.

STAGE 6 -- EVALUATES THE PLAN

Task forces collect information, analyze and report to SCG on new program.
SCG reviews report and makes recommendations to school board.
SCG analyzes own effectiveness.
SCG collects data on CCP impact and indicators of success.
SCG makes plans for continuation and/or recycling of CCP.
SCG determines additional SCG training needs.
SCG reports to school board on programs, CCP, and SCG effectiveness.
School board makes decision about recycling of CCP. 28

ate community and outside the community, including state and intermediate educational agencies and consultants. In the action step, it is the school staff that is seen as implementing new programs while the SCG takes on a monitoring and evaluating role. All final decisions rest with the school board.

The school board is looked to in the model as the main decision maker in keeping with most state constitutional/legislative provisions designating the local board as the elected body to which decisions on the subject of local school changes are delegated. Also, since the CCP is implemented in a given community by virtue of a contractual agreement with the school board, any CCP-related decisions rest with them. It is integral to the CCP model, however, that when a school board agrees to participate in the CCP, they also make a contractual commitment to support that process and give full consideration to the SCG's recommendations, within the board's financial and legal limitations. One of the key points of the school board's agreement to participate in the CCP is their acceptance of the basic assumptions of the CCP (see Figure 6-4). These assumptions revolve around the idea that an essential part of successful educational change is providing for input from all people who are ultimately affected by these changes. Following from that, it is also essential that those people who provide input and participate in decision-making possess cer-

Figure 6-4. ASSUMPTIONS OF THE REP COMMUNITY CHANGE PROCESS

1. Planned change is possible and more desirable than unplanned change, and can improve educational opportunities for rural students.
2. Every individual has worth and dignity.
3. All individuals have the right to participate in decisions which affect them.
4. The results of involving local citizens, teachers, administrators and students in shared educational decision-making are good schools and improved educational opportunities for the entire community.
5. Differences of opinion, values and attitudes represent rich human resources; conflict among such differences can be dealt with constructively through open and honest communication.
6. Training local people, students and school staff in skills of educational planning, problem-solving, decision-making and interpersonal communication will increase the self-reliance of the community and will strengthen greatly the chances of success of educational improvements.
7. A person outside the community and school system is needed to facilitate change in the system.
8. A representative community group, made up of local people, students and school staff, is integral to an educational change effort, and serves as a mechanism for communication, decision-making, problem-solving and implementing agreed upon educational changes within the school.
9. All voices and factions in a community must be heard, since they are all affected by community educational programs and they all have potential contributions to make to those programs.
10. Persons engaged in decision-making must have access to alternatives and with awareness and skill training in surveying alternatives critically, will make decisions based on fact and data, rather than on rumor and prejudice.
11. Decisions are more effective and lasting if an opportunity exists to evaluate the consequences of the decision, and, if necessary, to modify the decision based on the results of the evaluation.

tain skills and knowledge. In addition, the assumption is made that a person outside the immediate community is needed to facilitate that training, information gathering, decision-making, and resulting educational change.

Consistent with the acknowledged need for skills and information on the part of those participating in educational decision-making, the CCP model has very specific points at which training is provided. Training is specifically mentioned in the model areas of evaluation, problem-solving, decision-making, communication skills, and program planning. Note that as the SCG members and school staff receive training, they in turn begin to work with more school and community people to explain the process and resulting programs. In addition to the specifically designated training points, the facilitator's role is to provide on-the-spot assistance and expertise to the SCG , school staff, administrators, and school board throughout the process. This role begins with a high profile in initiating their work, develops a decreasing profile in a supportive role, and evolves toward the end of the first cycle into a low profile that becomes a consultant role in future cycles of the organizational operations of the strategy.

In addition to work with the local school district, another essential part of the CCP model is to develop relationships between educational agencies that will lead to ongoing support for the CCP in the local communities. The model envisions that the bulk of this support for the local district will come from the Intermediate School District (ISD) of which it is a part. The facilitor(s) is intended to be someone from the ISD staff, salaried in part or completely by that district. This individual is able to act as facilitator since he/she is from outside the immediate community, but still is based close enough to provide ongoing guidance and support to those community and school people participating in the process on the local level. The facilitator would also be in the ideal situation to help local districts make maximum use of the resources of the ISD.

Having a trained facilitator on the intermediate level is also a way to provide for potential expansion of the CCP to other local school districts within that ISD. The facilitator(s) could also work with other ISD staff, familiarizing them with the process and its potential for use in all parts of the ISD's work. In addition to work on the intermediate level, the CCP model includes plans to build a support system for training facilitators that would involve personnel from the state educational agency. The state would also be assisted in finding ways to provide services to the ISD.

Chronology of REP's Work In Pippin Valley. As REP was searching for a site to field test their newly refined CCP, they discussed the program with the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction in one of the Northwest states. The Office identified the north-central region of the state as being an area where the CCP might be particularly useful.

ISD #9 is located in the north-central region of this

Northwest state. At the same time that REP was discussing the CCP with the state's Office of the Superintendent, the ISD #9 superintendent was looking for outside resources to bring into the ISD and assist in the solution of some of their problems. REP's entry into Pippin came through a long-standing relationship between a key member of REP's staff and the ISD superintendent. They had met while working together several years before and had kept in touch due to common educational concerns and involvements.

In the early part of 1972, REP staff members met with local superintendents and some school board members representing six of the local school districts within ISD #9. The REP staff explained the CCP model and how it would work in the Pippin ISD. Ultimately, four of the local districts expressed an interest in being involved in the CCP in Pippin. In each of the two communities we were able to study in some depth, it seems that the local superintendent was the key person expressing interest in the CCP, convincing the school board of its merits. In May of 1972, a contract was signed between the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory and ISD #9. Agreements were then drawn up between the ISD and each of the local school districts.

We have limited data on the exact contents of these original contractual agreements. We were told that they provided for the ISD to choose, in consultation with the local districts, two members of the ISD staff to act as process facilitators for the CCP. These facilitators' salaries were to be paid by both the ISD and REP, each paying half. REP would provide formal training and field advisory help to the facilitators. It was hoped that the other ISD staff members would ultimately become involved in the CCP, as it proved relevant to their work. Our understanding is that this first contract also included provisions for other parts of REP's work, the other RFD strategies, to be brought into Pippin Valley over a five year period. Thus Pippin Valley would serve as a field test site for REP's other strategies while assisting the ISD in meeting other educational needs in the local and intermediate school districts.

The remainder of this chronology will be broken down by school year. REP's work in Pippin Valley extended over three school years, 1972-1973, 1973-74, and 1974-75. In the remainder of this project description, these years will be referred to as the first, second, and third school years. What follows is a description of REP's work in relation to the ISD, and in relation to each of the two communities we explored in depth.

Having signed the contract with the ISD the previous spring, REP assigned a field trainer to work in Pippin Valley ISD #9 in the fall of the first school year. In January of that year the ISD and the local school district superintendents identified two ISD staff members to be assigned to work as a process facilitator team. However, administrative and political events prevented the CCP and the facilitator team from proceeding as originally planned.

Within two weeks after the facilitators were assigned, it was announced that Pippin Valley's ISD #9 would be consolidated with two other ISDs immediately to the south, to form a new and larger ISD, #19. The new #19 office would be in the south, leaving the old #9 Pippin office as a branch office. The end result of this relocation of offices was to take many of the ISD resources away from Pippin Valley, moving them to the south. Within three years, the "branch" ISD office was all but closed out. Administratively, the consolidation of the three ISDs meant the elimination of one superintendent's position. Six months after the consolidation, the former ISD #1 superintendent was chosen by the local school boards to serve as #19 superintendent, leaving the former ISD #9 (Pippin Valley) superintendent in a lower position within the Pippin branch office.

This series of events surrounding the consolidation, in conjunction with other factors, had a profound effect upon REP's work in Pippin Valley. Ultimately, the CCP lost most of its ISD support which, as pointed out earlier was key to the continuation of the process. One of the two ISD staff facilitators left the program. The remaining facilitator continued to work out of the Pippin branch office, but with little colleagial contact or support. Caught in the midst of cliques formed by the "demoted" superintendent, the remaining facilitator worked alone, drawing most of his support and reinforcement from the REP field trainer and other REP staff.

The new ISD #19, under the leadership of the former #1 superintendent, agreed to fulfill the contract with the Northwest Lab, but had little if any commitment to support, enlarge, or continue the process beyond its contractual obligations.

As stated earlier, there were several factors which entered into the loss of ISD support for the CCP in Pippin Valley. Besides the political and personal turmoil created by the consolidations of ISDs, the other factors were mainly contractual. There were disagreements between REP and the ISD #9 over use of the facilitator's time. Since his salary was paid partly by the ISD, they had some expectations that part of his time would be devoted to non-CCP work within the ISD. There was also disagreement over the use of CCP-designated funds left in the budget at the end of the fiscal year. Another contractual issue centered around REP's original intention to bring in the other RFD strategies to Pippin Valley for field testing. Since the development of these strategies was halted due to cutbacks in funding, it was impossible for REP to fulfill its original agreement. This failure to fulfill expectations created some negative feelings within the ISD and the local districts towards

REP, feelings that REP did not keep its commitments. This was partly a communication problem. Some individuals only knew that the original plan with REP had not come to pass. They did not understand why not.

A final factor in loss of ISD support was the reluctance on the part of the rest of the ISD staff to become involved in the CCP at any point. The original plan called for increased involvement of ISD #9 staff in various parts of the CCP and other REP strategies. Some of the ISD staff reluctance was due to the hard feelings and cliques resulting from the consolidation. Also, ISD staff watched the tremendous time commitment made by the facilitator to the CCP and were afraid they would have to get that involved. Therefore, they avoided the process as well as the facilitator.

Despite the complicating factors, REP attempted to establish a supportive relationship with the new ISD #19 entity. The former ISDs had been consolidated in the middle of the first school year. It was at the end of that year that the permanent superintendent was chosen. In the middle of the second school year, REP staff met with the newly chosen ISD #19 board of directors (school board). We assume that it was at this time that a new contract was negotiated with ISD #19, and it was agreed that the new ISD would support REP's work through to the end of the third school year. A workshop for ISD staff to explain the CCP was planned for the spring of that year, but was cancelled due to lack of interest on the part of staff. At the end of the second school year, the decision was made by the new ISD superintendent not to continue the CCP in the ISD beyond the end of the third school year. Therefore, the project came to an end in June 1975.

When the facilitators were chosen in January of the first school year, work began immediately in the four local school districts. The plan called for the REP staff member assigned to be field trainer to act as facilitator in the first community, with the ISD facilitator(s) observing and helping. The ISD facilitator would then work in a second community, with the REP staff person working closely and assisting. Eventually, the ISD facilitator would move into working in the other communities, requiring less and less support from the REP field trainer. This plan was followed fairly closely in Pippin Valley.

The CCP in Caxton. The community of Caxton was the second community which the ISD facilitator entered. Several weeks following the official assignment of the facilitator to the CCP, he began work in Caxton, having already observed the REP staff field trainer begin working in another community. The school board in Caxton, working closely with the superintendent, chose a group of community people, students, and school staff to act as a temporary school/community group (SCG). This temporary group conducted a telephone survey to determine who were community leaders in the area, trying to determine community members' choices for representatives from each major community subgroup. Within the school, staff members chose three representives from the elementary staff and three from the high school staff.

In the same way that community leaders were chosen who represented the various community subgroups, efforts were made to choose student opinion leaders who represented various age groups, economic backgrounds, and levels of academic achievement.

Based on this telephone survey, a list of Caxton community opinion leaders was drawn up and presented to the school board. The board members approved a list of approximately thirty people to serve as members of the permanent School/Community Group (SCG). These individuals were then invited to join. This initial step of the process took place within two to three months.

By May of the first school year, the permanent SCG met for the first time to begin implementing the CCP. Plans were made for beginning a community educational needs assessment. The SCG determined their educational concerns, such as facilities, consolidation, shared services, curriculum, communications, and education programs. These concerns were incorporated into a needs assessment questionnaire. The questionnaire was fairly short, but contained open-ended questions such as: "What do you feel are the strengths of the Caxton School District?" These kinds of questions made the results difficult to tabulate. The questionnaire was hand-carried by high school students and administered to community members. Those who were not home at the time the questionnaire was distributed did not receive a follow-up visit. This resulted in a disproportionate number of older people responding to the questionnaire, since they tended to be home during the day when others were out working or in school. Questionnaires were distributed to school staff during a regular staff meeting and to students in their home rooms.

The needs assessment questionnaire was completed in September of the second school year, with tabulation of results and report writing taking place until March of that year (a total of six months). The SCG then presented the needs assessment report to the school board. Our interviews showed that SCG members had mixed feelings about this needs assessment process. All felt that the tabulation procedure was tedious and lengthy. This was primarily due to the open-ended nature of the questions, making them difficult to tabulate. One member felt that the questionnaire served mainly to validate the educational concerns already identified by the SCG, when his original expectation was that the questionnaire would serve to reap new ideas and concerns from the community and school.

Following the presentation of the SCG needs assessment report to the school board, task force teams were formed by the SCG to begin to work on the major identified educational goals in Caxton: increased communication, improved curriculum, improved facilities, and shared services. It was about this time that a workshop was held to train SCG members in search skills, to help them consider alternative solutions and programs to meet their identified needs.

The four task force teams set up to address the identified educational concerns were made up of some SCG members, as well as other school staff and community people who had not previously been involved in the CCP. These task forces took up their work during the end of the second school year and the beginning of the third. We were told that the communications task force never really got off the ground. At the time of our site visit (end of the third year), the SCG as a whole was trying to pick up this work and initiate some ways to improve school/community communications. The facilities and curriculum task forces did some exploratory work and each made a report to the school board.

The fourth task force, on shared services, was the most active. For this reason, we have chosen to describe their work in some detail. This group decided to explore possibilities for the sharing of educational resources and services among the small communities in the area. This idea of sharing was important as it related closely to the issue of consolidation of rural school districts. Caxton School District was one of the larger, fairly resource-sufficient districts. Some of the smaller ones surrounding Caxton were almost certain to be consolidated in the near future. The idea of shared services activities appealed to those who opposed consolidation as well as those who favored it. If these communities could work out better and more efficient uses of resources without consolidating, they might succeed in forestalling the actual event. Those who favored consolidation saw shared services as a positive step towards it.

The task force on shared services soon realized that to explore potential sharing among communities, they had to involve people from those communities in their work. Two nearby local school districts expressed an interest in the task force's work, with a third joining later. These four communities had representatives of the community, of the students, and of the school staffs come together to explore the possibilities for sharing services. By the middle of the second year, this task force had generated a list of sharing activities already taking place as well as future possibilities. For instance, the task force found that local school districts had already combined their resources, including school buses, to provide special education services to children. The task force also found that the high schools in several of the smaller communities did not have enough students or money to build a float for the annual Apple Blossom Festival. However, if these small high schools were to get together they could share their resources and build one float between them.

They also came up with the idea of having an inservice day where teachers, administrators, students, and community people from these four communities would come together to share ideas and explore in depth some of the options already proposed. The task force organized the inservice, sought approval for scheduling the workshop so all four communities could participate, and structured the day to include all the different groups represented. It was clear at the inservice that people were interested in shared services and excited about the possibilities it held. Out of the workshop came suggestions for ways to continue, support, and expand the shared services work. These suggestions included plans for a second inservice day and plans for a newsletter on shared services, to be distributed within the four communities.

One of the major proposals coming out of the inservice was to try to find funds to hire a coordinator for shared services activities (the idea was initiated by the CCP facilitator). This person's full time job would be to facilitate and actualize the ideas. Ultimately, CETA (Comprehensive Employment and

Training Act) funds were obtained to hire a coordinator of shared services. An administrative council was formed, made up of one administrator from each of the four involved communities, to act as the contractee for the funding and to administer the shared services program. At the time of our site visit to this area, while the rest of the task forces and SCGs were finishing up their work and preparing to dissolve, the shared services task force members were busy working with the coordinator, making plans for the school year to come.

It is important to note what we perceived to be happening with this task force. They had effectively recycled the CCP. The original shared services task force had become, in purpose, a new SCG, bringing together students, teachers, administrators, and community people from four different local school districts. They had found a way, through the use of CETA funds, to provide ongoing support for their work. In hiring a coordinator, they had enabled the facilitator role to continue. At the time of our site visit, the CCP/ISD facilitator was working closely with the newly hired coordinator, helping her learn the skills and expertise needed to take up the role of facilitator of shared services.

One growing issue that was unresolved at the time of our site visit to Caxton was what roles the various groups involved in shared services would play in the future. The people we spoke with who were members of the shared services task force felt that their job had just begun. They were a viable representative school/community group who had begun to form their own task forces. These spin-off task groups were exploring potential (or already operating) areas of sharing. The shared services group looked on the administrative council as a necessary formality, created to contractually administer the CETA funds and to provide approval (or not) for any activity involving use of local districts' funds.

On the other hand, the members of the administrative council (representing the four communities involved in shared services) saw their role as taking over the shared services work. They felt that it was time for the original task force to become an advisory group, providing the council with input for administering the program. For all intents and purposes, the work of the task force had come to an end. The CCP facilitator seemed to share this view of roles with the administrative council. Thus, our interviews revealed a potential source of conflict between the shared services task force and the administrative council, with little indication of how that conflict could be resolved.

With the exception of the shared services work, the CCP in Caxton was coming to an end at the time of our site visit. SCG membership had dwindled from the original thirty to less than five active members. There were no plans to continue the SCG the next school year. The total period of time during which Caxton participated in the CCP was two years, five months.

The CCP in Forest. The CCP in the Forest local school district proceeded along the same lines as it had in Caxton. A temporary SCG was chosen in April of the first school year. That temporary group met to determine the "mix" of the community: which subgroups should be represented on the permanent SCG. They came up with a variety of community subgroups, among them rednecks (orchardists), cowboys (ranchers), organic farmers (or hippies), and Indians. The opinion leader survey was hand distributed throughout the area by the temporary SCG members. Once having determined the opinion leaders in the community, the permanent SCG was convened in the fall of the second school year, following school board approval of its membership.

The SCG first set about to draw up a needs assessment questionnaire. They determined a list of potential questions, prioritized those questions, and wrote them into three different questionnaires. Each of these questionnaires held essentially the same information, but one was geared to students, another to school staff, and another to community members. The questionnaires contained both open-ended questions and more specific limited-choice ones. Topics covered in the questionnaires included communications, property tax levies (for school financing), curriculum, and school facilities.

The questionnaires were mailed out to all in the community. The return rate was less than half. Other questionnaires were distributed in the school. The needs assessment survey was completed by March of the second school year, and the report written in May. As in Caxton, SCG members we interviewed felt that the tabulation of the questionnaires was an extremely long and difficult job. However, Forest SCG members seemed more satisfied with the ultimate results of the process and the suggestions gleaned than had the Caxton participants.

Upon completion of the needs assessment report to the school board, the administrators (two principals and the superintendent) of Forest's schools acted immediately on some of the results. For instance, the school year was switched to a tri-mester schedule to allow more course options for students. The gravel-covered school parking lot was graded in response to a complaint about the bumps. A kindergarten was started in the district. The district superintendent started a newsletter to improve school/community communications. It is unclear to us which of these actions were a direct result of the questionnaire and which would have been taken eventually anyway. One of the SCG members we interviewed commented that once the school district acted on the needs assessment report, there was little left for task forces to do.

However, task forces were formed in the first part of the third school year to follow-up on other specific areas of the needs assessment report: curriculum, vocational education, and facilities. These three task forces were led by SCG members. Other SCG members as well as previously uninvolved school and community people were invited to join the task forces. Each of the three groups had a local administrator as an advisor. Each of the groups went through a needs assessment process on their subject similar to the initial needs assessment.

At the time of our site visit (May of the third school year), these task forces were making their final reports to the school board. The curriculum task force made some very broad recommendations which were essentially duplicated by a school staff curriculum committee report to the board. The vocational education task force was in the final stages of writing their report, which included some recommendations for course offerings, graduation requirements, and electives. The facilities task force by far drew the most interest. They concentrated their efforts on looking at sports facilities, future planning and possibilities. Given the important role which sports activities play in rural schools, this task force drew the largest number of members, as well as the most animated discussions during school board meetings.

Those people that we interviewed indicated that at the end of the third school year (June 1975), the CCP and the SCG would come to an end in Forest. The general feeling was that the SCG and its task forces had done their job, action had been taken by the school district, and it remained for the administrators and school board to carry out (or not) any further action on the recommendations which had come out of the process.

There was one fairly striking difference between the CCP as implemented in Caxton and in Forest. The role of administrators in the SCG and task forces differed markedly. In Caxton, the district administrators had remained largely out of the process, leaving it to the SCG, task forces, and school board. The one ongoing program that was a direct result of the CCP, shared services, was developed and carried through by the task force. Administrators were brought into the program as participants in the shared services inservice workshop and, later, as members of the administrative council for the shared services work.

In Forest, however, administrators became involved in the process immediately after the SCG needs assessment report was made to the school board. At this time, administrators took on roles as both implementors of recommendations and advisors to the task forces. When the task forces were formed, administrators acted as advisors to each of these groups. We were told that this idea came from the SCG members. In their advisory role, the administrators contributed much to the work of the task force. In one case, the task force leader (a teacher) told us that the skills of the administrator were indispensable. He wrote the questionnaire they used as well as devising the tabulation system. "We couldn't have done it without him."

It is interesting to note that despite the fact that the administrators were purely advisors, not leaders, of the task forces, when the groups came to make their reports to the school board, the actual reports were made by the administrators. In most cases, the other members of the task forces were not even present at the school board meeting.

It seems fairly clear that in Forest, the CCP became a citizen advisory rather than participatory process--community people, school staff members, and students provided information and opinions to the school board and administration. Beyond that, the process "belonged" to the administrators. The general consensus among those we interviewed was that it was the community's job to provide information and opinions to the school board and administration. It was the administrators job to act on those suggestions. As one SCG member put it, "Administrators administer, teachers teach" and community people provide them with input and help. It was also the administrators' and school board's prerogative not to act on a suggestion.

We perceived two main reasons for this orientation. One was the style of the district superintendent. It was clear from our observations of his work, his relationships with the principals, school board, and faculty, and information gathered from interviews, that he was a forceful administrator who played a part in all that occurred in his district. The other reason was that most of the people we spoke with were comfortable with the process as it went. They seemed to feel that their expectations for the process had been fulfilled, there were some tangible outcomes from the process, and each role group involved had done their part.

Summary of REP's Work In Pippin Valley. Based on our observations, interviews, and readings, we discerned several patterns in the CCP work in Pippin Valley. What follows here is a brief description of some of these patterns and generalizations that we feel were key to the process as it was implemented in Pippin Valley.

1. Contract building. As described earlier, some problems arose out of contractual misunderstandings between REP (the Northwest Lab), the original Intermediate School District #9, and, in some cases, the local school districts. Most of these problems were due to the lack of contractual explicitness concerning financial arrangements, use of staff time, and future expectations for the inclusion of other REP strategies in the Pippin Valley work. Our interviews with REP staff members indicate that subsequent contracts written by REP with other school districts have reflected the need for more explicitness.

Another difficulty which came out of the contract building process resulted from informal commitments made among the individuals and organizations involved, but not written. We noted one instance in which an individual in the Pippin ISD came to oppose the program because he felt that such an informal agreement had been violated. This individual was able, at some points, to block or weaken the process.

Finally, lack of clear communication to all parties affected by the contractual agreements created some additional problems. When REP was unable to bring other RFD strategies into Pippin Valley (due to their internal program changes) the reasons involved were communicated to the local people but misunderstandings and disappointments remained. This resulted in some unnecessary negative feelings and impressions.

However, it seems apparent that REP did attempt throughout the process to make their financial and programmatic commitments clear. The problems which developed were ones of degree of clarity and communications, rather than of intent.

2. Motivation for participation in the CCP. Each individual who chose to become involved in the CCP had a unique set of reasons for doing so. However, some motivational factors seemed to hold true within the various role groups involved.

It seems that the original impetus for local district participation in the CCP came from the district superintendent. Both superintendents we spoke with started off their interviews explaining what they and their community had been involved in, prior to the CCP, that prompted them to express interest and ultimately become involved in the CCP. They spoke of citizen involvement and community education efforts they had looked to for ideas. One program specifically cited was the work being done in Flint, Michigan, with funding support from the Mott Foundation. One of the superintendents said that he had already been trying various ways to involve community people in the schools through citizen advisory groups and felt that the CCP ideas fit right into his efforts. Essentially, both superintendents indicated that the CCP was a vehicle for them to do the kinds of things with community involvement that they were already planning on doing.

Given the initiative from the superintendent, most administrators and school board members we spoke with expressed similar concerns and reasons for participating in the CCP. One basic reason was a desire to involve citizens in the workings of the school. Pressed for a definition of "involvement," most of the people we spoke with talked about community people having more direct input into the school board, having a vehicle for making their opinions known. In some cases, "involvement" also meant community people learning more about the schools, understanding the problems better, and understanding why the school board made the decisions that they did.

One key issue which concerned both school board members and administrators was that of the special property tax levy. This tax levy was a major source of school financing. The levy issue came up for a vote each year, and was all too often rejected by the voters in Pippin Valley communities. This was a specific issue which school people felt community members should better understand. This was most likely one factor which motivated administrators and board members to participate in the CCP. If the CCP could improve citizen awareness of educational issues--financial and otherwise--perhaps the potential for passing the levy would be increased. Of the four communities involved in the CCP, three had consistently defeated the levy for several years prior to participating in the CCP. These three communities passed their levy vote following CCP entry. However, elections at the time of our site visit indicated that these same communities had again defeated the levy. Therefore, it is difficult to draw any cause-effect relationships.

A final motivating force which operated for some local school districts in Pippin Valley was the desire to have access to REP's other RFD strategies. At least one superintendent entered into the CCP with strong hopes of being involved with the curriculum and other RFD strategies.

3. Participation in the SCG. There were several factors which affected the level, quality, scope, and effectiveness of participation in the SCG.

One of these factors was the representative nature of SCG. The idea of forming a school-community group that truly represented the spectrum of opinion, values, age, occupation, and ethnicity in the local school district was very exciting and motivating to participants, administration, school board, and local observers of the process. In many cases, such as the initial formation of the SCG and task force teams, the representative nature of the process meant that input was gathered from people who had not previously had a vehicle for communicating their ideas to the school board and administration. Some individuals became involved in the schools for the first time. In addition, many skills in group process, communication, leadership, and problem-solving were taught to a variety of school staff members, students and community people.

There were several things which worked, however, to counteract the representative nature of the SCG. First, we noted that in the opinion leaders survey people tended to vote for the "traditional" leaders. These were individuals who were frequently chosen to head up committees or hold office, but did not necessarily represent a wide spectrum of community opinion and values. For instance, in both Caxtion and Forest, a school principal was chosen as a school staff representative on the SCG. The students we spoke with in Forest complained that the student body had worked for the "jocks"--those students with good grades, active in sports and school government--not truly representative of the entire student body.

Overall, however, the individuals we interviewed indicated that the initial SCGs represented a cross section of the local communities and included many individuals not previously involved in school groups or activities. The vast majority of those we interviewed also mentioned that the SCGs experienced a high attrition rate, leaving them as smaller groups, not as representative as originally planned. In most cases, the people who were traditionally under-represented in educational decisions (e.g. students, Indians, and lower income people) were the first to drop out of the process. Those who remained with it through to completion were frequently those individuals who would have been active in the schools in one capacity or another, anyway.

The one factor which seems to have had the most effect on the number of people who stayed with the SCG was the time commitment involved. As pointed out above, the people chosen as SCG members were frequently those who were already involved in a number of school and community activities. In addition, population in the area is scattered and simple attendance at a meeting might necessitate several hours driving time. Those individuals involved in agriculture in the area had definite seasonal limitations. In the spring and fall, they had little if anytime to devote to the CCP. The one step of the process that required the most time and that the most people found hard to stick with was the tabulation of needs assessment questionnaire data.

It is interesting to note that despite the problems with the tremendous amount of time required to participate in the CCP, when individuals felt a strong sense of accomplishment coming from their involvement, there was little indication that they felt the time commitment so heavily. Also, the process was flexible enough to allow for the seasonal demands on time.

Another factor affecting participation on the SCG was the level of participants' understandings as to what the SCG and the CCP were intended to accomplish. Many people explained it to us in terms of long-range planning, but were unsure what that meant or what effect that would ultimately have on their school and community. We also found some discrepancies among individuals' opinions on the purpose of the CCP. Those areas where we observed the highest level and quality of participation--and the most enthusiasm on the part of participants -- involved short range, definable, visible tasks which related to long-range goals. When people were able to see a problem, decide what to do, and then do it, they felt a strong sense of involvement and accomplishment. In Forest, some of the individuals we spoke with felt good about their part in the CCP because they could point to things that had happened as a direct result of the needs assessment. The shared services work in Caxton is another excellent example of specific tasks and activities leading to a sense of accomplishment.

Another factor in participation was the sense of ownership of the CCP held by the SCG and task force members. Those people who had taken the process, skills, and procedures and used them for their own needs (principally in the shared services work) felt, by far, the strongest sense of ownership. Some of the individuals who had been in the process from the beginning--administrators, some key SCG members--had a sense of the process belonging to the Northwest Lab and of their being a field test for the lab. Many participants expressed a feeling of having executed steps imposed on them by someone else (facilitator, the Lab, the school board) without knowing why or what the next step was. This was most evident in the needs assessment and tabulation process.

Student participation in the CCP is worthy of specific mention. Most adults expressed disappointment over the low level of student participation. Some said that they had tried everything they knew to involve students, with little or no success. Student participants expressed ultimate disinterest in the process. Reasons given included the length of meetings with few visible results, adults in the SCG did not listen to students or respect their ideas, and students chosen as SCG representatives were those who were already so involved in school activities that they had little time to give to the process. The exception to low student involvement was in the shared services work. The one student we spoke with said that the task force adults involved students, listened to their ideas, and worked on things the students were interested in--such as helping them cooperate to build a float. The adults in the shared services were excited about the level of enthusiasm and energy which the students brought to the task force. It seems clear that although it is difficult to get students involved in the process, it is possible, given a sense of accomplishment and respect for their ideas and work.

4. Key roles in the CCP. Those roles that had the most effect on the work of the SCG and the progress of the CCP in Pippin Valley communities are the local administrator, the school board, the SCG chairperson, and the process facilitator.

As mentioned earlier, it was usually the local district superintendent who was responsible for bringing the CCP into the community. It seemed that given basic agreement between the superintendent and the school board on long-range educational goals and principles, the board generally looked to the superintendent to take the lead on specific educational decisions. Thus, the board's decision to participate in the CCP and the subsequent decision and action points that followed from that involvement depended to a large extent on the superintendent's endorsement and concurrence.

It was clear, however, that without a committed and informed school board the CCP could not work in a community. The school board members we spoke with indicated initial support for the

CCP and an ongoing desire to see citizen's involved in education, "involvement" usually meaning input of ideas. It seemed that the board members agreed with the basic intent of the CCP and, therefore, agreed to approve the superintendent's recommendation to participate without necessarily being actively involved or enthusiastic. The SCG and task force members we spoke with indicated that they felt the school board had supported the process and, in most cases, responded to recommendations arising out of the process whenever feasible.

SCG chairpersons played another key role in the CCP as it operated in Pippin Valley communities. They were usually individuals who were already involved in the schools and who had the ability to involve others in the process. The chairperson was the main link between the SCG and administrators and school board. The chairperson was also usually the one working most closely with the facilitator. Much of this work involved the facilitator modeling skills and working very closely with the chairperson in areas such as group building, communications, and leading meetings. At the time of our site visit, the SCGs had each had two chairpersons over a two year period.

Finally, the process facilitator is a necessary role in the implementation of the CCP. One of the assumptions of the CCP model is that "A person outside the community and school system is needed to facilitate change in the system." In Pippin Valley, the facilitator was an individual who had been employed by the Pippin Intermediate School District for two years prior to working on the CCP. He was known to most of the local area administrators and some teachers. He was originally from outside the immediate area, but had grown up in and lived in similar communities. He was credentialed as an educator, but also viewed by most community people as "one of them." The facilitator was chosen by the four local superintendents, together with the district superintendent, based on their perceptions that he was interested in the job, would be accepted in the community, and would do the job well. Most people we interviewed knew the facilitator worked for the ISD, but some thought he had come to the area from the Northwest Lab.

Few of the people we interviewed mentioned the facilitator to any great extent until questioned directly concerning his role in the SCG and CCP. We saw this as an indication that he had acted as a facilitator rather than a leader. When questioned directly, individuals indicated that the facilitator had helped them in the various stages of the process, becoming less involved as the process progressed. A few individuals stated feelings of being sometimes deserted by the facilitator, but most indicated they understood that the process was designed that way, with the SCGs and task forces becoming more independent as time went on, as they acquired the skills to function without much outside help.

The participants' views of the facilitator and his role were fairly consistent with his own views. The facilitator acted as one who stood between groups--a community person to community people and a school person to school people--facilitating the process and helping people to meet their needs through the CCP. The facilitator could not do for school or community people, nor could he take sides on an issue. We found several examples of instances when the facilitator was looked to for a decision or to take a leadership role. In each instance, he refused and his refusal was accepted by most, as they understood the facilitator role.

As the facilitator helped implement the CCP, he communicated to participants the steps of the process and the set of skills involved. The skills training was largely over-the-shoulder training--modeling. Although the timeline of the CCP in Pippin Valley indicated some structured skills training for the SCG, our interviews did not include any mention of this. This appears to be one of the greatest strengths of the CCP--providing ways to teach a variety of skills to a wide cross-section of people. The main way this occurs is through the long-term, face-to-face working relationship between the facilitator and involved people, in the same ways the facilitator is trained by the field trainer.

The one weakness we found in this approach to skills transfer was that few people we interviewed recognized that they had learned these skills. Our interviews and observations of meetings revealed that many individuals were aware of certain group dynamics and felt more able, as a result of the CCP, to communicate with the school administrators and board. However, since most individuals could not put a name to these skills and were not aware of their own growth, it seemed less likely that they would continue to use and build on those skills in other local school problem-solving situations. This weakness was described in an evaluation report on the CCP in Pippin Valley:

> In fact, many participants did not feel that they had received skill training and as a result, many of those individuals do not view skills as something which can be recalled and utilized in a different setting. Yet it was evident in talking about the process that many communication and problem-solving skills were being successfully used. For instance, the contrast between consensus and majority vote as a basis for action was viewed as an acceptable (if time-consuming) activity when applied to the Community Change Process and under the direction of the process facilitator, but not widely accepted as a basis for decision-making in other situations.[32]

As described earlier in the chronology, the facilitator worked out of the Pippin Intermediate School District office, but received little professional support from there. Thus, the relationships between facilitator, the REP field trainer, and the REP office were important as professional support and reward for the facilitator. Most of his encouragement and reinforcement came from REP. As he explained to us, if a facilitator does his job to the utmost, he will be facilitating people's own efforts, and they will be largely unaware of the importance of his role. Therefore, his support must come from outside the immediate community in which he is working. Much of the Pippin facilitator's support came in the form of the personal relationship with and encouragement from the field trainer. The facilitator also came to Portland for periodic debriefing sessions usually after each stage of the CCP was completed. In addition, he helped REP in their facilitator training work in the Montana State Department of Education.

5. Effects of the CCP in Pippin Valley. Part of our task of looking at the process of REP's work in Pippin Valley included looking at how different individuals and groups viewed the ultimate effects of the process and their own part in it. We found that since the CCP work in Pippin Valley was coming to a close at the time of our site visit, people were most anxious to discuss the value of the CCP as well as the problems in it. Whenever individuals interviewed spoke evaluatively of the process, we had to face the questions of what is success? How is the individual defining success or accomplishment? In most cases, success was defined by a given individual's or group's original expectations of the process and their own needs in terms of education. Often, the degree to which one's expectations were fulfilled and needs met reflected the degree to which one felt good about the process. Despite this subjectivity, there were some recurring areas in which there was some agreement about the effects of the CCP in Pippin Valley.

First, there was much work in each community devoted to identifying community and school opinion leaders. This list is a valuable result of the CCP. Following from this, many of these individuals stayed with the process long enough to acquire skills and knowledge which should prove useful to the local school districts in the future.

Another outcome of the process was information exchange. School board members heard from a cross-section of the community on various educational needs and priorities. Some community people received a better understanding of the workings of the school and the budgetary and legislative constraints of the school board and administrators.

Related to that information exchange was the development of some new attitudes and relationships between community and school people. Several teachers told us that they had not really talked with parents before, feeling that parents had few ideas to contribute to the school. They now felt that lines of communication had opened up between various individuals and that parents did indeed have some valuable contributions to make to the school. One teacher thought that some of the more reluctant parents now felt at ease in coming to the school or approaching the teacher. One parent felt that it would now be easier for him to go to the school or school board with his concerns.

There were also some anticipated effects of the CCP that did not come to pass. Several of the REP people we spoke with were most disappointed over the loss of support for the process and the fact that it would most likely not continue in the local school districts once the facilitator's and Northwest Lab's contracts were up, June 1975. Continuation and expansion of the process in the Pippin Valley area was one originally hoped-for result of the CCP.

Referring back to the six stages of the CCP model, it would appear that in the communities we visited the CCP did not generally progress past stage four, planning for action by the task forces. Most of the task forces formed were dissolved following the completion of their report to the school board. In some cases, these reports did not point to specific programs or action that the task force could undertake. In other cases, the action they called for was not immediately feasible, or else the local administrators were the ones to actually take that action. The notable exception to this progression of events was the shared services work in the community of Caxton, described earlier. They moved to implement a program and then found ways to support their ongoing work and recycle the process.

Finally, although opinion leaders were identified and information exchanged between school and community, beyond this there was little actual involvement of the community or school staff people in educational problem-solving. This was particularly true for those groups who were traditionally excluded from such activities--student, minority, and low-income groups. This ties in with the observation that the CCP seldom progressed beyond the fourth stage. It was the fifth stage--implementing the plan--which called for the involvement of citizens in carrying out educational programs. This involvement would hinge on the school board accepting specific proposed courses of action addressed to educational needs, and then subsequent community and school staff involvement in implementation. It is unclear to us why this did not often happen. In Forest, the administration took the lead immediately following the needs assessment and made it quite apparent that they would implement programs. The presence of administrators on the task force teams probably contributed to this attitude. In Caxton, only the shared services task force seemed to bring about involvement in planning and implementation. It is unknown why the others did not. Factors would include effective leadership on the task force, ideas of interest to a wide variety of people, the workability of these ideas which are based on long-range goals, but enabling short-range, achievable tasks. These tasks are part of what gave those involved in the shared services work a sense of accomplishment and success.

Second Project Description: Canyon County. We visited Canyon County at the end of REP's first full school year of working in the area. This county was the site of REP's first pilot installation of the integrated RFD Strategy, including the school renewal process and community change process. At this time, REP's organizational energies were being directed toward completing development of the RFD Strategy and implementing it in Canyon County.

The Setting. REP's pilot installation of the RFD Strategy was taking place in Canyon County in the southwestern part of the United States. This county has a population of approximately 9,000, scattered over an area larger than the state of New Jersey. The region is distinguished by numerous geological formations which caused much of the area to be set aside as state and national park land, but which also act to isolate residents and make travel circuitous and sometimes difficult. Elevation is high throughout most of the county, lending the area to harsh winters, adding to the difficult travel conditions.

Most of the Anglo residents of the county live in the northern part, in three main towns with a combined population of about 6,000. These towns are within one hundred miles of one another and contain the county's two high schools as well as the Canyon County School District offices. The county school district serves as both an intermediate district (in that they are directly responsible to the state department of education) and as the local district (in that there is no smaller district entity).

The ethnic/racial breakdown of the population of the area is approximately half Anglo and half American Indian, with a small percentage of Chicano people in the county. Of the Anglo population, about two-thirds are members of the Church of the Latter Day Saints (the Mormon Church). Some of the Indians are as well. Most of the educational administrative and teaching positions in the area, as well as governmental and professional jobs, are held by Mormon Anglos. The Indian population is concentrated in the south part of the county, which includes a section of a larger Indian reservation. The Anglo population is concentrated in the northern towns.

The main sources of income in the area are the local business and service professions; government jobs created by the presence of the various parks, forests, and the Indian reservation; and the oil and natural gas industry built around relatively recently discovered resources in the south of the county. There are also some residents involved in a small lumber industry and tourist trade. The area is generally considered a low income area largely due to the high number of Indians living at subsistence level and/or on welfare. In recent years some Indian tribes have profited from the discovery of natural resources on reservation land.

The Canyon County School District includes about 4,500 school-age children, 2,600 of whom attend school in the county. The remainder of the children are either not in school or attending school outside the county. Many of the Indian children attend either boarding schools set up by the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) or by the Mormon Church. Others pay tuition to attend schools in other states, closer to their homes than Canyon County Schools. Some children leave the region to live with Anglo Mormon families in more urban areas and attend school there. We were told that approximately half of all Canyon County Indian children leave the area to receive schooling. Of those who remain in Canyon schools, most drop out during their last two years of high school. One of the reasons so many Indian children either do not attend local schools or drop out is the distance most of them need to travel to Canyon County Junior High and High School. Given the large area covered by the County as well as the local geography, some students living on the Indian reservation need to spend five or more hours per day traveling to and from school. Many parents and students, therefore, seek other schools or choose not to attend school.

The school that REP was working in at the time of our site visit was the Canyon County Junior High and High School (two buildings sharing a campus and a principal). The Canyon school housed about 780 students, 580 in grades 7-9 and 200 in grades 10-12. The student body was about half Indian and half Anglo.

All of the credentialed teachers were Anglo with some Indian staff members working as aides and special staff.

REP's Plan for Work in Canyon County. As mentioned earlier, REP's work in Canyon County represented the first full pilot installation of the integrated RFD Strategy. As such, REP followed the model for the Strategy very closely in its work here. Even though the accompanying model, written materials, and evaluation plans for the Strategy were being refined and completed while the work in Canyon County was getting under way, enough of the work had been done to enable REP to begin a pilot installation in the spring of 1974.

The major goals of the RFD program, as articulated in the program brochure, are threefold:

- To help citizens in rural communities identify and solve problems related to improving educational opportunities for their children
- To help school boards and school leaders share educational decision-making with those people who are affected by such decisions
- To help state departments of education, colleges, universities, and regional educational agencies improve their supporting services to rural schools and communities[29]

These three goals reflect the three main thrusts of the RFD Strategy: at the local community, the local schooldistrict, and the support agencies.

These goals also reflect the major development steps between the Community Change Process and the RFD Strategy. The

RFD Strategy is predicated on gaining support for and commitment to the process from a support agency, be it a state education department, a university, and/or a regional educational agency. Given that support, the RFD Strategy is then aimed at the building of a representative School-Community Group as well as working with school leaders and staff in ways that complement the work of the SCG.

The role of process facilitator is key to the implementation of the RFD Strategy. The plan calls for facilitators to work in pairs, one taking main responsibility for the community work and the other for the school work. Facilitators would most likely be individuals already working within the regional educational agency (intermediate school district) or would be hired by that agency to work as a facilitator in local school districts. The RFD literature presents a detailed description of the ideal characteristics of the facilitator:

> Trainees will enter the system from a wide variety of backgrounds such as counselor training; group process or group leadership training; organization development consultation; university training pursuant to social work, community services or other community helper orientations; practical experience working with groups doing problem solving; various levels of self-teaching; and so forth.... It is reasonable to assume that for specific geographic areas, other criteria such as membership in a specific ethnic group or acceptability to significant portions of the client population will prevail....PF (process facilitator) trainees will be those who have demonstrated ability or willingness to meet a number of characteristic constraints of the profession--minimum environmental support, marginality, necessity for a proactive learner orientation. In other words, they will be people who can sustain themselves in a work environment which offers minimal role support.[30]

The model calls for the facilitator to act as a change agent, taking on subroles such as described by Havelock in Training for Change Agents: catalyst, solution giver, process helper, and resource linker. The role of the facilitator would change to meet the needs of a given situation, with the goal of implementing the process while passing on the needed skills and knowledge to the school and community people involved, with the facilitator taking on an ever-decreasing role.

Facilitator training is at the heart of REP's work since it is mainly through the facilitator that the RFD Strategy is implemented and necessary skills developed among school and community people. The basis for RFD facilitator training is a series of fourteen formal training sessions conducted by a RFD Specialist (facilitator trainer). These sessions are designed to take place over the initial period of time alloted for implementation of the Strategy (approximately twenty-two months). The sessions are designed to fit into three stages. In the initiation stage, the facilitator trainer sets up and directs the sessions. In the support stage the trainer sets up a tentative agenda from which the facilitators select appropriate activities and provide the data for the sessions. In the withdrawal stage, the facilitators build the agenda and select activities, drawing on the trainer as a resource. In addition to the formal training sessions, plans call for Guided Field Experience (over-the-shoulder training) to be provided to the facilitators at various points. In a sequence similar to that of the formal training sessions, during the initiation phase, the trainer diagnoses the facilitators' needs for assistance. In the support phase, the trainer and the facilitators decide together on the form and frequency of the Guided Field Experience. In the withdrawal phase, the facilitators initiate requests for assistance.

The RFD Strategy is built around clearly defined stages or phases with detailed roles, events, goals, and outcomes defined for each phase. The phases themselves are very similar to those outlined earlier for the Community Change Process; the major added element is school-based organizational problem-solving.

Phase I is "Awareness." In this phase, the need for broader participation in educational decision-making is perceived, information is exchanged among all those involved concerning the RFD Strategy, and agreements are reached among REP, the regional educational service agency, and the local school board. This is estimated to occur within a one to two month period.

Phase II is "Getting Started." In this phase, similar to the CCP procedures, temporary School-Community Group (SCG) members are chosen. These individuals conduct the opinion leader survey among community, students, and school staff, and report their results to the school board. The board then appoints the permanent SCG members. Also in this phase, school staff, leaders, and board are expected to examine their roles as well as identify problems related to these roles in the Strategy (One to two months).

Phase III is "Focusing on the Problem." It is at this step that the SCG conducts a community-wide educational needs assesment. The assessment results are reported to the school board and community, as well as the SCG's analysis of priorities and goals for educational improvement projects. The school staff, leaders, and board may elect to begin problem solving around any areas of need identified in Phase II. The school staff, for example, may begin to look at their organizational capability for helping carry out future SCG recommendations. (One to four months.)

Phase IV is "Searching for Alternatives." The SCG, using task forces and consulting with school staff and leaders, determines alternative solutions to the previously identified goals for educational improvement projects. Recommendations to the school board are prepared concerning implementation of and resource needs for specific projects. The school board reviews and confirms recommendations. Other participating groups continue their problem solving efforts. (Two to four months.)

Phase V is "Planning for Action." Similar to the previous phase, the SCG develops detailed implementation and evaluation plans for the proposed projects. These plans are developed through the use of task forces, and drawing on the knowledge and resources of school staff and leaders. The plan is presented to the school board for review and confirmation. (One to three months.)

Phase VI is "Carrying Out the Plans." Appropriate groups and individuals from the community and school carry out, support, and monitor the planned educational program. Implementation and evaluation activities are monitored by SCG task forces who report to the SCG. The SCG prepares a progress report to be reviewed by the school board. (Four to five months.)

Phase VII, the last, is "Assessing the Results." SCG gathers data and synthesizes it to prepare a report on the outcomes of each educational project. In addition, the SCG gathers data from all involved on the effectiveness of the RFD Strategy, recommending ways to strengthen it in the future, and making suggestions for recycling the process to another problem. The information on specific projects and the RFD Strategy effectiveness is presented to the school board for review and confirmation. The decision to recycle the Strategy is negotiated. (One to two months.)[31]

At each phase, each role group is expected to review its activities, assess its effectiveness, and plan for needed skills building. In addition, many of those consistencies which were pointed out earlier in the CCP model are also found in this RFD model. For instance, the cycle of awareness-data collection -

analysis - decision making - action - evaluation recurs throughout the plan. Roles for each group involved in the RFD Strategy are clearly defined. The process involves a wide variety of individuals, opinions, and groups. The school board is the approving body throughout the process.

REP's plan for work in Canyon County was to implement the RFD Strategy model. REP intended to work with the state department of education and the two school districts (as described earlier, there are no intermediate or regional districts in this state). Their plans called for training RFD specialists (future facilitator trainers) on the state and district level, as well as training facilitator pairs to work in the local schools and communities. REP also planned on working at the state level to plan for diffusion of the RFD Strategy elsewhere in the state.

At the time of our site visit, REP had been in Canyon County School District approximately one year. The original plans had been followed fairly closely. The main deviation from the plan was that REP had entered only one school district (Canyon) in the state instead of two as originally conceived due to a shortage of time and resources at the state level. What follows is a description of REP's work as we understood it during that first year.

Chronology of REP's Work in Canyon County. The events which led to REP's entry into Canyon County began in 1972. At that time, the Canyon County School Board was considering how to handle school district problems with the education of Indian children. Most of the Indian children living within the district were located many miles away from the nearest high school, resulting in many of them either dropping out of school or leaving the district to attend school. So, representatives from the school board, district, Indian tribe, state department of education, and an Indian development organization which is an arm of the Governor's office met to consider the options available to the district for improving the situation. The most viable option appeared to be construction of one or more new high schools in the south end of the county to service the Indian children. The questions that remained unanswered were whether the Indian parents would support a new school, sending their children there rather than elsewhere; and what programs would the Indian people prefer to have in a new high school?

In an effort to answer these questions, the school district contacted a consulting firm to study the feasibility of building new high schools on or near the Indian reservation, with the state also contributing funds to support the study. After examining the situation, the consulting firm concluded that they could not make specific feasibility recommendations since they were not able to obtain sufficient community input on this question. REP's Program Director was identified as a person who might be able to assist, based on his earlier work in the Western States Small Schools Project. The director of the consulting firm also knew of REP, having had previous contact with them in their work in Alaska. He suggested to the school district that REP might be the organization they needed to link up with in order to gather the information needed.

In the spring of 1974, REP's Program Director traveled to Canyon County School District as a consultant and stayed to discuss the RFD Strategy and its potential usefulness for the district. Information was shared and possibilities discussed among REP, district staff, and school board members. The consulting firm recommended in its report that RFD be employed as a strategy for involving the Indian people in planning educational alternatives for Indian children. The school board subsequently made the decision to participate in the RFD Strategy, and the consulting firm helped the school board put together a collaborative funding effort.

An event occurred at this time which had some effect upon the school board's decision to work with REP. A lawsuit was filed by lawyers who represented Indian individuals claiming that they had not been provided equal educational opportunities. The Canyon County School District was one of the parties named in the lawsuit. Although there was agreement among those we spoke with that the lawsuit did not cause the school board's decision to participate in the RFD Strategy work, it most likely did act as a catalyst, moving the school district to act on some of the local problems in Indian education.

One of the most interesting features of the arrangements between REP and the school district was the cooperative involvement of several other interested entities in this relationship. Financial commitments were made to the process by not only the school district, but also the State Department of Education, the Indian tribe, and the Indian development organization. Each of these entities apparently saw the usefulness and potential for the RFD Strategy in this particular situation and agreed to cooperate and support the process, both financially and programmatically. A contract was negotiated between the school district and the Northwest Lab for a ten-month period with renegotiations planned for a second twelve-month contract. A separate contract was written between the Northwest Lab and the State Department of Education which will be discussed in more detail later in this chronology. This agreement called for two staff from the state to be trained as RFD Specialists (future facilitator trainers).

REP's agreement with Canyon County School District clearly spelled out their relationship. REP would provide the district with facilitator training services, fourteen training sessions over a twenty-two month period, as well as ongoing field support for the facilitators' work. The district would also receive RFD Specialist training for one of their staff members and the RFD

Strategy materials. The district would hire (or select from among its present staff) three facilitators and pay their salaries. The fourth facilitator's salary was paid for in part by the Indian tribe. The district also agreed to provide office and meeting space for the facilitators and the training sessions. One district staff member was designated to act as liaison with REP and another as RFD Specialist trainee. District funds were allocated to reimburse REP for part of the facilitator training costs. A listing of the dollar amounts contributed by each agency follows on the next page. (Fig. 6-5)

REP's first priority in working within the school district was to reach the Indian population and begin to form representative groups of citizens and school people. They planned to move later into the north part of the district with their work. Therefore, in the spring and summer of 1974, REP staff members traveled to Canyon County to get the process started, forming two temporary School-Community Groups. In the meantime, other REP staff members worked to ready RFD materials for use in the area.

Criteria for choosing four facilitators to work in the district were agreed upon and a hiring process was determined. The original plans called for publicizing the openings and then having a panel screen applicants. The panel consisted of staff members from the various groups supporting the RFD work (the district, the state, REP, and the Indian development group). The facilitators

Figure 6-5. CANYON COUNTY PROJECT

Several Agencies invested dollars into the project:

At the local level	FY 75	FY 76	FY 77
1. The Canyon County School District	$50,000*	50,000	
2. The Indian Office of Education	10,000	5,000	
3. The Indian Development Council	36,000	25,000	
TOTAL	$96,000*	80,000	

At the state level		FY 75	FY 76	FY 77
1. State Board of Education	District	$16,000	16,000	
	Lab	13,250	14,795	8,300
TOTAL		$29,250	$30,795	$8,300

At the Laboratory level	FY 75	FY 76	FY 77
1. Lab (NIE funds)	$200,000	$150,000	$50,000

The local funds were used to pay the salaries and expenses of four process facilitators and to pay some of the expenses of the citizen participants. Also, the district paid the Laboratory for the actual costs involved in training the facilitators ($31,888 for FY 75). In addition to the actual dollar costs, the district furnished office space for the facilitators and the Lab's resident trainer.

* $31,888 of this went to the Northwest Lab to offset direct costs involved in training the four process facilitators on site.

would have to represent a range of characteristics that would be acceptable to the people in the area, therefore giving the facilitators legitimacy in working with both community and school people. It is our understanding that the facilitator recruitment and selection process did not go exactly as planned. There was difficulty in obtaining a pool of viable candidates. Each facilitator hired said that he/she had been recruited by one of the individuals connected with the RFD work and had been asked to apply. It seems that only one of the facilitators met with the entire originally-planned panel of interviewers. Another met with several individuals from the district and REP. The remaining two were hired by the district liaison person (assistant to the district superintendent) alone, taking into account the previously established criteria for selection.

By September of 1974, four facilitators were hired. These individuals represented a range of characteristics congruent with people in the area. One facilitator was male, a member of the local Indian tribe, and Mormon. Another was male, a member of the local tribe, and non-Mormon. The third facilitator was female, an Anglo from outside the area, and non-Mormon. The fourth was male, an Indian from outside the area, and Mormon. These facilitators brought with them experience in counseling, social work, sports coaching, secondary level teaching, and working with parent groups.

During their first month of employment, the facilitators traveled to Portland to meet with REP staff members and to receive training within the Northwest Lab. The training included a workshop on the PETC program--Preparing Educational Training Consultants. PETC was developed within the Northwest Lab and is an optional part of the facilitator training plan. The trip was designed to acquaint facilitators with the RFD Strategy, the REP staff, and to begin their skills training.

As mentioned above, work had already begun in the south end of the county. The various small communities and Indian tribal chapters were organized into two SCGs. In general, each SCG had twelve to fifteen members, including representatives from the Indian chapters, the local Anglo communities, the Canyon County High School staff, and the school district staff. Our understanding is that the SCG representatives were chosen mainly through a group voting process (rather than opinion leader surveys as in Pippin Valley) in town meetings, tribal chapter meetings, and school staff meetings. There were no student members initially chosen for the SCGs, due to Indian societal values ascribing great wisdom to age and, consequently, relatively little to youth. The facilitators continued to work for acceptance of students on the SCGs and some students are now being included.

The decision to choose SCG members through a group voting process rather than through individual surveys was made after negotiations involving REP, the school district, the facilitators, and local leaders. There were several reasons for this decision. One was the organization of the local Indian people. It was pointed out that in most cases Indians on the reservation did not live in communities as such. However, each individual did belong to a tribal chapter. Therefore, the RFD Strategy dealt with these chapters, in most cases, as a community group.

Another reason pertained to communication in the region. Distances between homes, towns, trading posts, etc. are great in this area. A general lack of telephones adds to the difficulties presented by distance. Most communication in the area needed to take place word-of-mouth, with people covering great distances to communicate with one another. Therefore, the voting procedure proved to be the most workable for identifying opinion leaders in this area.

A dynamic which had impact on the process at this point was language. Most of the Indian people on the reservation spoke their native language as their first, using English only when necessary. Some spoke no English at all. This meant that those involved in the process had to work out ways of dealing with the language barriers in meetings and other communications. This was especially true in that two of the facilitators did not understand the Indian language, neither did most of the Anglo members of the SCGs, including the school staff and district personnel. Translators had to be found and systems established to insure that each person understood the RFD process and what was happening at any given moment. Another related problem addressed was conceptualization and then description of the process in the Indian language which is based on a different conceptual framework than English.

The facilitators were paired to work in teams, one team with each SCG. The pairs were intended to begin work in the community, with one member of each pair then moving to work more closely with the schools while the other remained more closely identified with the community people. During the time that the facilitators were getting under way and the SCGs were being formed, REP staff members were providing formal training sessions and ongoing support for their work.

The facilitator training sessions seem to have taken place much as planned. The REP trainer, accompanied by a documenter, traveled to Canyon County approximately every six to eight weeks to conduct sessions. At the time of our site visit the training was in the support phase (the model calls for initiative, support, and withdrawal phases, as previously described), with the trainer providing a framework for the session, the facilitators providing most of the input and modification of the framework. The training session we observed involved information sharing, future planning, discussion of specific issues, and discussion of specific facilitator skills. For instance, in the first part of the training session the facilitators described the school visits made by SCG members. These visits are described later in this case study. The trainer helped the facilitators critique the school visits step-by-step, thinking of ways in which the visits could have been improved as well as other resources that could have been drawn on. Another example of an activity in the training sessions was a discussion of "shadow" leadership. The facilitators described situations where they had taken leadership while still staying somewhat in the background. The trainer, by using questions and suggestions, helped the facilitators to analyze the appropriateness of various kinds of leadership in different situations.

As part of the ongoing support work, an REP staff member was designated to provide Guided Field Experience to the facilitators, a form of over-the-shoulder training. A decision was made by REP and the school district to have an REP staff member move to Canyon County in October of the first school year of the RFD work. He remained there for seven months. In addition to providing Guided Field Experience, he also served as a communications link between the field activities and the REP office in Portland.

In addition to the REP trainer and field experience person, the facilitators' other direct contact with REP were the site evaluators. Two members of REP's Research and Evaluation Unit were designated as Canyon County evaluators. They worked together to help each other with making observations and drawing conclusions. In REP's Canyon County work, the evaluators were observing the progress of the process to collect formative data for developers as well as refining the REP evaluation plan. During periodic visits they were using questionnaires, interview surveys, and observation schedules to collect data in the field. This data was then written up into reports for various audiences, most often REP product developers. Other audiences addressed included REP as a whole, the Northwest Lab, and the National Institute of Education. The facilitators received informal feedback as part of every training session.

The first task undertaken by the newly-formed SCGs was to conduct a needs assessment within the geographical areas which they represented. Based on a "harvest of concerns" among the SCG members, several topics were defined to be addressed in the needs assessment which pertained to the proposed new high schools. The assessment was conducted through the use of questionnaires hand distributed by the SCG members to local people. Both SCGs wrote their own questionnaires. Both of the SCGs called in a consultant from the state university to critique their questionnaire, but in the end felt that he had not been very helpful.

Given the information collected, it was clear that local people wanted to see two new high schools built in the southern part of the county. It was also clear that local people would support these schools and that they wanted input into related decisions. Recommendations to this effect were drawn up, presented to the school board, and approved. Other recommendations were made based on the needs assessment data concerning school curriculum issues.

The SCGs then began to gather more information on the areas of identified educational needs and priorities. Within each SCG a task force was formed to explore the possibility of visits to area schools as a way of gathering information. Specific plans were made, financial costs assessed, and a report made to the school board. The board approved the plans for both SCGs.

In preparation for the school visits, facilitators provided participants with some training sessions on relevant skills. Forms were drawn up to help participants document their observations in the various schools. Based on the needs assessment results, it was decided to concentrate on bilingual and bicultural education, school architectural design, curriculum and programs, school site, and after-school use of the building. The Canyon County School District financed bus transportation, meals, and motel accommodations for SCG members to travel both to Canyon County schools and to schools on the Indian reservation. The members visited, documented their observations, analyzed the information collected, and planned for some followup visits, armed with more specific concerns and information needs. The school visits were the first

SCG activity to involve students, as the facilitators worked to help the SCG members become aware of the students' right and need to be involved and their capability to do so.

At the time of our site visit (June 1975) a second round of school visits had been completed and the RFD work in the county was winding down for the summer.

In March of the school year, REP's Program Director and another administrator traveled to Canyon County School District to negotiate a second contract. This one was for a twelve-month period, completing the first cycle of the RFD process in the area. This second contract involved discussion among all those cooperating to support the work in the county, and led to the clarification and correction of some items which had proved ambiguous or lacking in the first contract.

As mentioned earlier, the original plan called for two of the facilitators (one from each pair) to begin work in the schools. However, one of the facilitators was unfamiliar with schools and school staffs, and somewhat reluctant to begin work there. In addition, he was quite occupied with the SCG work on the Indian reservation. Therefore, the decision was made by the four facilitators to have one facilitator work alone in the school. She began working with a group of staff members who expressed interest in the RFD work (ten out of a faculty of forty). The first task was to explain the process, its goals, and usefulness to the school. The facilitator also worked closely with the principal, again with explanations and helping him to facilitate the work of the teachers. The facilitator acted, at times, as a communications link between the staff and principal. At the end of the school year, the staff members had come up with preliminary needs assessment within their school and some plans for the next year.

At the time of our site visit plans had been made to form another SCG in the community where the high school was located. Also, the second school-oriented facilitator was slated to begin work in a local elementary school in the fall.

In the Canyon County project, REP's support agency work has been with the State Department of Education. This was a contractual arrangement, with an Associate Superintendent of Public Instruction acting as liaison between REP and the state. Two other state staff members were being trained by REP installers to become RFD Specialists. They were learning facilitator training skills as [illegible] as new ways to support the local facilitator's work given the skills and resources of the state.

In addition, the two members of REP's Diffusion team were working with a State Department of Education task force. This group was made up of representatives from the various department divisions. The task force helped monitor and make decisions concerning community-oriented programs in the state. One of the programs they were concerned with was REP's work in Canyon County.

REP's diffusion staff was helping the task force keep informed of activities in Canyon County while also helping them work through questions concerning community education and citizen involvement in educational decision-making in their state. The hope is that the task force will ultimately see the need to continue the RFD Strategy in Canyon County. They were also exploring the potential use of RFD in other parts of the state and others parts of the work of the state department of education.

Summary of REP's Work in Canyon County. When we visited Canyon County School District in June of 1975, REP's implementation of the RFD Strategy in the school district was almost at its midway point. Consequently, the data we have on that project reflects the fact that individuals were still learning about the process and exploring its potential for helping them work through immediate problems. This perspective contrasts with the sense of completion and evaluation that was evident among those we interviewed in Pippin Valley. Our Canyon County data also differs from Pippin Valley's in two other ways. One is the context of the project. Obviously, both Canyon County and Pippin Valley represent a unique set of circumstances and community subgroups, as does every other setting. The other main difference is that we have comparatively less data from community people, students, and school staff in Canyon County. However, we have more data from the facilitators and local educational administrators. All these factors lead to our describing a somewhat different set of summary points about Canyon County than we did about Pippin Valley. These points represent ongoing dynamics more than generalizations or conclusions.

1. Entry, contract building, and motivation. REP's entry into Canyon County was precipitated by the fact that individuals involved in the school district knew of REP and its work prior to the events which immediately preceded the decision to cooperate. This was also the case in REP's relationship with the state department of education, where REP's Program Director had worked prior to joining REP. As is the case with many of the TAGs we have studied, these kinds of personal contacts are often instrumental in facilitating initial contacts and relationships between TAGs and their RTAs.

REP's formal agreement with the Canyon County School District reflected lessons learned through their past work. First, our impression was that the contract drawn up was more specific than in past efforts, anticipating potential conflicts, misunderstandings, and lack of clarity. Although there was some confusion arising over the arrangement to have the Indian tribe pay part of one facilitator's salary, this confusion was remedied in the second REP/district contract. Second, REP's agreement with the district was one which specifically involved several different important local groups in the RFD Strategy work. This involvement included a commitment to support the work programmatically and financially. This cooperative arrangement contributed to the local support for the process, the SCGs, and the facilitators. One individual we interviewed pointed out that if people put in their money (as these cooperating groups did), they are much more likely to be involved and interested in the process and its outcomes.

Finally, there were several key factors which motivated involvement on the district and state level in this project. One was the issue of equal educational opportunities for Indian children, addressed in this school district with the possibility of building new high schools on or near the reservation. Clearly, there were different kinds of pressures on the school administration and board in this regard, including the lawsuit and increasingly vocal special interest groups.

Adding to that local pressure were trends in the state and surrounding region. One such trend was the recognition of the value of home life to a young child and the potential damage caused by having to take a child out of her/his home to attend school elsewhere. Another trend was toward community education and citizen involvement in education. Local people were increasingly seeking a voice in educational decisions and more responsive schools. Administrators were beginning to move toward involving community people in education rather than being forced into it by circumstances. REP's subsequent work on the district and state level has contributed to this trend and helped many to see concrete, workable ways in which citizens can become involved in education.

Some administrators and educators felt that community people should not only be involved in educational decision-making, but in fact could do an excellent job of it, helping to make the schools more responsive and relevant to a variety of students, thus increasing the quality of education provided.

Regardless of whether administrators participated in the process as a preventive measure or out of a commitment to improving education through citizen involvement, it was generally agreed that community people needed to have certain skills and information in order to make valuable contributions to the educational situation. Therefore, the RFD Strategy was seen as an ideal way to approach this issue--it could begin immediately to involve people in dealing with a specific issue (the new high schools) while also teaching those people skills in problem-solving applicable far beyond the original issue.

Community people who became involved seemed to have these same ideas. They wanted to address the issue of education for Indian children; at the same time they recognized that involvement in the schools and educational decision-making required a certain set of skills as well as a legitimate vehicle for that involvement. Thus the RFD Strategy met their needs, too.

2. Establishing legitimacy--recognition, participation, ownership. "Legitimacy" was a word used frequently in the facilitator training sessions we observed and in our interviews. Successful implementation of the RFD Strategy required that the legitimacy of the process, the SCGs, the facilitator role, and the support roles be firmly established.

In general, the legitimacy of the RFD process is established when the individuals and groups involved feel that it has accomplished what they understood it would and that it has met their needs. One key part of this is commitment by the school board and administrators to support the process and act on SCG recommendations whenever possible. Another part is the sense of accomplishment felt by participants. This sense is best gained through the balance of completing short-range, definable tasks within the context of long-range goals. We noted a keen awareness of these dynamics in the facilitator training sessions. We also felt that these needs for commitment and accomplishment were being met thus far in the Canyon County project.

One aspect of the establishment of the legitimacy of the process that remained unresolved was how Anglo-or Indian-oriented it was. In general, REP people (Anglo) described how the process had been developed in settings involving Indians. The process uses a long time frame, consensus, and inclusion, all making it more relevant to Indian populations. The two Indian people we questioned specifically about this, however, (as well as one Anglo person key to the process) felt that the process was Anglo--written by Anglos, in Anglo language, about Anglo concerns. Despite this difference of opinion, all the Indian people we interviewed expressed satisfaction with the process. It was giving them skills they needed in order to have a voice in educational decisions. It was also flexible enough to be used with Indian people, taking into account language difference, distance in rural areas, communication problems, and other existing recognized groups.

Establishing the legitimacy of the SCG as a planning group was vital to those involved since it was the only truly representative school-community group in the region. Legitimacy meant demonstrating the usefulness and capabilities of the process (dealt with above) and clarifying the relationship of the SCGs to other groups in the school district. One set of other groups were the parent advisory committees formed in conjunction with federally funded educational programs. These groups were not representative of all segments of the community, nor were they planning/action-oriented groups. At the time of our site visit, the relationship of these groups to the SCGs was unclear. Some individuals talked about the SCGs as becoming umbrella groups for the other more specific, specialized groups.

The other key groups the SCGs had to relate to were the Indian tribal chapters. The chapters were the local decision-making entities within the larger tribe. In one SCG in Canyon County, problems arose because the chapter was controlling the SCG to some extent. The SCG would look to the local chapter for a decision and then follow their lead. Ways to resolve the issue were unclear at that time. It was clear that the SCG was representative of all groups (Indian and Anglo) in the area while the chapter was not. It was also apparent that the resolution of the problem had to come from the SCG and local people, not from an outside individual or group.

The facilitator role also had to be established as legitimate. The issues involved in accomplishing this will be discussed in the next section.

Roles of the support agencies connected with Canyon County had to be recognized--and then the resources of these agencies needed to be used. We observed REP staff members consistenly clarifying and reiterating to all involved what the capabilities were for support, what the facilitators' expectations should be, what resources the district and state staff could provide, and what other areas of support needs and resources should be explored.

Finally, we noted examples of individuals developing a sense of ownership of the process. One example was the extremely low profile of REP in the Canyon County project. REP's main contacts in the area were with district people and the facilitators. We heard no mention, in our interviews with community and school staff, of REP or the Northwest Lab. There also was no mention made of the RFD work being a field test for REP. This contrasts with some of the feedback from Pippin Valley. We also noted that everyone we spoke with in the Canyon County area who was not involved in the process had heard of it in one way or another. Most people were aware that there was a group of community people, mainly Indians, involved in the planning for new high schools.

3. The facilitator Role. As has already been pointed out, the facilitator role is essential to implementation of the RFD Strategy and facilitator training is the point of REP's technical assistance to local schools and communities. Therefore, we have examined some of the key dynamics of this role in the context of the Canyon County project.

As shown in the work done in Pippin Valley, support for the facilitators' work is essential. Facilitator training is one form of support. In Canyon County (and in keeping with the RFD Strategy model) this training has been a combination of structured sessions and over-the-shoulder advisory help. Along with this training, REP has provided the facilitators with RFD written materials to reinforce the training, to use as reference materials, and, in some cases, to use with the SCGs. These training methods served to effectively familiarize the facilitators with the RFD Strategy while also being flexible enough to help facilitators learn how to handle specific situations.

REP's close work with the district staff and State Department of Education has worked to build additional ongoing support for the facilitators. On the district level, the facilitators had a person designated as liaison with REP. In addition, a district staff member has been trained to provide the needed advisory help. In general, then, the district has served as a place for the facilitators to turn to for advice and much needed reinforcement. The district staff and, through them, the school board have been sensitive to the professional and resource needs of the facilitators. We noted that the facilitators were clearly employees of the district office, yet outside of it in the sense that they were not there daily and were not perceived as district staff members. This is consistent with the "betwixt and between" nature of the facilitator role.

On the state level a number of people (chiefly the members of the task force on community education) are aware of the work of the facilitators and sensitive to their professional and resource needs. Two state department of education staff members have been trained to provide advisory support to the facilitators.

The sum of the district and state level work has been to also prepare for continued support--professional and financial-- for the RFD Strategy in Canyon County beyond the contractual period with REP.

In the Canyon County project, some problems had arisen with the facilitators which related to individual needs and previous ties to the community. In terms of individual needs, our interviews and observations showed that several of the facilitators were uncomfortable, at times, with their role. The temptation often was to lead rather than facilitate. Sometimes impatience with the SCGs' slowness or lack of skills prompted a facilitator to want to take over or do a task for the SCG. Other times a facilitator would want to behave more as a protective parent hovering in the sidelines, promoting and urging. At least one of the facilitators was bothered by the lack of prestige or "glory" in the job. To facilitate meant to help people do something for themselves, often resulting in little or no credit for accomplishment coming to the facilitator. There was also mention made of some facilitators' lack of initiative--the role could act as an excuse to do very little, forgetting or ignoring the need to work closely with community and school people, planning, teaching, counseling, communicating. Another difficulty encountered was that those facilitators who had worked in the Canyon County prior to the RFD work found people frequently turned to them for leadership (as they had in the past) rather than recognizing their new role.

One important point brought out clearly in the training sessions was the need for facilitators to be aware of and sensitive to the times at which various behaviors made sense. There were times when it was appropriate for the facilitator to lead, do, or protect. The key was knowing when. It was essential for the facilitator to act out of knowledge of his/her role, not out of a personal need for affirmation and reward.

These problems that arose with facilitators in Canyon County were dealt with in several ways. One was the ongoing training and support which provided the facilitators with specific help, analytical interaction with one another, contact with outside observers of their work, and a source of ongoing affirmation and reward.

Another way the actual and potential problems with facilitators were handled was through their working in pairs. The intention was that they would serve to balance one another out, holding each other accountable to behave in facilitative ways, and making up for each others' weaknesses. However, we observed some tension and bad feelings among the paired teams in Canyon County which were unresolved at the time of our site visit. The problems centered on disagreement over who should take leadership and planning initiative in the pair as well as disagreement over specific tasks to be done--which tasks needed to be done and who would carry them out.

A way of forestalling future facilitator problems which was mentioned both in Portland and Canyon County was more specific criteria for and careful selection of the persons to act as facilitators. One problem within more careful selection of facilitators is the difficulty of getting a reasonably large pool of applicants. Within a rural area there are generally few people with appropriate skills for the job of facilitator, including identification with and knowledge of local ethnic groups. Even fewer of these people are actually looking for a job. Also, it is often difficult to find people willing to work and stay in rural areas, as evidenced by the high teacher turnover rate in rural schools.

One other part of the facilitator job which presented difficulties at times was the time commitment involved. The amount of time devoted to the job varied with the stage of the project, the distances needed to be traveled, the scope of the facilitators' responsibility, the time of year, and the particular activities taking place at any given point in time. These time demands proved particularly difficult for facilitators with family responsibilities.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, it is vital to the RFD

Strategy that the legitimacy of the facilitator role be established. In Canyon County, this seemed to have been accomplished in several ways. First, the choice of facilitators who reflected a range of skills, experience, background, and ethnicity contributed to their being accepted within the community. For those facilitators who found themselves in a setting in which they were not immediately accepted, consistency of facilitative behavior led to the establishment of legitimacy. When school and community people came to recognize the work and value of the facilitator, trusting that the individuals would behave in ways consistent with that role, the facilitator role became more legitimate in the eyes of local people. Similarily, demonstrated skills and experience helped establish legitimacy. This was probably most important in the school setting where teachers typically tend to be skeptical, needing evidence of one's educational skills and experience.

4. Canyon County work in light of Pippin Valley experiences.

There are several difficulties and weaknesses which we noted in REP's Pippin Valley work which seemed to have been specifically addressed in Canyon County. One difficulty experienced in Pippin Valley was the lack of development of a support system for the facilitator and the process: the breaking down of relationships with the state and regional educational agencies. In Canyon County, the RFD Strategy was supported financially and programmatically by several different agencies. REP devoted much time and effort to establishing and maintaining communication and a working relationship with the State Department of Education. Thus, a carefully constructed support system was created for the work in Canyon County.

Another strength evident in the Canyon County work was that the Indian SCG members indicated they were highly aware of the skills in problem-solving, decision-making, and communication which they were learning and which would be useful in many different situations over time. This contrasts with the Pippin Valley interviews which did not show such awareness on the part of the SCG members.

There were two other striking differences between Canyon County and Pippin Valley which relate to the context of the Canyon County situation. The RFD Strategy was brought into Canyon County primarily because of the issue of new high schools to serve Indian children. Because of this situation, the RFD Strategy work was focused on involving Indian people in decision making on specific issues concerning the new schools. Thus, the RFD Strategy in Canyon County has seen a high level of involvement of those people least often represented in decision-making in that county--Indians. The Canyon County work has also seen the SCG's involved in specific tangible tasks, such as exploring various locations for a new school, while also working toward the longer-range goal of educational improvement. This clearly contrasts with two of the weaknesses noticed in Pippin Valley: that traditionally marginally-involved people were the first to drop out of the process and that participants complained of not feeling much sense of accomplishment or not seeing visible results of their work. It is clear that the facilitators in Canyon County worked to keep the SCGs truly representative, including working for student participation. The facilitators also worked to balance long-range planning with short-range concrete tasks.

5. Effects of the RFD Work in Canyon County. Since REP's work with the district was at its midpoint at the time of our site visit, it was impossible to assess the ultimate results of that work. However, there were three areas in which there were indications that the RFD work would leave lasting effects.

First, as described in detail previously, a strong support system for the RFD and facilitator work had been built on the local district and state levels. This support system was serving its purpose in supporting the ongoing work of the facilitators and SCG, and showed every indication of serving to support recycling of the RFD Strategy in the area and maintenance of the process beyond REP's contractual agreement with the parties.

Second, we observed skills transfer taking place. The

SCG members, mainly Indian people previously uninvolved in the schools and educational matters in the district, were learning problem-solving, analysis, information gathering, and communication skills by working on a specific issue. Several people told us that the Indian community needed not only to learn skills, but also to have a sense of influence over the decisions which affected them. In addition, although it was not a frequently discussed outcome of the process, area administrators were clearly learning new ways of relating to the community and new ways of looking at decision making relationships.

Third, it appeared that doors had been opened for the involvement of school staff in educational planning as well as communication with the administrators. This kind of interaction is particularly relevant in rural schools, where, as one teacher in Canyon County pointed out, the power of teachers is most often informal influence rather than direct political and economic power.

Issues for the Future

Our observations, interviews, reading, and conversations concerning REP, combined with the information we have gathered on other technical assistance groups, raises several questions and issues. Some relate to choices in approach to technical assistance that REP has made that contrast in key ways with the choices other technical assistance groups have made; others relate to issues specific to the operation of REP.

Strategy Development Process. REP allocates a higher percentage of its resources and energies to developmental activities outside of the context of direct assistance than most other groups studied. As discussed in analyzing the history of REP, its origins were in community-based assistance efforts that were than analyzed for perceived lessons in the development of a strategy. Since the funding of their Basic Program Plan in 1972, REP has taken a course of development that contrasts with the other groups under study, in that a much higher percentage of effort has been allocated to a series of product development activities in the Portland office, the evaluation of these product development steps, and the review of other research results and theory relevant to the REP program. For example, other groups, including those attempting to develop a replicable model for assistance work, tend to have much less systematic approaches to the review of other research and employ product development procedures that rely more on personal or group judgement and less on formal evaluation. Further, since the time of its major funding through NIE, REP generally has followed a sequence in which products are developed first then tested in the field. This is the reverse of the sequence followed by some other technical assistance groups who have tended to first carry out intensive assistance work in the field, then seek to analyze this specific experience and develop it into a more general model, along with developing associated products.

An important further characteristic of REP associated with its development approach is the functional organization of the staff around development, installation, and diffusion with persons generally hired for their specific skills to play a specified role in one of these major functional areas. The contrasting approach of other technical assistance groups is a greater role overlap, with persons responsible for development having more extensive backgrounds in the communities served prior to employment and a role within the TAG that combines direct assistance and development.

Whatever mode of operation is chosen by a TAG, it causes special strains in the organization. A proportionally greater allocation of resources to direct assistance work, hiring of people because of backgrounds in communities served, and role overlap between assistance and development can result in over involvement in particular situations, a neglect of materials and strategy development, a lack of sufficient technical skills on staff, and inefficiency stemming from role overload. On the other hand, the contrasting mode, which is characteristic of REP, poses problems resulting from a lack of experience in assistance situations on the part of headquarter staff. These problems can include limited coordination and communication among staff in different roles, and lack of relevance of the materials developed to the field situation. One very specific example of a problem at REP which related to strategy and materials development centered on the terminology developed to describe the strategy. Several facilitators found that some of the terminology used in RFD materials did not mean much to school staff and community people, so the facilitators began using simpler terms. A few of these terms were better understood and now appear in RFD materials. Although REP employs feedback mechanisms between field and headquarters to deal with problems such as this one, we saw evidence that similar issues face REP's approach to strategy development.

Focus on Problem-Solving Process. A second issue raised by REP's basic approach to change related to the aspects of school community functioning that REP attempts to alter. REP's focus on establishing new mechanisms for school community problem-solving contrasts, for example, with /I/D/E/A/'s focus on changing the social organization of the school and its learning program in specific ways and with the attempts of United Bronx Parents to win immediate victories on specific issues in altering the way the school treats children. Again, each approach has characteristic costs and benefits. A weakness we observed in REP's assistance efforts is the perception on the part of some of those they have worked with that REP's "process-oriented" approach may not bring about enough tangible change soon enough to sustain the interest and involvement of participants. In this connection, we observed that REP's work seemed to be most effective in involving people when the development of the REP process was focused on concrete issues and programs--the shared services work in Pippin Valley and the building of new high schools in Canyon City. REP recognizes this issue; the work in Canyon County seeks to combine the long-term development of a process for problem-solving with short-term accomplishments.

Citizen Participation. Several other important issues relate to some key limits within the RFD Strategy. Every approach to technical assistance has financial, situational, and political limits. One issue of limits in the RFD Strategy lies in the definition of such phrases as "participation in educational decision-making" and "citizen involvement in education." These phrases carry different meanings for different people. In general, administrators and school board members we spoke with defined these phrases as meaning input and information sharing--they want community people to know the problems they face in managing the schools and they want to know what the community people think. Community people's definitions and expectations were more in terms of decision-making power and ability to take action. We saw these definitions conflict at various points. In Pippin Valley, there was marked disagreement over the future of the shared services task force. In Canyon County, SCG members had chosen a site for the new high school, yet a key member of the school board told us that the school would not be built on that location regardless. It is still unclear to us what happens when definitions of participation in decision-making conflict and it is somewhat unclear what "participation" means in the RFD strategy.

Another issue related to participation, which was mentioned earlier in relation to Pippin Valley, concerns the types of persons who stick with the RFD process. The process for identifying SCG members results in a community cross section that includes both previously active community members and others (often drawn from groups who have not had a voice in educational policy) who have not been previously active. Over a period of time, however, our interviews indicate a significantly higher rate of attrition among the "previously inactive" group, tending to leave the "previously active" group in control. This pattern of events is a common dilemma in attempts at involvement observed in the work of other TAG's and represents a difficult challenge for REP to deal with.

Effects of Contractual Relationships with Educational Agencies. One limit discussed earlier relates to the method through which REP becomes involved in the local school district and community. In the RFD Strategy, access is through the approval of the local school board and usually with a decisive input from the local superintendent.

Reasons for involvement, based on our data, usually stem either from (1) a crisis in school community relations (such as the defeat of a tax levy) or (2) an enlightened attempt to involve citizens by a progressive administrator and/or school board. To the extent that these conditions are not present in the typical rural school district, access by REP is limited.

Another set of limits grows out of the complexity and vulnerability of contractual relationships involved. The RFD Strategy entails development of agreements with political bodies at the local, intermediate, and state level. In some instances, it has been hard or impossible to negotiate all these relationships with reference to a specific local community. In others, political changes in these bodies have disrupted REP's work. In Alaska, a change in state administration meant the end of REP's work there. In Pippin Valley, consolidation of two Intermediate School Districts meant a loss of support for REP. Some REP staff members regard these events as unusual twists of fate that cannot be anticipated in REP's strategy development. However, our analysis of other TAGs indicate that such events are the rule rather than the exception. Although this is a difficult area to deal with, it would appear useful to explore ways of anticipating and surviving such events.

Developing contractual relationships with local and intermediate school districts and having facilitators who are employed by those districts points to another potential limit in the RFD Strategy. As an employee of a school district, the facilitator cannot be an entirely neutral third party, for example, in a dispute between the district and a parent, student, or school staff group; the facilitator may be identified with the interests of school staff or administrators. However, if a facilitator is employed by an intermediate district, he may be an effective change agent on the local level, but not for the intermediate district itself. This same type of limit works in reverse for such groups as United Bronx Parents. Since UBP is a parent- and community-oriented TAG, they are ultimately identified with the interests of parents in conflict situations between parent and school.

Funding. As RFD work in two pilot sites comes to a close, REP's efforts are shifting toward diffusion of the RFD Strategy. Plans for 1976 and 1977 call for an analysis of significant questions about potential users of the strategy and for securing at least two contracts for RFD assistance that are supported at the state, intermediate and/or local level. In moving from a development and field test phase supported by the federal government to a broader attempt at diffusion, REP faces the issue that constitutes a central concern of almost all TAG's: financial support. In its development phase, the RFD Strategy was more expensive than other strategies studied. For instance, in Canyon County, the RFD Strategy cost $325,250 the first year and $260,795 the second. Local contributions to this work were $96,000 and $80,000 for the two years, mostly in facilitator salaries on the state level the contributions were $29,250 and $30,795. Although the cost of the RFD Strategy will decrease as development is completed and support networks are developed, there is still going to be a substantial cost involved, one that some local, intermediate, and state education agencies will not be able to meet. It should be pointed out that REP is well aware of these issues--the Canyon County effort represented a successful attempt to get partial local financial support for REP work from several different sources and their diffusions plans call for detailed analysis of the financial questions we have touched on.

A final question relates to the effectiveness of REP's work. One of the major reasons for the development of the RFD Strategy, according to REP staff, was a dissatisfaction with attempts to institute specific curriculum changes in rural schools that disappeared soon after outside funding or assistance terminated. Most optimistically, the RFD Strategy is seen as leading to the long-range capacity of rural communities to use new modes of problem-solving and school community involvement in educational decision-making. In the first project we studied, Pippin Valley, it seemed clear that individuals had developed new skills that they might apply in the future, but, except for the shared services work, there was no evidence of a permanent change in problem-solving procedures or capacity. Further, school professionals in Pippin

Valley, in contrast to involved citizens, did not see the shared services group as being on-going.

The Canyon County project was designed with this previous experience in mind. Since the project was in process, we cannot of course begin to judge its long-term impact. However, we observed citizens and school staff who were learning and applying the process skills REP sees as important and seemed most anxious to use them in a variety of situations. In addition, the local school district has continued to support the work of the facilitators past the end of REP's formal involvement in the county. Further, a promising start has been made in building support mechanisms at the intermediate and state levels.

FOOTNOTES

1. Jongeward, R. E. Program 400 and the change process--a position statement. 1969.

2. Ibid.

3. Jongeward, R. E. Memorandum to Rowan Stutz, Program 400 Coordinator, on the Community Oriented Change Process Model. May 1971.

4. Ibid.

5. Rural Education Program. Recommendations on REP Internal Decision Making. Adopted January 13, 1975.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Rural Education Program Staff Development Committee. Memorandum to REP staff on revised staff development policy and procedures. March 17, 1975.

12. Ibid.

13. Op. Cit., Jongeward, 1971.

14. Rural Education Program. Revisions to Resource Allocation and Management Plans for FY 75. Portland: Northwest Educational Laboratory, October 31, 1974.

15. Rural Education Program. Prospectus FY 1976 FY 1977: Revitalizing Rural America. Portland: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, March 1975.

16. Ibid.

17. Op Cit., REP, 1974.

18. Rural Education Program. Summary (of the Basic Program Plan for REP).

19. Ibid.

20. Op. Cit., REP, March 17, 1975.

21. Op. Cit., REP, January 13, 1975.

22. Op. Cit., REP, Prospectus, March 1975.

23. Ibid.

24. Rural Education Program. Rural Futures Development (descriptive brochure). Portland: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, January 1975.

25. Op. Cit., REP, Summary.

26. Rural Education Program. Assumptions of the Community Change Process.

27. Ibid.

28. Rural Education Program. Process Facilitator's Field Manual: Units I and II. Portland: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 1973.

29. Op. Cit., REP, Rural Futures Development, January 1975.

30. Rural Education Program. Request for Approval of the Prototype Specifications: RFD School-Community Process Facilitators Manual. Portland: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, January 1975.

31. Hunt, C., Arends, J., Johnson, H. Memorandum to REP staff on RFD Strategy Events. March 14, 1975.

32. Voelckers, W. The Community Change Process. 1975.

22. Op. Cit., REP, *Prospectus*, March 1975.

23. Ibid.

24. Rural Education Program. *Rural Futures Development* (descriptive brochure). Portland: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, January 1975.

25. Op. Cit., REP, *Summary*.

26. Rural Education Program. *Assumptions of the Community Change Process*.

27. Ibid.

28. Rural Education Program. *Process Facilitator's Field Manual: Units I and II*. Portland: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 1973.

29. Op. Cit., REP, *Rural Futures Development*, January 1975.

30. Rural Education Program. *Request for Approval of the Prototype Specifications: RFD School-Community Process Facilitators Manual.* Portland: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, January 1975.

31. Hunt, G., Arends, J., Johnson, H. Memorandum to REP staff on RFD Strategy Events. March 14, 1975.

32. Voelckers, W. *The Community Change Process*. 1975.

CHAPTER 7. CENTER FOR NEW SCHOOLS

Overview*

Center for New Schools was founded in 1971 after its three founders had worked together for the previous two years as consultants to assist in establishing Metro High School, an

---

*Given the fact that this case study reflects the attempt of some Center for New Schools staff members to analyze their own organization, it is important that the reader recognize the process by which the case study was prepared. A temporary staff member was hired who was supposed to carry out data collection, analysis and write-up for this case study and the /I/D/E/A/ case study. He collected data about CNS internal operations and about two CNS technical assistance projects that he chose, (1) assistance to parents in the La Dulce section of Chicago and (2) a research, materials development and assistance effort with five alternative "schools without walls." The field worker selected these projects because they represented contrasting CNS efforts, one focused on helping parents and the other on helping school staff, and because assistance work was going on in these projects at the time of the field work in spring 1975. To provide an additional perspective on CNS, Rev. Jim Wilkes of AFRAM visited CNS for two days and added his perspective to that of the field worker. The field worker, Paul Shane, received a teaching position and left the country after the data collection phase, which altered the original plan. Thus, using his data, (250 pages of field notes and some initial analytical statements about CNS) a second member of the TAG study team, Rachel Rosen, generated propositions about CNS. Her propositions about CNS were used by Emile Schepers of the TAG study team to write a draft of the CNS case study--a draft that was then edited and elaborated on by Donald Moore, the Principal Investigator. The revised draft was reviewed by Rachel Rosen, Emile Schepers, the rest of the TAG study team, Jim Wilkes of AFRAM, Carolyn Hunter of The Rural Education Program, and six CNS staff members not involved in the TAG study. The draft was then revised again by Donald Moore in light of these comments, almost all of which resulted in changes in the case study.

Two points should be emphasized about the data collection process. First, data was collected at a time when there was widespread tension at CNS due to the pressures of rapid expansion connected with taking on a large federal contract and with other attempts to expand CNS activities. Second, no one working on the federal contract (called DTA) was involved in writing this case study, a fact that limits the case study's perspective about DTA.

urban high school without walls that is part of the Chicago Public School system. The Metro effort contained a core idea of much CNS work--the attempt to actively assist in the improvement of education while studying this improvement process. Using primarily participant observation research methods, CNS staff attempted to understand the process of setting up the Metro school, so that this information could be used in strengthening the Metro program and other urban alternative schools.

After founding CNS, the CNS staff attempted to act on a number of lessons of the Metro experience, including the need to analyze and learn from patterns of past problems in strengthening alternative school programs and the need to involve parents more fully in the planning and support of new school programs. With major funding from Carnegie Corporation, CNS experimented with a variety of approaches to school improvement in the period from 1971 to 1974, including assistance to parents groups seeking to improve local schools, refinement of their research approach, and continued assistance to urban alternative schools. The initiation of these projects entailed assembling a diverse staff in terms of previous experience, ideas about the priorities for educational change, and social background. These staff members worked on various change-oriented projects, with a great deal of direct involvement from the three founders (now titled Executive Associates) but also often with extensive individual leeway in carrying out specific assistance efforts.

From 1974 to the present, CNS has been through a phase in which the leadership attempted to consolidate the diverse project experiences of the previous period into a strategy for change and in which the Center has expanded rapidly as the result of winning a large federal contract for applied research and technical assistance to schools. In this period, CNS has undertaken a review of past work and developed more focused goals for school improvement and a general strategy for assistance that involves advisory help to parents, teachers, and administrators in specific school communities. The strategy also entails using research on successful change projects in other cities and on CNS's own assistance efforts to derive knowledge for strengthening CNS work. Two present projects, School Community Improvement (S.C.I.) and Documentation and Technical Assistance (D.T.A.) will provide a test of important aspects of this CNS change strategy.

Internally, CNS has been characterized by the extreme diversity of its staff in comparison with other TAGs being studied, and the resulting formation within the organization of subgroups with different emphases and priorities in educational change, although they share certain basic beliefs. This diversity creates a potential for sharing of insights, but also for internal division about approach. CNS has been faced with several management issues since early in its history, and some of these have been intensified by recent expansion. The issues include work overload, multiple responsibilities among staff, unclear delegation of authority, and lack of well-planned procedures for staff orientation and development.

Some fairly consistent patterns in its varied assistance work have been intensive involvement in helping local schools and parent groups without a clear CNS delineation of the advisor role, a predominant use of advisory help integrated into the on-going activities of the RTA rather than in special workshops, and variability in the level of assistance provided in response to the varying pressures of internal CNS operation or of other assistance or research projects. This varied assistance work has also provided a variety of techniques for both applied research and for assistance, and a key issue facing CNS is whether this resource can be harnessed in the development of a more focused approach to assistance, which CNS is now attempting.

History

The history of Center for New Schools consists of three interlocking phases:

1. The period from 1969 to 1971 in which the founders of CNS worked as part of another organization to plan and develop Metro High School, an alternative public school without walls that is part of the Chicago Public School system.
2. The period from 1971 to mid-1974 which was focused on continued work with alternative schools, initiation of work with local parent groups, and the refinement of research methods used by the organization.
3. The period from mid-1974 to the present, which has been characterized by the attempt to consolidate the various aspects of CNS work into a more coherent philosophy and also by rapid expansion, largely due to successful competition for a large federal contract.

Each phase has been characterized by somewhat different underlying assumptions and purposes, by internal changes in the structure and size of the organization, by changes in the relationship of CNS to the outside world, and by the coming and going of staff who did or did not fit well in that stage. CNS differs from the other TAGs in the degree to which its internal structure is complicated, primarily by the variety of projects it has under taken, the multiple constituencies toward which it addresses its efforts, and the resulting diversity of its staff. Because of this complexity, the transfer from one stage to another is not simple and has not proceeded at an even pace in every aspect of CNS work.

The Metro High School Phase (1969-1971). The three founders of CNS worked together for an urban-oriented publishing and consulting company (Urban Research Corporation) from 1969 to 1971. They were all hired by the organization to help provide assistance to Metro High School, an alternative "high school without walls." Urban Research Corporation's Director had been instrumental in convincing the Chicago Superintendent of Schools to start this alternative school and had negotiated an agreement with the Chicago School System to provide Metro High with technical assistance in its start-up phase.

The three CNS founders who worked together in starting Metro High were Dick Johnson, Don Moore, and Tom Wilson. Dick Johnson was an experienced Black teacher, counselor, and coach in the Chicago public schools with a masters degree in counseling. He was thoroughly familiar with the operation of the Chicago schools and particularly concerned about developing adequate school programs for Black students. Don Moore and Tom Wilson were products of the Harvard Graduate School of Education--young White educators who had been involved in various social change efforts of the 1960's. These included the civil rights movement, Peace Corps, and several experimental programs in urban education. Moore and Wilson were proponents of many of the ideas of alternative education, such as increasing student course choice, creating more open student-teacher relationships, and using the community as a learning resource. Dick Johnson was also interested in these ideas, but expressed concern that they might not meet the needs of urban Black students. He was interested in finding ways to work with urban students that maintained a structured focus on developing self-respect and basic skills. He saw a danger that the school without walls idea might be merely a new way to avoid meeting these needs. Don Moore and Tom Wilson shared these concerns somewhat, but had a greater investment in working through them within the concept of a school without walls, rather than questioning the relevance of the basic ideal. One particular issue in which there was an initial spread of opinion among the consulting team was the value of widespread participation in decision-making within the Metro school. Tom Wilson and Don Moore put great emphasis on student and teacher involvement in decision-making, while Dick Johnson felt that a stronger centralization of leadership would free up time for dealing with pressing educational issues. Many of Dick Johnson's concerns about the Metro program were later borne out in practice.

Before we describe the first project, Metro High School, it is helpful to understand a little about the Chicago Public Schools, the focus of much Center for New Schools work. As is well-known Chicago is dominated by the last of the old-time patronage machines, headed by Mayor Richard Daley. City government is highly centralized, and the school system is also highly centralized and strongly influenced by the political machine. The Mayor appoints the School Board, closely monitors the appointment of a General Superintendent of Schools, and intervenes in key school decisions. In the 1960's, the system was "decentralized" through the creation of three "areas" and 26 "districts," but has continued to function largely as a top-down bureaucracy.

The system is one of the most racially and ethnically segregated in the country at both the staff and student levels, and has had a well-documented record of ignoring the concerns of Black and Spanish-speaking parents and children. In the 1960's a few changes were made. In the face of community demands and of repeated distrubances in Black schools, a substantial number of Blacks were certified as principals and began to move into positions of middle level responsibility within the system. Parent Councils were established at local schools (to meet guidelines for Federal funds) and were given one significant perogative--the right to choose a school's principal from the list of those who had passed the required examination. In the opinion of the Urban Research Corporation consulting team, the General Superintendent of Schools was responsive to their ideas in 1969 for two reasons. First, he was coming up for reappointment and under pressure to show some concrete examples of change under his administration. Second, he saw the school without walls idea primarily in terms of student experiences in business, and he wanted to build better relations with the business community, partly to enlist their aid in fighting for more education dollars from the State of Illinois.

The school that the consultants helped establish drew 150 students, chosen by lottery from volunteers, from all parts of the city and reflected the city's racial and economic make-up. The basic ideas Metro High School put into practice were to offer a wide variety of conventional and unconventional courses, to set up a significant number of these courses in businesses and cultural organizations across the city, to create a much closer personal relationship between students and teachers, and to allow students a greater degree of personal freedom. It was hoped that the success of the school would make Metro a model that would be employed widely in the Chicago schools and elsewhere, dealing with problems ranging from racial conflict to low reading scores to alienation from school.

Another important aspect of the approach to developing Metro, stemming from the orientation of Don Moore and Tom Wilson, was that the process of Metro's development and its effects on students should be studied carefully. Both had been trained in educational psychology with a strong emphasis on quantitative research methods and experimental design. They sensed an inadequacy in these methods, however, and had some general ideas of including participant observation as part of an overall research plan. Stephen Wilson, a graduate student in education experienced in these qualitative research methods, joined the research team to study the process of Metro's development. Steve Wilson refined participant observation research techniques through the Metro research effort that have become the basis for much of CNS's research work, and he now holds a key position in the organization.

In the development of Metro the consulting team worked full-time in the school—planning curriculum, helping choose the principal, obtaining cooperation from participating businesses and cultural organizations, participating in staff decision-making discussions, teaching, and counseling. They stressed the need to identify closely with the staff to avoid an "outside expert" image. Although their formal relationship to the project was as consultants and the principal was in charge of the school's operation, the limits of their involvement were unclear and during the early stages they were in fact the key decision-makers in the program (this changed as the principal and teachers developed a greater ownership of Metro). After Metro was approved for operation, the General Superintendent became less closely involved and decided that the school should operate through conventional channels. This decision forced the Metro school into constant negotiation and conflict with various middle level school system administrators who were hostile to the Metro idea and to the notion that an outside group would play such a large role in the operation of a school. A significant amount of the principal's and the consultants' energy was absorbed in dealing with this resistant bureaucracy.

Metro survived several key conflicts with the middle level administrators of the school system through mobilizing a united staff, parent, student, and consultant front in dealing with problems. Metro's tactics included attempts by consultants and parents to circumvent the chain of command and go over the head of a person causing a problem, favorable publicity in newspapers, and on two occasions demonstrations at school board headquarters. A key strategy for resisting what Metro staff saw as unreasonable demand or restrictions was to merely ignore them, and the school principal, Nathaniel Blackman, took the lead in this aggressive approach, thereby incurring the wrath of his superiors.

The work of the consulting team continued through the first two years of Metro operation (as did their gathering of research data). At this point, the consulting contract was not renewed. Based on their research and their own analysis of their experience, the three founders of CNS drew the following conclusions about the Metro experience:

1. Metro had been successful in establishing a more humane and stimulating school program, to which both Black and White sutdents with minimum basic skills and a lack of long-term conflict with the educational system responded positively. However, the program was unsuccessful in reaching those students with extremely low basic skills and a long history of conflict with the schools--they had a high rate of dropping out from Metro.

2. The school had succeeded in doing something that few persons knowledgable about Chicago thought possible--

maintaining a large degree of independence and innovation. However, because of initial concessions and areas of unclarity concerning autonomy of the school, a great deal of energy that should have gone into the school program was absorbed in fighting with the central office. The consultants saw one of Metro's difficulties as the lack of early parent and community involvement that could have exerted pressure to secure the school's autonomy, and the difficulty of sustaining parent involvement at Metro when parents came from all parts of the city.

3. As an extension of this analysis, they concluded that work for educational change must take into account more fully not only the school itself, but in addition the school system and the community of which the school is a part.

4. They found that qualitative research methods were much more useful in yielding useful information for program improvement than quantitative ones. They also encountered great difficulties in analyzing research data quickly enough to be of any practical use to the people involved in the program.

The Exploratory Phase (1971 to mid-1974). In June 1971, Johnson, Wilson, and Moore decided to form their own organization for educational change. They established Center for New Schools as an independent, not-for-profit organization. Over the next three years, they launched a series of efforts that grew in their basic outline from the analysis of the Metro experience. The three main areas of activity during this period were as follows:

1. Continued assistance to urban alternative schools in Chicago and elsewhere.
2. Projects intended to apply and refine the research methods developed at Metro.
3. Several long-term efforts to assist specific parents groups in Chicago.

The funding opportunity that gave CNS its start as an independent organization was a contract with the Illinois Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to plan a network of alternative schools in the state. The idea for the contract came partly from CNS and shaped an interest that the State Superintendent had in developing a model state-operated school. CNS argued that comprehensive K-12 subsystems operating within public school systems had a better chance to exert influence across the state than a state-run school. This approach was accepted, and CNS prepared a planning document and later developed training materials for establishing this network. The network of eighteen programs in local school districts was established and is still functioning, although it has suffered continuing funding problems and has never developed to the scale envisioned in the original CNS plan.

A major step in CNS development came through a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of $190,000 in January 1973 and a subsequent grant of $220,000. The proposals that won these grants talked about continued development of CNS work in the three areas described above (alternative schools, research methods, and parent involvement) and a synthesis of these efforts into a strategy for urban school change. This funding, which allowed a wide leeway for CNS activities, was critical to CNS program development.

In addition to the work for the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, other CNS attempts to build on insights about alternative schools included a conference on alternative schools co-sponsored with UNESCO, publication of analysis of alternative schools in several educational journals, and short-term consulting assistance to a variety of alternative schools in Illinois, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Ohio, Minnesota, and Maryland.

In the research area, the first CNS priority was to obtain funding to complete analysis of the huge volume of Metro research data. Carnegie funds were used to keep the effort going and eventually funding was obtained to complete the Metro research from the National Institute of Education and from the National Institute of Mental Health.

Several short-term studies were conducted for alternative schools aimed at feeding information back to them useful for strengthening their programs. Also, CNS staff initiated two longer-term projects that employed CNS research strategies in the effort to aid alternative schools. The first was the "Community-Based Learning Project," which is one of the two projects described in more detail later. It was focused on one of the promising innovations from alternative schools--the use of the community as a learning resource. CNS planned to study the successes and problems that five alternative schools had encountered in carrying out community-based learning programs, to develop materials and strategies for technical assistance based on this study, and to provide assistance to the schools involved and other schools using the materials and strategies developed. Thus, the project was an attempt to integrate the research and assistance ideas of CNS. The community-based learning project is described in more detail later.

A second important effort to assist alternative schools through applied research was a "formative evaluation" project at New School, an alternative high school in a Cleveland suburb. Steve Wilson and Tom Wilson worked with school staff and students to identify key issues in the school about which staff and students wanted information. Then, CNS designed with them an evaluation program both to provide internally useful information and to provide information desired by school system officials about the program's effectiveness. The formative evaluation combined study by a participant observer with the collection of questionnaire and interview data. Staff and students were involved in data collection and analysis. After the study was completed, CNS held a conference involving some of the school's staff and fifteen nationally prominent scholars in educational reserach and technical assistance to review the approach CNS had employed.

In addition to alternative school assistance and refining research methods, the third major thrust of the exploratory phase was the effort to assist parent groups. CNS had seen a number of short-comings in alternative schools that they traced to a lack of serious involvement with parents and with the larger realities of the urban scene.

Reflecting some of the concerns Dick Johnson had originally felt, alternative schools had paid too little attention to the realities faced by ethnic and racial minorities and poor and working class Whites. Alternative schools that stressed self-expression and warm relationships did not sufficiently prepare students for the realities of urban life, including preparation for the job market. Alternative schools established mainly by professionals lacked the grassroots political support to maintain themselves or exert wider influence.

CNS therefore set out to explore ways to create grassroots support bases for educational change and educational alternatives. Work began in three communities, one Black, one Mexican, and one mixed White and Puerto Rican. Since ideas about community work had not yet been systematized, and since the communities were at least superficially different, CNS staff members involved proceeded largely based on their individual conceptions of how they could be helpful.

The mixed White-Puerto Rican community, which we will refer to as Sherwood, functions in one of the few areas of the city where the Daley machine domination has been most successfully and consistently challenged. A number of groups had been active on educational issues in Sherwood. These included parent groups at individual schools, a Puerto Rican community organization, an umbrella community organization dealing with a variety of community issues (Sherwood United), and a more conflict-oriented group that focused on the schools, called Sherwood Schools Coalition.

CNS involvement with Sherwood came initially through the fact that Don Moore of CNS lived in this area and became a member of several of these groups. It was through his participation in a local parents council, with Sherwood United's education committee, and with the Sherwood Schools Coalition that CNS became involved in the area. In reality, CNS involvement was synonomous with Don Moore's personal involvement and although several other CNS people were involved in specific ways, the CNS involvement was largely equivalent to Moore's activity. This style of personalized involvement has also characterized other CNS community work, as detailed below.

The major thrust of CNS assistance became help to Sherwood Schools Coalition. SSC had been organized initially to press the City of Chicago to help the schools meet a budget deficit. In this fight, SSC used an aggressive action-oriented approach that included picketing, holding up banners in Board of Education meetings, and demanding commitments on the issue from Board of Education members. Using these tactics, SSC, led by an aggressive parent trained as a community organizer, was able to energize a broad cross-section of a usually divided community (ethnic Whites, White liberals, and Puerto Ricans) around this issue.

When the issue died, the organization became dormant. CNS helped the main organizer of SSC think about strategies for sustaining the coalition she had created and helped her conduct interviews with formerly active SSC members. This investigation resulted in a proposal for future organizational work that included (1) community organizing and case advocacy to exert pressure on schools and (2) a teacher advisory service and an alternative school to provide ideas and resources for school change. The proposal was heavily influenced by CNS's past ideas and experience.

Don Moore provided a variety of services over two years to SSC, including assistance in fund-raising (which was generally successful) and frequent tactical advice to the director. The best instances of fruitful assistance to SSC came in key conflicts that SSC became involved in, in which CNS helped through advice on strategy and through gathering key technical information. For example, CNS assisted SSC in a successful effort to have a District Administrator chosen for local schools who was acceptable to active parents.

CNS assistance to SSC varied, and expectations and limits remained unclear. Involvement fluctuated depending on the needs of SSC and the time available from CNS staff, primarily Don Moore. It was often unclear when he was functioning as an advisor and when as a member of the organization. At one critical point in SSC history (at the same time that CNS had received the federal

DTA contract), he did not provide assistance that SSC had been promised. CNS staff involved in community work made several attempts to redeem this situation, through meetings with SSC staff in an attempt to involve additional CNS staff in helping SSC and to negotiate a more specific agreement with them. SSC also made some attempts to work out a new relationship, but in the end the two groups did not reach a new working arrangement that was functional. The relationship between the two groups ended with bitter feelings on both sides.

A second major community effort initiated in 1973 was the La Dulce project, in a predominantly Mexican community. CNS hired a Chicano staff member, who had been working as a human relations advisor for the Board of Education and who had been active in Chicano community groups, to work with the schools in La Dulce. The new staff member, Domingo Tobias, was given wide latitude to do the type of work he thought appropriate. Over two years, he provided help to a variety of parent and community groups in La Dulce, including help in fund-raising and in development of strategy on a variety of school issues. A central focus of this assistance was on the La Dulce community's effort to have a new high school built in the area that was more responsive to Chicano youth, who had a 70% drop-out rate between eighth and twelfth grade. Domingo Tobias (and later a second CNS staff member) helped community activists plan aspects of their successful strategy to have the school built and assisted them in an effort to establish a pilot program within an existing high school branch in the area that they hoped would be a model for the new school when it was built. This program operated for one year but was halted after that time by a resistent administration. This project will be described in detail later.

A third major CNS effort took place in a low-income Black neighborhood in Chicago which we will call Crestline. Again, the CNS effort was shaped decisively by the work of one CNS staff member, in this case Dick Johnson. In Crestline, CNS assisted a parents organization founded by a dynamic Black woman (Crestline Parents United). The group had been active on a variety of school issues, beginning with the founder's work in acting as an aggressive advocate for individual parents and students. She then led an effort to press for increased funding for the schools in her area, improvement of physical facilities, and an early childhood education program with a strong basic skills emphasis.

The organization developed good relationships with the District Administrator and several local principals. The group had a core of thirty consistently active parents and a membership list of 1000. In 1973, the group reached an agreement with the District Administrator that they would assess the strengths and weaknesses of their local schools, then work with the schools to correct weaknesses. The group contacted Dick Johnson of CNS to to help them carry out a series of workshops to give them specific skills needed for the project. Under Dick Johnson's leadership, twenty workshops were planned and presented that involved skill training in various methods of assessment and documentation, including interviews, observation, video ape, questionnaires, and rating scales. Workshops involved active participation in using the techniques being taught, and participants carried out assignments in local schools between workshops. The latter part of the workshop series blended into the beginning of the school evaluation itself, which focused on a few of the District's twenty schools. As the workshops progressed, some principals and teachers also got involved. The momentum of the project at the local level was halted by a crisis over teacher assignment in the local schools into which the community group threw its energies and by the interest of the groups's founder in stimulating city-wide parent activity based on the tactics she had found successful rather than continuing the school evaluation project at the local level.

One important contrast of the Crestline work with other community assistance efforts was Dick Johnson's attempt to consciously define his role in working with the community group through initial negotiations, e.g. by specifying that he would not be drawn into certain on-going internal group conflicts and conflicts between the community group and the District Administrator.

In early 1974, after one to two years of work with the three main community sites in Chicago, CNS (primarily through the work of Dick Johnson) became involved in an effort to build a city-wide alliance of activists in education. This City-Wide Coalition was intended to provide local parent activists with a resource base for work at the local level through sharing ideas, gathering background information, and planning cooperative activities. The key leaders of the effort included the founder of Crestline Parents United, whom Dick Johnson had previously assisted, and another dynamic Black parent leader. Key to the Alliance was the idea that active parents in the 26 Districts of the Chicago Public Schools would become "Key Facilitators" for local parent involvement. A large core of active parent and community organization leaders responded to the idea, and the group pushed ahead to plan a city-wide conference for sharing ideas about improving schools that would bring together parents with school staff. The City-Wide Alliance held the conference, which was attended by several hundred people, and then proceeded with plans for stabilizing the organization and for initiating future activities.

Two months after the initial city-wide conference, Dick Johnson left CNS to take a university position. His departure was a blow to the organization's development, since his role and credibility had been important in maintaining relationships among several of the key leaders. Some other serious problems confronted City-Wide Alliance at the same time, including an inability to obtain needed funding, the start-up of another organization with the backing of a local foundation that had many parallels to the City-Wide Coalition, resentment at the local level about some of the choices of Key Facilitators, internal dissension over decision-making within the Alliance among persons who had had a previous history of conflict, and a disagreement over whether the Alliance should focus primarily on supporting the neighborhood-level work or should become a city-wide pressure group focusing on the central office of the Board of Education.

In the fall of 1974, the key people who had worked in the Alliance held a retreat to analyze what future directions they should take. They made some future plans, but participation steadily declined and the Alliance had ceased active operations by January 1975.

As the key parents involved look back on this period, they view CNS as being partially responsible for the demise of the Alliance at this time. Two CNS staff members who had worked with Dick Johnson in developing the Alliance continued to provide some assistance to the group, but several parent leaders involved felt that there should have been more organizational help and some interim funding from CNS to help see the Alliance through this period.

Viewing the period from CNS founding to mid-1974, one can see that CNS engaged in a diverse set of research and action projects clustered around its commitment to alternative schools, to parent involvement in schools, and to making research methods useful for school improvement. Work on these activities had resulted in a staff of ten people, diverse in their previous training, primary interests, and racial and ethnic background. They shared some basic values (see the section on the development of CNS philosophy), but differed in many instances on priorities and tactics. In dealing with this diversity, the style of the organization had been to allow a fair amount of autonomy. Further, leadership and other staff yielded to pressing demands of immediate project work and put off plans for sharing across projects and for systematic overall analysis.

With the departure of Dick Johnson (mentioned above), the two remaining founders, Tom Wilson and Don Moore, were the leaders of the organization.

Synthesis and expansion (mid-1974 to the present). CNS had made a commitment as part of its Carnegie funding to integrate the work it had done into a coherent strategy for school change. With the end of Carnegie funding in sight, CNS leadership pressed for such a synthesis to take place and also began to seek sources for future funding.

One aspect of this synthesis effort was an internal assessment of the community assistance projects CNS had carried out to that point. In this assessment, those who had been involved in these projects drew some self-critical conclusions:

1. In each community, the plan and style of work had been primarily a function of the relationship of the individual CNS staff member to the community and his personal philosophy and interests. There had been a lack of shared analysis of strategy and tactics along the way. Because of the individualized approach, the community saw themselves as getting help from a person who happened to be employed by the organization, making it hard to maintain any organizational continuity in these relationships.

2. Mutual expectations between CNS and the groups assisted had not been sufficiently clarified in many instances. In some, CNS assistance had been erratic. In others, even high levels of assistance that did not grow out of clear agreements with RTAs did not meet local expectations. Responsibilities of RTAs in the assistance process were generally not clarified.

3. There had been too little conscious effort to build local skills, e.g. in fund-raising, so that CNS staff were repeatedly called on to provide the same type of assistance.

4. Past projects had resulted in a need to work with both parents and school staff in an effective school improvement process, and future plans should better anticipate these needs.

5. There was a need for greater coordination and systematization of a CNS approach to school improvement, in a way that still allowed sufficient flexibility to meet local needs.

6. CNS had done very little systematic documentation of its community work, despite the tools being developed in other parts of CNS that would assist this process.

Partly as an outgrowth of this analysis of community work and partly as a result of the pressure of CNS leadership for a "synthesis" of CNS's past experience to develop an approach to change, CNS moved in spring 1975 to hire two specialists, one in school change and one in community change to work together in developing a coordinated CNS strategy for school community improvement.

Also in fall 1974, a critical decision was made that has decisively shaped the organization. The Local Problem-Solving Program of the National Institute of Education announced a competition for a major contract. Its aim was to study nine urban school sites chosen by NIE who were carrying out promising efforts to improve specific urban schools and to use the results of this study to provide assistance to other urban schools. CNS leadership had previously been in contact with the designers of this plan and shared many ideas in common with them about the ways that applied research could be used to strengthen a process of technical assistance. Tom Wilson and Don Moore saw the contract as an opportunity to build on past CNS experience and to carry out the synthesis of research and assistance efforts that they envisioned as the desirable outcome of CNS work. Other staff members were apprehensive about the impact of the contract on CNS. They were concerned that the contract would divert staff from other work (particularly community work), that the rapid growth in size entailed in the contract would put serious strains on the organization and dominate its activities, and that it would involve too many government "strings" and requirements. These concerns were raised in a staff committee, but the committee supported moving ahead with the project provided these potential problems were taken into account.

The leadership moved ahead to prepare for the elaborate competition, which finally involved producing three major documents and three trips to Washington. Early in the preparation period, CNS decided to work jointly in the contract competition with the Center for Educational Policy and Management, a group at the University of Oregon who had been leaders in applying the "organizational development" approach to school improvement. CEPM had also been competing for the contract, and CNS and CEPM decided that their skills complemented each other.

The two organizations thus submitted a joint proposal for the contract. The proposal drew on previous CNS ideas and experience, such as the use of qualitative research methods and an emphasis on face-to-face technical assistance for both school staff and parents. The proposal also emphasized the CEPM strengths in making organizational development techniques an integral part of technical assistance and drew on CEPM's experience in quantitative research.

In December 1974, CNS and CEPM were awarded the contract (called Documentation and Technical Assistance, DTA) and embarked on a national effort to hire, train, and support full-time researchers at each of the nine sites to be studied and to begin planning for technical assistance activities. Tom Wilson headed the project and directed this complex effort. Immediate tasks included adding twelve new staff members in three months, including nine site researchers; building a relationship with Center for Educational Policy and Management in Oregon; building a relationship with the NIE staff responsible for monitoring the project; building relationships with the sites being studied; and initiating and monitoring data collection at the nine sites.

In addition to the thrust represented by DTA, CNS continued to work on the synthesis of its past experience begun with the analysis of past community work. In spring 1975, as DTA was getting started, CNS searched for and hired a Senior Associate for Schools and a Senior Associate for Communities who were to develop an overall CNS change strategy and apply it in working with specific schools. During fall 1975, these two new staff members worked with Don Moore and with others providing community and school assistance to clarify a set of goals and a strategy for work with all major role groups (parents, teachers, administrators, students, and other citizens) involved in specific local schools. In December 1975, CNS obtained foundation funds to work with two Chicago schools in applying this strategy which is called School Community Improvement (SCI).

The rapid expansion of CNS activity represented by the DTA and SCI projects raised a number of difficult issues for the organization. First, CNS had little prior experience in managing activities at geographically dispersed sites (as required in the DTA project). Each of the sites to be studied had its own hopes and fears about DTA, which complicated the process of initiating the research activities. Second, in the DTA project, CNS and CEPM were faced with establishing a collaborative relationship across a geographical distance and with varying initial ideas about both research and technical assistance. Third, the required expansion and shifting of staff entailed in DTA and SCI pushed CNS above a staff size where many staff policies could be set and decisions made through informal discussion and agreement. The staff was also too large for the two Executive Associates to remain involved in all aspects of CNS functioning. Thus, at a time of heavy work overload, CNS was faced with the necessity to systematize its management procedures and develop a second level of program leadership to whom significant responsibility and authority could be delegated. CNS did not have well-developed orientation procedures, so that the orientation of new staff was not done with consistency. Fourth, CNS staff not working on DTA resented the shift of some key staff members to the project, the priority that DTA had in terms of the time of the two Executive Associates, and the general work overload the project intensified. Fifth, both DTA and SCI entailed setting clearer limits on CNS technical assistance activities, a modification of the autonomy that had been characteristic of earlier CNS assistance work. As certain people were given responsibilities, and some lines of action were supported and rejected, those who "lost out" as a result of these decisions became dissatisfied. These tensions will be discussed more fully later on.

The site observations for the TAG study at CNS were carried out at the time when various tensions surrounding organizational expansion had reached a critical point.

The period after mid-1974 then was one of considerable success for CNS in that it obtained substantial funding related to long-term goals, made some important advances in refining its assistance strategy, and created a base for potential national influence. At the same time, the internal strains on the organization have been immense. To the present, CNS has been attempting to stabilize its work in dealing with its expanded activities and to deal with diverse perspectives among the leadership and other staff as to what directions the organization should take in the future.

Philosophy

To repeat a point illustrated by CNS history, the organization is more complex and diverse in certain respects than the other group under study. At the same time, CNS leadership has always felt the necessity to have an articulated philosophical basis for the work that CNS does, and thus to continually emphasize the importance of the CNS philosophy in guiding action. It seems that the program leadership and most CNS staff would subscribe to the following general priorities:

1. The importance of significantly involving parents in school change efforts.
2. The need to provide concrete assistance to school staffs in improving school programs.
3. The potential usefulness of applied research in improving schools.
4. The need to build on students' cultural and individual strengths and to reject the "disadvantaged child" notion as a basis for social policy.
5. The importance of providing educational options for children.

However, given these general areas of agreement, the staff has differing priorities and emphases that are in potential conflict. These conflicts have often been minimized through the individual leeway given various staff members and through the fact that staff members with certain beliefs were usually involved in those CNS projects that were closest to their personal priorities. However, the effort to bring together research and assistance in the Documentation and Technical Assistance project and the attempt to develop a comprehensive change strategy in the School Community Improvement project have emphasized the vagueness of the CNS philosophy of change and forced people to confront some of their differences. There is an "in" joke at CNS concerning the CNS philosophy, i.e. that everybody talks about the importance of the philosophy but nobody knows what it is. This statement is an exaggeration, of course-- the vagueness and disagreement are in terms of consistency of strategy and tactics. The view of CNS philosophy articulated by CNS leadership and some of the key issues on which staff differ are described below.

Roots of the philosophy. The Executive Associates have seen as one of their leadership functions the development of a CNS philosophy. Their ideas have been embodied, for example, in funding proposals that have served as guides for subsequent projects. Thus, "CNS philosophy," as opposed to personal opinions of one staff member or another, is created by the Executive Associates. One or another staff member may reach a conclusion or articulate an idea or opinion, but it is not CNS philosophy until it is accepted by the organization's leadership. It is therefore important to understand the origins of present CNS leadership, and their own personal philosophy to understand the consistencies and conflicts in CNS organizational philosophy.

With the departure of Richard Johnson in 1974, the two remaining Executive Associates, Don Moore and Tom Wilson, became the leaders of the organization. They are both white Anglo Saxon Protestant males who were trained at Harvard and were influenced by the traditions of progressive education.

As indicated earlier, they have both been active in liberal social change causes. Their most important values related to the CNS philosophy are illustrated by the early effort at Metro to directly assist the change process and to study it at the same time. They attack the irrelevance of most research, but believe in the potential of rational analysis and research to improve education. At the same time, they believe that researchers will learn most from looking closely at successful change efforts in realistic situations and understanding their dynamics. Thus, they ideally attempt to incorporate into their own approach to social change ideas from all types of differing traditions, e.g. alternative education, community organizing, open education. And they attempt to temper the claims of various traditions in the light of their demonstrated limitations. For example, they have used their own research on the weaknesses of Metro in reaching Black and White students alienated from school in an effort to get alternative schools to deal with this issue. Elsewhere, they have noted a strength of conflict tactics in enforcing minimal standards of school operation, but a weakness of such tactics alone in bringing about any change in the way teachers teach. Thus, their tendency has been to draw on diverse traditions and staff with diverse skills in carrying out a variety of projects that they see as aspects of a potentially comprehensive and "experience-based" approach to school improvement.

Some of the basic elements of such an approach, as articulated in the proposal and reports of the DTA project and in the proposals of the SCI project are described below.

As reflected in recent proposals and reports, CNS conceives of educational improvement as taking place through a cycle of analysis and assistance. Analysis has two aspects, the analysis of one's own assistance efforts and the analysis of the change efforts of others. CNS assumes that both types of analysis are informed by understanding the process of change involved in a particular change effort through the use of qualitative research methods that document these processes. CNS believes that, given the limited knowledge of such processes at the current time, a broad-based qualitative approach is most likely to yield useful knowledge. However, they believe further that as detailed knowledge of the change process is built up, subsequent analysis can more and more build on this qualitative knowledge base. They feel that once there is a rich basic understanding of social process in change efforts, quantitative methods can be used to build on and test qualitative insights. The approach they articulate is based on Glaser and Strauss' conception of "grounded theory."

CNS feels that both educational research and educational assistance are inextricably bound up in value issues, and they reject the notion of a value-free "science" of education or of technical assistance. The type of research one does, they assert, is tied to notions about what constitutes good education, including the relation of education to the larger society. Thus, they ideally want to be explicit about affirming certain values, while being objective in questioning any particular means for fulfilling those values.

In both research and assistance efforts, they see it as most profitable to view the school and community as social systems, and emphasize the understanding of roles, norms, subsystems, subgroups, and interest groups in understanding how schools work. They distinguish individual changes (e.g. in a teacher's ability to teach reading because she attended a summer institute) from organizational changes. (This "social systems" perspective has been greatly refined through CNS collaboration with Center For Educational Policy and Management.) They feel that the understanding of schools cannot take place apart from understanding their community context. They use the "school community," i.e. the parents, students, teachers, administrators, and others involved in a local school, as a basic unit for social change.

They see school community assistance beginning with a process of matching the values of the technical assistance group with those of the school community. Since they see the assistance process as inevitably based on certain values, they reject the notion that assistance can be a neutral "technical" process; they argue that TAGs who claim they have no values of their own but merely seek to serve their RTA's interests end up manipulating RTAs in light of values that are not explicitly stated.

What are the educational objectives that CNS wishes to affirm and help people work for? The School Community Improvement project recently completed a lengthy process of delibration among the team involved and developed a list of thirty-five goals for school improvement that they are using as a basis for work with two school communities in Chicago. While this list officially represents only the goals of this project, all key people involved in technical assistance within CNS had a hand in developing these goals, so that these goals provide an understanding of the thinking behind most CNS assistance work. The stated goals are as follows:

A school is a teaching-learning environment which is an integral part of the community served by its educational program. The school community is a human system which consists of parents, students, and other community residents, as well as teachers, administrators, and other members of the school staff. Based on this human system perspective and the school community concept, the school should be a place where:

1. Parents, teachers, students, administrators, and other school community members feel welcome and experience a sense of belonging.
2. Parents, teachers, students, administrators, and other school community members are all actively involved in making important decisions and solving school problems.
3. Parents, teachers, students, administrators, and other school community members jointly develop and implement the learning program.
4. Parents, teachers, students, administrators, and other school community members freely exchange ideas and in-

formation using language understood by all and develop networks which provide everyone with clear access to vital information needed to support the work of the school.

5. Parents, teachers, students, administrators, and other school community members are receptive to changes which may enhance the school's effectiveness.

6. Parents, teachers, students, administrators, and other school community members continually assess school needs and make the fullest possible use of local human and material resources in addressing these needs.

7. Parents, teachers, students, administrators, and other school community members go beyond the school community to obtain advisors who can provide needed information, support, and assistance.

8. The rights of parents, teachers, students, administrators, and other school community members are clearly established and respected based upon a mutual commitment to serving the interests of the children.

9. Parent participation and leadership are broad-based, and a variety of avenues for parent involvement and parent skill development are provided.

10. All students feel a sense of personal worth and dignity through the school's learning program.

11. Diversity is respected, and the learning program builds upon the students' individual and cultural strengths.

12. The learning program effectively equalizes opportunities for all students, including those who do not traditionally succeed in public schools.

13. Curricular and instructional options are provided to accommodate students' varied needs, interests, and learning styles.

14. The learning program deals with the realities of the contemporary world and human history in a manner which is as truthful as possible and fosters active participation in the society.

15. Students are taught the basic reading, writing, and math skills necessary to function effectively in contemporary and future society.
16. Students are encouraged and helped to develop critical and creative thinking abilities.
17. Students receive career guidance and practical preparation for socially valuable and meaningful careers.
18. Teachers, administrators, and other school staff are committed to community service.
19. Teachers, administrators, and other school staff pursue additional training in order to enhance their service to the school community, as well as their personal growth.
20. Teachers feel confident about their ability to teach and the students' ability to learn.
21. Teachers respond positively to the challenge of teaching and are helped to acquire and perfect the skills necessary to teach effectively.
22. Teachers receive the human and material support necessary to establish and maintain conditions which permit them to teach most effectively.
23. Administrators act as educational leaders, taking an active role in improving the schools' learning program.
24. Administrators look to the school community for direction in their educational leadership effort.
25. School resources are used to aid in the development of the total community.

Within this set of goals, one can see a number of underlying emphases. First, CNS believes in the involvement of parents as partners in the educational process, both in terms of decision-making and in terms of the day-to-day process of education. Second, CNS believes that it is essential to provide optional programs for students, from which parents and students can choose that educational approach most congenial to their own values and perceived needs. In some cases, CNS would emphasize clusters of alternative schools; in others sub-units within schools; in others variations between individual classrooms; in others variations within individual classrooms. Third, CNS believes that regardless of the diversity of options available, each must be based on certain core assumptions and strategies-- for example, an emphasis on basic skills and an attempt to build on individual and cultural strengths. Fourth, they emphasize the importance of providing both leadership and practical concrete assistance to the teaching staff and to those community people involved in carrying out the educational program.

A major issue raised by the CNS approach is what happens in cases where CNS goals are supported by one group within the school community but opposed by other groups. Theoretically, the SCI project solves this dilemma by viewing parents as the decisive group and says that they will work with parents who are in agreement with the goals even if school staff are resistant. SCI also states that it is focusing its initial efforts on situations where some minimal acceptance of SCI goals is present among parents, teachers, and administration. However, the theory has yet to be tested in practice and the issue of conflict among role groups remains a key issue in strategy clarification.

At the time that field observations were made of CNS, the ideas for CNS technical assistance drawn from past experience remained to be tested through the DTA and SCI projects. DTA represents a major test of CNS's efforts to make applied research knowledge useful for change at the school community level and both DTA and SCI represent efforts to translate CNS ideas about assistance into practice.

Diversity of Staff Views about CNS Philosophy. Given the major thrust of the CNS philosophy as it has been described and illustrated above, there are a number of key issues among CNS staff, both in terms of the way the philosophy has been developed and in terms of its potential as a means for improving urban schools. One issue has been touched on earlier i.e. that CNS leadership has constantly emphasized the importance of the philosophy, but has not spent sufficient time involving staff in its clarification, on training new people in its tenets, etc. Such strategy clarification has, in practice, been given second priority in the face of immediate project demands. Thus, the staff have sometimes felt their work was being judged in the light of ideas that had not been made clear to to them.

A second tension concerning the process of strategy development is reflected in tension between the leadership group (two

Anglos) and Black and Latino staff members. In particular, various Black staff at CNS have felt at different times that CNS should focus more on basic skill development, should deemphasize notions from alternative education, should place a heavier emphasis on direct assistance and commitment to Black schools, and should be more internally responsive to their own ideas and suggestions. Latino staff members have also been dissatisfied with CNS strategy, feeling that the special needs of Spanish-speaking students are not given sufficient priority. Several staff members have complained that they are given responsibilities without clear authority and that their ideas are not listened to and acted on frequently enough. At the time of the field observation of CNS, several staff members felt that the leadership response had dealt only with their feelings about being heard but not with the realities of power in decision-making. Several staff members felt that the leadership confused a desire to exercise real decision-making power with a desire to "be listened to" in a purely advisory capacity. These issues will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent analysis of internal functioning.

In addition to these issues concerning the process of philosophy and strategy development, there are also substantive differences concerning the CNS philosophy and strategy itself--not absolute differences, but differences in emphasis and priority. Within the staff, there are people and subgroups who place a high priority on one of the following topics: applied research, assistance to Latino schools, assistance to Black schools, assistance to principals and teachers, and assistance to parents and community groups. At various points in time, people with these concerns have felt that the CNS philosophy as it worked out in practice was under-emphasizing their particular area of high interest and commitment.

Several specific differences concerning strategy are illustrated in the later analysis of the La Dulce project. For example, almost all CNS staff agree that change must involve both shifts in power relationships and increases in skills, knowledge, attitudes, and information. Some feel, however, that the strategy should emphasize more of a primary commitment to alter power relationships first (and focus primarily on assisting parents) rather than trying to blend a focus on change in power relationships with a focus on increasing skills. Some of those who emphasize changing power relationships first also feel that CNS should work with a number of schools and community groups, being less structured and focused in its approach and more open to current needs and trends accross a community. They also feel CNS should be more open to supporting conflict tactics.

Internal Functioning

The CNS headquarters is located in an office building in downtown Chicago. The basic work area is a large open room with several auxiliary meeting and work rooms. The open area has the appearance of a maze, having been divided into a series of individual spaces and project areas using desk carrels, partitions, and storage boxes that the staff assembled themselves from two-by-fours, particle board, plasterboard, and burlap. This open plan office reflects the importance the leadership has placed (reflecting the Metro High School experience) on fostering interaction between staff and counteracting isolation of staff members. The trade-off is a lack of privacy and difficulty in concentrating. Several rooms are allocated for quiet work, but staff members often work elsewhere when they have projects requiring extended concentration, isolating them from the rest of the staff.

In addition to the Chicago office, the DTA project (in conjunction with Center for Educational Policy and Management) maintains an office in New York City with five program staff and an office in Oakland with two program staff.

Figures concerning growth in the staff size of CNS illustrate some of the key dynamics with which the organization has had to cope in the past several years:

June 1971	4
June 1972	6
June 1973	11
June 1974	10
June 1975	28
June 1976	43

Particularly in the last two years, there has been a basic shift in the operation of the organization, with for example, the emergence of a distinct middle management group, the codification of many procedures that were previously informal, the sudden geographical dispersion of CNS activities, and a marked increase in the proportion of administrative staff to program staff. At the same time, there has been continuity in the way CNS has handled various organizational issues. These patterns of change and continuity are discussed under specific headings below.

Definition and Coordination of Subgroups, Roles, and Tasks: CNS has an internal structure which is, on the one hand, task oriented, i.e. it divides people into subgroups and assigns roles and responsibilities in terms of the job the organization is trying to get done. On the other hand, the organization is characterized by internal interest groups whose sometimes conflicting priorities and interests have to be balanced against each other.

Formal control of CNS rests with an 11-member Board of Directors, which includes the two Executive Associates. Until 1973, the Board of Directors consisted of the three founders. The expansion of the Board was undertaken in part because funders expected some "public" control of the organization if it was to be entrusted with increasing foundation and government money. The Board normally meets twice a year and was not, at the time of the field observations, deeply involved in day-to-day operations or even in setting general policy. It has usually ratified Executive Associate decisions after the fact. It is composed of prominent people in the area of educational change and research from Chicago and other parts of the country, who have sometimes been called upon for advice by CNS in their areas of special knowledge. An Executive Committee of the Board, whose members live in Chicago, has become somewhat more active in monitoring CNS work on a regular basis.

Below the Board level, CNS has been administered day-to-day by the two Executive Associates, who make decisions about specific projects under their supervision with relative autonomy and seek consensus or compromise on issues affecting the entire organization. This is the real locus of power in the organization, as all staff recognize. The Executive Assoicates decide philosophical directions of CNS, prioritize projects, approve and/or develop fund-raising strategies, decide the relationship between CNS and other agencies and institutions, set internal policy, and bear final responsibility for all hiring, firing, and salary raises.

The two (originally three) Executive Associates have been roughly equal in power. Recently, their practice has been to divide control over projects between them in such a way as to allow each leeway in dealing with substantive issues. Thus, during the time the TAG study was carried out, Don Moore was in charge of the TAG study, the School Community Improvement project, and several smaller projects, while Tom Wilson was in charge of Documentation and Technical Assistance (roughly 70% of current CNS income) and another research project. Through discussion, they seek to reach agreement on such issues as salary levels for new positions and overall CNS administrative procedures. In addition, Don Moore has been involved in a major role in the DTA project. This complicated interweaving of joint and separate responsibilities seems to have had some considerable strength in CNS development, but has recently broken down, with the Executive Associates now moving toward a much clearer separation of responsibilities. A major weakness of the structure has been, especially in the past two years, that the demands of individual projects has been so heavy that widely acknowledged Center-wide needs (such as the need for systematic staff development or over-all clarification of salary structure and job descriptions) have been neglected. The complex interrelationship of the Executive Associates on a variety of projects has been characteristic of CNS's staffing pattern. It reflects in part a concern that that has its roots in the original Metro experience--a concern that staff will become overspecialized and focused on only one project without interrelating their own work with that of others.

Beneath the level of Executive Associate, CNS structure is divided into task-oriented groups whose boundaries are usually defined by the funding limits of a given project. The Executive Associates feel that they have been successful in securing funding for projects generally consistent with CNS philosophy; however, regular formal mechanisms do not exist for sharing information across projects and for integrating projects in light of larger CNS goals, other than informal sharing and the structuring of staff roles to include work on several projects. Thus, the funded project or sub-project becomes the basic unit of operation. These task-oriented groups have in the past not only been accountable to the Executive Associates, but also the Executive Associates have been heavily involved in their substantive aspects. Below the level of Executive Associate then, the teams have not, until recently, been further differentiated into clear levels of responsibility, because all projects have been in effect run by the Executive Associates. Persons have been given coordinating responsibility within these projects, but not clearcut authority to operate them. Recently, the increased size and complexity of the organization, coupled with staff demands for clearer designation of the extent of their authority, have resulted in the designation of Project Managers other than the Executive Associates for several key projects or sub-projects. These Project Managers operate with increased autonomy within the written plans for their projects and do, in fact, manage them.

Another trend in the past few years has been an increase in the scope of administrative activities. A manager of such administrative activities as secretarial services, office procedures, personnel procedures, and financial systems operates with considerable autonomy and has been supervising an expanding staff. Secretaries have functioned increasingly as a separate group, not so closely tied to individual projects. In addition, key program people within CNS have hired administrative assistants who help them with administrative tasks and often have some expertise in their supervisor's major area of work (e.g. research). The rapid increase in administrative staff reflects the qualitative shift in functioning that the organization has experienced since mid-1974.

The development of a staff role within CNS generally results from the funding of a particular project. Some staff who have participated in developing the idea for the project are written into the original proposal for part or all of their time. Others from within CNS (completely on their own initiative or with the encouragement of persons working on the project already) apply for available staff positions. Available positions are also open to outsiders, and recent expansion has meant that many positions in new or expanding projects have been filled by people who have never previously worked with CNS. Actual job responsibilities have normally evolved substantially as projects have developed, often without formal acknowledgement of the change. In addition, people from other projects have constantly requested help when they learn of people's areas of expertise; and the generally high level of commitment that people bring to their jobs, as well as their personal interests, have often caused them to respond favorably to such requests for help or even to volunteer such help. The result of these dynamics--evolving job responsibilities within projects, multiple job responsibilities across projects, and informal assumption of additional responsibilities--has been a lack of clarity in people's responsibilities and serious work overload.

Work overload at CNS appears to stem from the following major influences:

1. There have not been adequate funds available for some important tasks, such as community work.
2. There has been a chronic tendency to underestimate the amount of time needed to do the type of job that meets the high standards of those staff members involved. Sometimes this has stemmed from limits on available funds, sometimes purely from underestimate.
3. Some jobs have been set up with the expectation that they entail much more than an eight-hour day.
4. Staff take on or are assigned to jobs in which they lack specific skills. They must learn on-the-job, leading to a time-consuming process of fumbling around.
5. Time for such activities as going to conferences, serving on committees outside CNS, etc. have not been figured into the work schedule.

The issue of work overload and the associated feelings that one must rush to complete one task after another and must virtually devote one's total life to CNS have been the consistent number one complaint of CNS staff. Airing of grievances about overload and the development of ideas for dealing with it have been the subject of periodic staff retreats, discussed below. Recent changes motivated partly by these sessions have been a movement toward more precise written clarification of job descriptions and less multiple responsibility. Overload remains a severe problem, however.

Development of Philosophy, Strategy and Tactics. The previous discussion of CNS history and CNS's philosophy of change underline the major points about the process of developing philosophy, strategy, and tactics, which are summarized below:

1. CNS's strategy is complicated, involving a link between

research and assistance and between assistance to school staff and assistance to parents and community.

2. The Executive Associates decide CNS's philosophy of change, seeking to integrate ideas from several different change traditions, although there is a significant difference among staff about the particular way the various elements have been balanced in the "official" philosophy.

3. In the past, there has been a lack of opportunity for group participation in the development of philosophy and strategy or even systematic attempts to inform people about philosophy and strategy. This has changed somewhat recently. However, the goals are still general, and differences about priority and tactics in particular situations hold promise for future disagreements.

4. Much of the assistance work in the past has been organized around the personal involvements, style and beliefs of individual staff members. There has recently been a trend toward more group analysis and team work.

5. The pressure to develop a more specific strategy that guides assistance has recently led to dissatisfaction and resignation from people whose viewpoints weren't accepted.

6. A rich experience in specific strategies and tactics relevant to CNS work exists among various staff members, but is not fully shared or recorded at present.

Leadership Roles and Styles. The Executive Associates hold their present positions by virtue of having founded and developed the organization. Both their formal power position and much of their credibility with other staff comes from their success in having (along with Dick Johnson) built an organization from nothing to its present scope.

In the Metro phase, Don Moore and Tom Wilson were strongly committed to notions of participatory democracy among staff and students, although Dick Johnson felt that much time expended on participation in decision-making could be better spent on strengthening the school's learning program. Attempts to involve students and staff in decision-making at Metro High were a major focus of research on the school; the first published article on Metro dealt with student participation in decision-making. In the second phase of CNS development, the leadership began to examine notions of participatory decision-making as they applied to CNS, and with some spread in their opinions, sought to reach a compromise between participation and top-down decision-making. They were influenced particularly by one TAG group they had cooperated with that was diverse in its staff racical and ethnic composition; it became so focused on major and minor matters of internal decision-making that its external work virtually ceased, and it lost its funding. Thus, the Executive Associates developed the perspective that they must take overall responsibility for the management of the organization and make final decisions, while encouraging input from those affected by the decisions.

The leadership has been overloaded with work ever since the early days of Metro, and there was a period in which they saw this overload as a sign of the importance of what they were doing. During the second phase of operation, however, they began to see it more as a trap, but one they were not sure they could get out of. More recently, both Executive Associates have emphasized a desire to become better managers and to delegate responsibility more effectively. This change seems to stem in part from their own experience, in part from the rapid growth of the organization, and in part from the pressures of middle level staff to be given a clearer specification of their areas of authority.

Staff Recruitment and Socialization. In the past, CNS leadership has retained the final say on all hiring and been directly involved in the selection of almost all staff. More recently, major Project Managers have carried out a higher percentage of the hiring, with Executives retaining final (sometimes pro forma) approval. Whether the Executives or a Project Manager has made the final decision on hiring someone, the usual practice has been for one or two people to screen candidates and then recommend two or three who are further interviewed by all persons with whom the prospective employee will work. Rating scales of the attributes sought for a particular job have been used, along with extended group discussions of finalists. The group involved in the final interviews then attempts to reach some consensus on a decision, and failing that, the Executive or Project Manager makes the final decision. There seems to be a general agreement that this process although time-consuming, has worked well.

Sources of candidates have been somewhat more dispersed than in most other TAGs, where candidates are often drawn from the TAG's own RTAs, from the personal acquaintances of present staff members, and from a network of other close personal contacts who share the TAG's values. CNS has used all of these sources, but has recently relied more on newspaper and journal advertisements and recommendations from friends of a friend of a friend. Another aspect of staff selection is CNS's attempt to keep a multi-faceted balance in staffing. The following is a partial list of factors commonly discussed in staff selection:

1. Ability to operate within the outlines of general CNS philosophy.
2. Ability to work effectively on a team.
3. Technical and social skills needed for the job, with more emphasis on experience and track record than on formal credentials.
4. Commitment to CNS work as "more than a full-time job."
5. Potential to remain with CNS beyond the specific job involved.
6. A balance at various levels of CNS responsibility in terms of race, ethnic group, and sex.

The resulting program staff included, at the time of the TAG study, two educational psychologists, two anthropologists, three former classroom teachers, one former counselor, one former psychiatric social worker, and three community activists. At the same time, total staff (including clerical staff) included eight Whites, seven Blacks, and two Mexicans. Except for the two Executive Associate positions, there was a spread of staff members along race and and sex lines at all levels in the organization.

Given the expansion of CNS, there has been both rapid promotion within the organization and the hiring of numerous people with no previous contact with CNS. Thus, CNS has been faced with the task of socializing a rapidly expanding staff, most recently a staff at sites dispersed throughout the country. The hiring of so many new people, sometimes in supervisory positions over present employees has created internal tensions.

The socialization of new staff has been a weakness of CNS. Recently, there has been a greater emphasis on people gaining an overview understanding of the organization, its history, projects, and procedures. Thus, orientation has included reading CNS documents, interviewing present staff, and close oversight by a supervisor for a probationary period. Formerly, planned orientation processes were even more variable. Even now, a number of problems exist in the orientation process, in the judgment of staff. Work demands minimize the time that either supervisory staff or new employees themselves can spend before being thrown into the work. No planned process exists for orienting people through a set of guided experiences in doing the work, as opposed to reviewing material and interviewing co-workers. Finally, new employees are given the sense that they are on probation, that they do not yet understand what it means to be a CNS employee. After a time, through informal interaction with present staff and through proving themselves in the work, they attain a status of being generally accepted. However, staff members observe that the path toward reaching this full status is not clearly laid out, that they have a sense of not meeting the CNS standard without being clear as to how they can attain it. This uncertainty is related to the lack of clarity in the CNS philosophy.

Decision-making and Problem-Solving. Some major elements of decision-making have already been discussed. The Executive Associates have retained the final decision-making authority, but sought to involve others in the process either by delegating their authority or by consulting others before a decision is made. This pattern has commonly been followed in project teams, and there have been several attempts to set up a parallel process on a Center-wide basis. The first such effort was called the Management Board, a set of representatives from various levels of the staff, who were given a mixed set of decision-making and advisory responsibilities, at least on paper. In fact, the line between areas of decision-making and of advice was cloudy, and many decisions were pro forma, given actions already set in motion by the Executive Associates. For example, the Management Board was asked to decide whether or not to compete for the DTA contract, when the Executives had already thoroughly investigated it and decided it was a good idea. The Management Board lacked the knowledge of alternatives that would have made their decision a meaningful one.

After an appraisal by all staff of the problems with the Management Board, the Executive Associates set up a Staff Advisory Committee with clearly advisory powers, and each project was allocated one or more slots on it. Some staff chose not to participate, feeling that the set-up confused their desire for decision-making authority with the Executive Associate's desire for input. Others declined because of other work pressures. Projects tended to send administrative personnel to the committee, who have often lacked substantive knowledge to offer advice on key issues.

The reason that the Executive Associates have perservered in creating these mechanisms is their attempt to find a middle ground between an autocratic system and one-man-one-vote. They cite a number of key decisions shaped or decided by these advisory groups despite their problems. At the project level, similar mechanisms have been employed. There is discussion to seek a consensus with the final decision resting with a Project Manager. This approach seems to have been somewhat more effective at the project level.

It should be pointed out that the two key professional roles in working with RTAs--that of participant observer and of technical assistance advisor--are by their nature roles in which substantial autonomy must be granted to those "on the line" to make day-to-day decisions. The effort to tighten up among advisory staff by clarifying an assistance strategy and assessing the effectiveness of advisory work has created tension among advisory staff, but is being pursued resolutely by the Executive Associates. Again, the ideal they espouse is some middle ground, where persons have substantial autonomy and authority within a set of limits.

Staff teams working on problems have, over the past three years, made increasing use of brain-storming, role playing, and other group process devices. There has been a sharp increase in recording and clarification of decisions and needed action. Since the DTA and TAG studies have been initiated, those who have seen other TAGs deal with a given problem are increasingly likely to introduce information about how Group X did it. In the DTA project, where the project's internal functioning is being studied by a DTA Study Team, some use has been made of feedback from the Study Team to aid in problem-solving. Unlike some other TAGs, however, CNS's use of problem-solving methods has not been regularized (e.g. there has been no regular de-briefing after an assistance experience), but use of such techniques has been dependent on the inclinations of various Project Managers.

At the Center level, problem-solving has been carried out partly through the Management Board and Staff Advisory Committees described above and partly through extended staff meetings or retreats, usually with an outside facilitator. Characteristically, a particular problem or general level of tension in the organization had reached a high level, so that the Executive Associates or one of the all-Center committees determined that a retreat should be held. Staff was then surveyed to determine the priority issues they wished to deal with. The workshop then proceeded, using force field analysis or some similar group technique for analyzing various problems and determining a course of action. A major weakness of these periodic sessions has been follow-up. The Executive Associates or other staff with follow-up responsibilities have often become absorbed in their project responsibilities so that follow-up steps were not carried out.

A major complicating factor in CNS decision-making has occurred because of the dispersion of the DTA project. CNS and CEPM entered the contract with a commitment to blend their differing philosophies into a complementary approach to research and assistance; co-directors for key activities were appointed, one from each center. However, extended face-to-face meetings have been hard to arrange and conference telephone calls have been inadequate for dealing with hot issues. Again, work over-load has exaccerbated these problems. Since our field observation period, the collaborating centers have moved to a division of responsibilities that involves much less collaborative decision-making.

Staff Rewards and Sanctions. A major reward of working at CNS is the opportunity for staff members to carry out work in which they are interested and to which they are committed as a result of their personal values. For example, researchers can carry out research in a context where they feel people are struggling with the issue of how it can be made useful. Advisors can work on those tasks of interest to them, such as community organizing or teacher advising. Further, because of the diverse activities at CNS, staff have the opportunity to learn outside of their major area of expertise and this opportunity is cited by some as an important incentive for working at CNS. Thus, the opportunity to carry out that aspect of the overall CNS approach that one finds most personally rewarding and, in some cases, to learn new skills counterbalances organizational conflicts over priorities.

A second strong influence is conformity to a CNS standard of performance, one which involves putting in long hours to accomplish the various tasks in which CNS is involved. The feeling of inclusion is not the family concept of either CTW or AFRAM, but rather a concept of meeting the standards of a professional team of colleagues that is counting on you. Thus, these standards are at work most directly on the individual within his immediate work team(s). There is an effort to build a group feeling a number of ways. Tasks are usually assigned to teams. Publications must be authored by Center for New Schools, with a footnote indicating individual contributions. No one has a private walled office in the open space maze in CNS's main office.

Another social control mechanism that has become institutionalized is the "personnel review." Once a year, CNS staff are reviewed by a panel consisting of supervisors and peers. The staff member being reviewed prepares written responses to questions about her work, discusses her statement, receives feedback on her strengths and weaknesses from the panel, and then is given a rating of terminate, probation, adequate work, or superior work. This recommendation determines a salary increase. If the staff member being reviewed successfully argues that she is doing work which is qualitatively different and more difficult than the work she was hired for, her job description can be reassessed and additional salary awarded.

As stated earlier, promotion has been frequent within the expanding organization and has served as an important reward for good performance.

Negative sanctions usually come in the form of statements of displeasure from the Executive Associates or from other supervisors. If changes are not forthcoming, the employee is dismissed. Such dismissals were extremely rare in the early history of CNS, but have recently become somewhat more frequent, and thus a more salient sanction for other staff members.

One important feature of the system of rewards and sanctions is that the Executive Associates have always attempted to reach consensus on important decisions in this area, so that they have presented a united front to the staff on such issues as hiring, promotion, and termination.

What is the overall impact of this system? In general, it seems to promote a rather high degree of productivity and commitment, but not the emotional and ideological commitment of AFRAM or United Bronx Parents. Commitment is to that portion of the work, staff work group, or informal staff interest group in which one is most directly involved. CNS ideology is not well enough worked out to provide a point of emotional identification for the staff overall.

Fund-raising and fund maintenance. Fund-raising has been, until very recently, the almost exclusive responsibility of the Executive Associates and one Executive, Don Moore, has played a prominent role in preparing the content of proposals. CNS's position as one of the first groups doing research on alternative schools and as a leading group in the application of qualitative research methods to the study of urban education have been timely in helping them secure funds.

Equally important, through the Harvard connections of the two Executive Associates, they are tied into a national network of key people in education, including key people in school systems, government, and universities. These people have been a valuable source of information about available funding, have "opened doors" for CNS to get a hearing for its ideas, and in some cases been directly involved in making funding decisions.

Recently, one of CNS's Black staff members, who is tied into a national network of Black educators in key positions, has been able to draw on these associates as a source of information and contacts for CNS funding.

The concentration of fund-raising and proposal writing in the two Executives has had serious drawbacks. First, it has contributed to the overload on the Executives. Second, it has meant that the proposal writers had the highest commitment to carrying out the proposal, while others who did not participate were less committed.

Materials for Assistance. CNS has been generally sporadic in the production of materials for assistance, producing materials for a specific training session or project, but not creating integrated materials systems like those of /I/D/E/A/ or United Bronx Parents. An extensive list of CNS publications includes a variety of research reports and planning documents that CNS has prepared in the past.[2] Their experience in disseminating these documents is that they reach an academic audience and those few people active in school change who are oriented toward reading such material, but that these documents are not effective devices for communicating with typical school staff or with parents.

Drawing on Research and Analysis. Given the applied research orientation of CNS, the concept of integrating research with the process of assistance is integral to CNS work. The instances in which this has been attempted, beginning with the Metro High effort, are described in the section on CNS history.

CNS preferences for qualitative research and the concepts they have used in seeking to link research with assistance are described in the earlier history and philosophy sections and will be illustrated in our analysis of the Community-Based Learning Project. As indicated in these various discussions, there have been problems in the attempt to use research to improve the process of assistance. First, it is hard to find funding to do both research and assistance; most funding opportunities are for one activity or the other. Second, overload and pressure tends to drive out one activity or the other--in research projects, the application to assistance is neglected; in assistance projects, research is neglected. This tendency appears also to be related to the predominant professional background of those involved in a particular project. Third, it is difficult to find effective ways to focus qualitative research so it will be useful and not merely descriptive—to translate it into lessons for action. Fourth, it is difficult to translate research into materials and formats for assistance that get people's attention. And CNS has yet to develop any such formats that are widely and regularly used in its activities.

Administrative, Fiscal, and Clerical Activities. One of the Executive Associates, Tom Wilson, had the major responsibility for the administrative and fiscal operations of CNS from its founding until summer 1975. These responsibilities included budgeting, financial projections for proposals, overseeing support staff, and personnel procedures. He was assisted in the financial area by consultant help on an on-going basis from a financial expert who specializes in aiding non-profit organizations. The work of Tom Wilson and the consultant were important in the development of a sophisticated budgeting system while CNS was still small that has served it well in the period of rapid expansion.

In summer 1975, the Executive Associates hired a Senior Associate for Administration, who now carries out the administrative activities described above with considerable autonomy. Her role is cited by the Executive Associates as an example of they type of independence within a framework of job guidelines that they would like to implement more widely.

As mentioned earlier, key program staff have recently followed a pattern set by the Executive Associates and hired Administrative Assistants to relieve part of their administrative responsibilities. Often these Administrative Assistants were hired because of some familiarity with the substantive work of their supervisors (e.g. research, elementary school teaching) so that they have become involved in some of the substantive aspects of the work--in contrast to the secretarial staff.

The secretarial staff is a distinct group, which operated at the time of our observations in spring 1975 as a pool. In contrast to the situation when CNS was smaller, they were not involved in or substantially aware of the substantive work of the organization. There were some tensions both about the priorities of various projects in drawing on the services of the pool and the lack of a level of familiarity about particular projects on the part of clerical staff that would expedite the completion of the work.

Technical Assistance Work

The earlier section on CNS philosophy described some of the key ideas underlying CNS's approach to assistance over its history. It also described the attempts CNS has made since mid-1974 to pull these ideas together in two major projects: Documentation and Technical Assistance (DTA) and School Community Improvement (SCI). The two major projects that will test these ideas are only recently under way in terms of technical assistance, so that the effectiveness of these approaches remains to be demonstrated. Thus, the assistance work of the DTA and SCI projects in specific school communities was not analyzed, since it had not begun at the time of our field observations.

At the time of the field observations, the projects in which CNS was actively engaged in providing assistance grew of out the earlier more varied phase of their work in assisting alternative schools and community groups. Paul Shane, the original TAG field worker, chose two of these projects for closer observation. The first project described is an effort to help parent and community groups in the La Dulce section of Chicago. The second project, Community-Based Learning, is an attempt to employ applied research methods to develop strategies and materials for assisting alternative schools without walls, and then to use these strategies and materials in a direct assistance effort.

Project A. La Dulce: La Dulce (pseudonym) is a neighborhood of about 50,000 people within Chicago in which CNS has worked with varying degrees of intensity for the last three years. The present population of the neighborhood is 90% Mexican. Of these, 70% of the adults were born in Mexico with another 20% born in the culturally conservative South Texas area. Only 10% of the adults were born in the Midwest. This has a number of important results: the language of adult social intercourse is overwhelmingly Spanish, many children in the schools speak only or principally Spanish and have trouble in English-language classroom settings, and to a great extent Mexican cultural characteristics are maintained in values, artistic tastes, social customs, religious beliefs and practices, and the li[illegible]

Since so many are recent immigrants, few are citizens; and the political power of the community is reduced accordingly. The ward (city council district) of which it is part, also contains other ethnic segments who customarily deliver their vote overwhelmingly to the Daley machine. Thus in the past, the machine's workers have not seen it as a crucial area to control with the same absoluteness as they control other neighborhoods. This has meant fewer social services, etc. but also less vigilance by the city. The relative neglect of the area has contributed to the fact that, from 1968 on, it has been a major area of grassroots political activity. A number of different movements have taken place which have captured the attention of the news media, including protests concerning abuses by the police and the immigration authorities, discrimination against Mexicans in jobs and other fields, support for the United Farm Workers strikes, and most especially educational issues. In addition, a great number of special programs have been launched in the fields of health, mental health, social services, employment training, and education.

Complaints of the Mexican community concerning the school system include the high dropout rate from the district high school (as much as 70% by some estimates), inadequate facilities for bilingual education, racist behavior by some school personnel (e.g. punishing children for speaking Spanish on the playground), deteriorated plant, racial and gang conflict within the school grounds, disciplinary excesses against Mexican children, low reading scores, and misuse of special classes for the mentally handicapped (it is charged that children are often put into these courses simply because they do not speak good English), and refusal of school authorities at various levels to deal with parents and other community people. In general, the level of hostility toward the schools on the part of active community people has been high. In addition, there have traditionally been almost no Mexican personnel in the Chicago school system, although this is now changing rapidly with the availability of more bilingual program money and more teacher training programs for Spanish-speaking personnel.

The first episode of educational activism occured in 1972, when a local community group (La Dulce Citizens Council) conducted a brief action research project to investigate the problems of the school system's ESL Program (English as a Second Language). This investigation revealed that funds and resources destined for Spanish-speaking children were in fact being diverted to meet other needs of the school system. A second major event in the growth of community activism came shortly thereafter when parents at a local elementary school were successful in ousting a principal they saw as insensitive to Hispanic children.

In the following year 1973, the La Dulce Citizens Council, which had carried out the ESL investigation and was now under the guidance of professional organizers trained in Saul Alinsky approach to organizing, decided to push for the building of a new high school to serve the neighborhood. Many meetings with school officials led to evasive or negative responses. In June 1973, parents and community people decided to force the issue by occupying the local branch building of an existing high school. Through this occupation and other pressure tactics, the community group won a commitment for the construction of a new high school and a community voice in planning curriculum.

Center for New Schools became involved in the project at about this time. One of CNS's workers, Domingo Tobias, a Mexican who had grown up in a neighborhood adjacent to La Dulce, had previously been working as a community relations specialist for the Board of Education. He had found this job unsatisfactory because he had been forced into a situation of divided loyalties between his employers and his people. He had joined the staff of Center for New Schools with the idea that it would allow him to identify more with the community interests while still having access to technical resources. Tobias was made part of the committee to design curriculum for the new high school, along with two other community members. The hiring of Tobias by CNS reflected a consistent idea in CNS assistance work, i.e. choosing as facilitators people from the same ethnic group as the neighborhood to be served.

A second CNS staff member also became gradually involved at this point. This was Emile Schepers, an anthropoligst who had worked on health and mental health issues in the same community. Although he was hired by CNS to do research, his knowledge and contacts in the community meant that he was able to provide assistance and wanted to.

The work in La Dulce began with the involvements and contacts of Tobias and later Schepers, which led to community people approaching them to play a role in educational work in the area. Thus the immediate priorities of the community people were a major determinant of what policies the facilitators followed, rather than a set plan for work which the Center had established in advance. The community people were at the outset interested chiefly in mechanisms to consolidate the degree of community control and involvement which they had achieved through their conflict tactics, but which some of them felt might be ephemeral if they did not build community control and involvement into the plans for administration and curriculum of the new high school. CNS's two advisors then saw it as important to find mechanisms based on CNS's previous school assistance which could be adapted to the needs of this specific community. It seemed that the "school without walls" or "community as a resource" model was one which was well suited to a situation in which there were many community organizations and agencies who already had shown an interest in the issue of the high school.

Accordingly, Domingo Tobias got the support of the community organization for a plan to help establish a pilot program which theoretically was to become a testing ground for developing ideas and training staff for the new high school. Enthusiastic support was also expressed by some teachers (especially Mexican teachers in bilingual education programs) for this plan. The idea was to use the existing high school branch (the Dewey Branch), which operated in the community, as a base for a small (about 100 students) experimental program, operate that program successfully, and then push for a transfer of the model to the new school. The educational model to be tested was based on using community activists and agency personnel as auxiliary teachers in a program in which students would leave the main building for a certain proportion of their classes. These classes would be taught in community settings through methods of active learning. The school administration also agreed to this plan, and it seemed at this point that there was adequate support from students, teachers, administration, parents and community for the type of program being suggested. At this point, however, the first signs of dissension began to appear. The Alinsky trained organizers of the La Dulce Citizens Council (which had fought for the high school) pushed for CNS to take over the task of administering the school program under contract for the Chicago Board of Education. Domingo Tobias of CNS opposed this proposal because he felt it would shift the major responsibility for the program in a way that would minimize school and community commitment to it and because CNS did not have the staff to take this responsibility.

It should be noted that the Alinsky orientation generally tries to discourage the kind of day-to-day community involvement in program activities that CNS sees as valuable, since it holds that such involvement wastes the energy of community people which is better used in pressuring on "hot issues." The leadership of the Citizens Council, in fact, was now not very interested in a day-to-day involvement in creating the program, since it felt that it needed new issues to keep activism alive. Their decision was to focus attention on questions of the physical plant (architecture, etc.) for the new high school rather than on curriculum. Other people within this organization opposed this view, saying that curriculum and control over administrative decision-making were more important than questions of the physical plant. A key member of the group, respected by both factions, became seriously ill and suddenly there was no one to play a mediating role. Mrs. Lopez, a key parent activist who had supported the CNS approach of direct parent involvement in planning and carrying out the program, left the Citizens Council and yet remained active in pressing for the pilot program at the branch school, which her children attended. At this point, CNS had to make an important decision: whether to stay with the original organization which had brought CNS into the high school issue, thereby violating their own ideas of how educational change should take place, or whether to work with the dissidents from the community group, with the risk of antagonizing the main group. In fact, CNS tried to choose a middle path, offering to continue to work with both groups, insofar as it was possible and useful to their respective priorities. However, it was obvious that since CNS was most interested in curriculum and administration and least interested in physical plant, it would be working more intensively with the dissidents. Personal relationships of Domingo Tobias with activists of both groups were used to make sure that CNS maintained good diplomatic relations with both factions.

The dissident group was small and dominated by one strong-willed parent, Mrs. Lopez. Thus, rather than a powerful activist community group supporting the pilot program idea, there was really only one parent and several of her followers. Further, she was unable to organize effectively on her own. The Parent Council of the Dewey Branch, where the pilot program was to operate, was weak (a common situation in high schools) compared to the Parents Councils of the elementary schools in the area. CNS did not have the resources to do parent organizing itself and also felt that this could not be its role.

Nevertheless, Mrs. Lopez and her supporters wanted to proceed with the pilot program effort, and CNS agreed to support them. Mrs. Lopez, with advice from CNS, persuaded the assistant principal who headed the Dewey Branch to name as the coordinator of the pilot program a Mexican teacher who was very popular with the community and committed to the pilot program. Using the results of its community-based learning study, CNS gave this teacher a short intensive course in some of the issues involved in directing such a program. Four other teachers who had been active in working with the community were also designated as staff.

At this point, however, more problems appeared. The vice principal who headed the Dewey Branch began to see the pilot program as a threat to his control of the school. He reversed his decision to appoint the teacher already trained by CNS to head the program and instead appointed another teacher who was more pedagogically conservative and personally loyal to him. This teacher did not want to assume the position. When the parents involved and CNS staff protested, the assistant principal refused to change his mind. In the view of the CNS advisors, this resulted from the lack of united community support behind the objection.

CNS proceeded to meet with the teachers who were to be involved in the program and with the active parents. However, the program was further weakened when two of the four teachers involved withdrew from participation. The teacher who was originally to be director became disgusted with the opposition from the administration and the lack of leadership from the person appointed to head the program. A second teacher moved from Chicago. The administration was slow in naming replacements and also in approving some basic guidelines for program operation that CNS advisors felt were essential to the program's success. Thus, when the program opened in fall 1974, it was operating with two teachers chosen at the last minute, an ambivalent coordinator, and unclear groundrules for operation. CNS advisors considered recommending that the community group pull out at this point and considered pulling out themselves, but they decided to proceed because of the enthusiasm of the core group of parents, the wide interest among community organizations and agencies, and the commitment of several teachers in the program.

A second decision made by CNS at this point was critical and, in retrospect, seems to CNS staff to have been serious error. The two CNS advisors had a primary commitment to assisting parents, and their skills, interests, and credibility lay in this area. However, as the effort in La Dulce evolved, the focus shifed from working with parents to providing technical help for the teaching staff in the pilot program. Because of work overload, only a very limited additional CNS staff commitment could be made to the pilot school from those CNS staff members who had the best skills and credibility for working with teachers. Thus, CNS staff who were essentially parent advisors took on the primary load in an area where they lacked expertise and interest.

CNS work proceeded in helping teachers and parents plan curriculum, acquire community resource people, and plan grading and credit systems appropriate for the program and choose students. During the summer of 1974, CNS held a series of workshops for the teachers which covered activities identified as crucial for this type of program in the CNS Community-Based Learning Project. The learning experience for the teachers in planning the specifics of the program, however, was continually frustrated by outright opposition or procrastination on the part of the administration. CNS also worked with students--a large workshop was held for all the students who were going to be involved in the program, and a smaller group of students worked more intensively during the summer on planning. Plans were made for intensive work with parents as well, but this was less than satisfactory because of the relatively small number of parents who were interested in active participation during the summer.

At the beginning of the school year, CNS helped teachers carry out a successful meeting to which community resource people, administration, representatives of the Chicago Board of Education, students, and parents were invited. The new program was explained and discussed, and students chose the special community courses they wished to be involved in. The program began with a core group of about twenty resource persons, who ran the gamut of community agencies and organizations. Five teachers, led by the coordinator of the program, provided the core staff responsible for carrying out the program. The community courses counted toward credit in a variety of areas, principally science and social studies. For example, some of the students acted as aides to the head of a free clinic in a the area, and learned about laboratory techniques and health issues. This gave them credits in science. The core teachers worked to integrate what the students learned in the community experience setting into the general curriculum. In addition, students and teachers took many special trips, and community resource people made special presentations for classes.

Problems of various kinds interfered with the smooth operation of the program. Students moving from place to place encountered police harrassment and feared to cross hostile gang turfs (a meeting with gang leaders was held to work out an agreement about this issue). These problems of student mobility had also been encountered in CNS's earlier work with the Metro High School, but were less intense because many of Metro's outside learning experiences were in the downtown area. A more serious problem was that the Dewey Branch administrator constantly asked the pilot program coordinator to perform minor administrative duties unrelated to the pilot program, leaving him little time for program coordination. Also, resistance and procrastination on approving guidelines for pilot program operation continued. The timidity of the program coordinator and the untenured status of several of the teachers in the program made them reluctant to confront the administrator about these problems.

The most serious operational problem was that students were not showing up consistently at classes held by community resource people and the full-time program staff was not dealing with this issue. This antagonized the community resource people, who were donating their time. It was impossible for them to carry out a consistent learning experience when attendance was irregular. CNS advisors had emphasized this problem as one that the program might encounter and suggested a number of scheduling, attendance-taking, and counseling procedures that other schools had found helpful in dealing with it. However, the program coordinator did not follow through on these ideas. Through their general contacts in the community, CNS advisors were told of growing dissatisfaction among the community resource people with the way the program was going. They were informed that a number of resource people were thinking of dropping out.

CNS advisors attempted to devise a strategy for getting the program to deal with this problem without themselves taking over much of the program's administration. They suggested to the program staff that they carry out an evaluation of the program through interviewing the community resource people. They wanted the teachers to do these interviews directly, but the teachers said they couldn't do it. Thus, the advisors agreed to carry out interviews with the resource people. The results showed that there was wide-spread support for the concept of the pilot school and that resource people found the experience of working with students rewarding, but that they were exasperated by the lack of coordination and would not continue to participate unless there was a basic change.

Teachers in the pilot school responded with anxiety to the results but did not take decisive action. Further, they failed to follow through on a number of specific steps they said they would take in other areas of program operation. Therefore, CNS advisors indicated that they would no longer carry out regular planning meetings with the school staff, but would be available if the staff wished to take actions on the problems facing the program and needed help. From the advisor's standpoint, they were pulling back because the teachers were not holding up their end of the bargain and were becoming over dependent on the advisors. But the CNS advisors had not sufficiently clarified as they went along what they saw as the teachers' responsibilities in the assistance relationship, so that the advisors were seen by some of the teachers as "running out" on the program. Also, the teachers continued to feel that they could do little given the assistant principal's continuing opposition.

CNS advisors continued to assist parents in pressing for more autonomy for the pilot program. Meetings with the assistant principal for the Dewey Branch and the principal of the high school of which it was administratively a part resulted in the impression that the administration opposed the pilot program and wanted to get rid of it at first opportunity. At the end of the school year, the principal announced that the alternative program would not be continued, but that its good points would be incorporated into the regular program. Pressed for further information at a meeting with parents and CNS staff, he clarified that this meant that the students would go on field trips--something they did anyway. When some parents complained that they did not see the school working to change educational practices that were resulting in a high dropout rate, one of the Latino teachers who was supporting the administration said that there was no need for special programs anyway, since if a child had the aptitude he would learn regardless of the program. One of the mothers challenged the teacher, accusing him of implying that their children were retarded. But the administration did not back down.

At this point, relations between the parents and administration were totally polarized. The more progressive teachers were primarily untenured, so that although they tended to support the pilot program, they were reluctant to push for it in a polarized situation. The parents and community were weakened by the split among those working on the high school, so that they did not present a united front in fighting to maintain the program. Finally, the attitudes verbalized by the administration and the anger expressed by the activist parents made it unlikely that any compromise would be possible.

In this situation, CNS decided to continue to support attempts to unify the parents. CNS was also reassessing its community work at this time and did not want to make major commitments until the direction of assistance work was clarified. Therefore, one CNS advisor continued to work part-time with parents, assisting them in writing a bilingual program proposal and developing strategies for gaining a greater say in the operation of this program. In many ways, the key issue in this effort was a replay of the pilot program. Parents wanted an innovative progressive bilingual program coordinator while the assistant principal in charge of the branch wanted to appoint a conservative teacher whom he trusted. Parents explored the possibility of using legal action to enforce state guidelines concerning their participation in these decisions, but were advised that the regulations were too vague. The CNS advisor still working with the parents used the limited time he had available to help them seek funding for their local efforts and to provide information on request.

Reviewing the La Dulce experience, there are several generalizations concerning the La Dulce effort about which the CNS staff was in general agreement. These seem to be clear patterns from which other TAGs can learn. First, they agreed that as various factors made the Dewey Branch program less tenable (splintering of parent support, failure to appoint a strong coordinator, resistance from the administration) they should have advised against proceeding, since the effort was, in essence, being "programmed for failure." Second, it was inappropriate to involve CNS advisors whose essential talents lay in the area of parent advisory work in an effort to help school staff, an area in which they lacked experience and credibility. Third, CNS pushed its experience with the school without walls idea too hard and should have considered program ideas that were less complicated to carry out as other possibilities for parents and teachers to consider. Smaller steps might have consolidated more support without exhausting resources and energy and generated less dependency on CNS. Fourth, CNS failed to clarify mutual responsibilities between themselves and the teachers, so that the basis for terminating help to teachers was not well established. Fifth, CNS made a significant commitment to provide help without sufficient staff resources, and should have been surer that these resources were available and could be supplied on a regular basis over the period of assistance. Sixth, there was general agreement that this experience reflected a need to build a strong base among parents in schools with highly resistant administrations before basic changes can be pressed.

There were also some important differences in perception among those who were involved, which emerged repeatedly during the period of assistance to La Dulce. The advisors working directly in La Dulce felt that they must remain open and flexible in working with parent and community groups, so that they could be responsive to the needs and trends within the community. They generally favored work on a less intensive basis with a variety of groups, tending to see the whole community as the arena for change. Further, they were not interested in placing a strong emphasis on working with specific educational programs inside schools. They tended to see schools as an avenue for politically mobilizing the community and to believe that specific changes inside schools would not take place until there was a broader shift in power resulting from widespread community organizing.

CNS leadership especially Don Moore (who directly oversaw the project) was critical both of some of these ideas in the abstract and also of the effectiveness with which these ideas were implemented. The leadership felt that if there was going to be general social change, there had to be some division of labor--that full-time focus on changing the schools, including changes in what was happening in typical classrooms, should be the central emphasis of CNS. They saw the spreading of advisory services to a wide variety of groups as too limited to foster any lasting institutional change. They felt that by constantly reacting to short-term needs of various groups, the advisors were not creating sufficient continuity of the CNS effort and not developing the skills of local people (e.g. by becoming the proposal writer for the same group on repeated occasions). They felt further that it was important to bring about basic changes in single schools through providing intensive help to establish a working base in the community for wider spread change.

During the period that we have characterized as one of CNS synthesis and expansion, these issues came to a head. Through closer monitoring of work and through setting groundrules for the development of the School Community Improvement project and for the Documentation and Technical Assistance project, the CNS leadership pressed its view of how the advisory work should proceed. In this process, both the advisors who worked in La Dulce resigned, partly in each case as a result of their opposition to the approach that was being advocated by CNS leadership. From their standpoint, they saw the position of CNS leadership as reflecting an inflexibility in adjusting to the special needs of the Latin community. They felt that CNS was dominated by Anglo top leadership, Black middle level leadership, and a primary focus on the needs of Black education.

Project B: Community-Based Learning. CNS staff members who had helped set up Metro High School had, both through their informal analysis of Metro's development and through their research, discerned a number of patterns in Metro's development. They attempted to feed this information back to Metro staff and students, in hopes of improving the program. They found this a frustrating experience for several reasons. First, the patterns they uncovered often revealed areas of difficulty within the program for which the solutions were not apparent. Staff and students did not find it helpful to be presented with sophisticated descriptions of their problems. Second, the research team often tried to feed their information back through brief written memos or longer reports, which they would discuss at staff meetings. They found, however, that these written communications had limited impact on program participants. They were generally ignored.

Two avenues were somewhat more successful. First, applied research knowledge was used by the consulting team in shaping their own active participation in the school's development. For example, information about differential participation in decision-making by student subgroups caused them to push for changes in decision-making structures. Second, there were a few instances in which research information was incorporated into more elaborate staff development activities with staff than merely feeding back the information through memos and brief presentations. In one situation, information about staff inconsistencies in enforcing rules was used to design a series of case study situations for staff to analyze, which was followed by a staff effort to set some new school rules and decide concretely how they could be enforced. This more extensive technical assistance follow-up using research results had somewhat more impact on people's behavior.

After leaving Metro and founding CNS, CNS staff had a number of opportunities to visit alternative schools and to meet with alternative school staff and students at conferences. In analyzing experiences of various schools, they found that while each school felt it was struggling with a unique set of circumstances, there were striking similarities in the unfolding patterns of events at various schools. Working with UNESCO, CNS sponsored a national conference of staff and students from alternative high schools. The focus of this conference was on analyzing patterns in the decision-making processes of alternative schools. CNS developed a structured format for guiding representatives from fifteen schools in an analysis of their decision-making procedures, and this work confirmed that there were highly similar patterns in decision-making among the schools, in terms of the mechanisms that had been tried and problems encountered. The group at the conference found that they indeed shared common problems, but were short on solutions. This experience reemphasized to CNS staff the importance of pinpointing not only typical problems, but also searching for anyone who had developed promising solutions to them.

Out of this past experience, CNS attempted to design a project that would capitalize on its past insights about alternative schools and the potential of research and analysis in helping them. Under the direction of Don Moore, CNS chose in 1973 to start a project focusing on the development of various methods for "community-based learning" that had been tried by alternative high schools, either those schools who called themselves "schools without walls" or who made some other significant "use of the community as a site and resource for learning."

The best way to provide an understanding of the approach the CBL project hoped to employ is to quote extensively from the statement originally circulated to schools interested in participating:

> Our commitment to carry out this project is based on the following observations, which grow out of long-term involvement in starting and assisting several urban alternative high schools and visits to over 100 alternative schools in the past two years:
>
> 1. Alternative high schools exhibit some striking common patterns of development as well as common recurring problems which threaten their effectiveness and often their survival.
> 2. It is extremely difficult to alter these typical patterns of development either as a participant in an alternative school or as an outside advisor even if one is aware in great detail of how these problems have unfolded in other schools.
> 3. Despite this difficulty, it is crucial that

alternative schools plan and struggle actively to solve these problems. We have never found an alternative school where workable solutions to key problems emerged "naturally" or organically."

4. Effective assistance in dealing with problems must be based on long-term personal contact either by someone working full-time in a school or by an outside person willing to make a long-term commitment.

5. Such a process of assistance, to be effective, must be supported by a variety of methods other than just written reports for presentation, such as film, video tape, photography graphics, and performance media.

6. Assistance must not be a one-way communication process. The strengthening of the alternative school and educational change movement will best be accomplished by working relationships between alternative schools, neighborhoods, and technical assistance groups like Center for New Schools that are interested in genuine cooperation.

7. According to many involved in alternative schools, cooperative efforts between such schools have failed more than they have succeeded. Success has been associated with a very specific limited focus, rather than with attempts at cooperation on a broad set of issues.

Beginning with the above observations, CNS is seeking the participation of five Midwestern urban alternative schools in a cooperative project to analyze their experiences in using the community as a resource for learning. We are seeking schools which vary in the ways they have used community resources in their school programs, but have all experienced significant successes in this area. We have chosen the topic of community-based learning because it is an area in which alternative schools have encountered many problems, but also experienced some significant successes. Thus, we feel that it is an area in which schools that have existed for several years have much to teach each other as well as to offer schools just getting started.

The objectives of the project are as follows:

1. To analyze the experience of the five participating schools and, to a lesser extent, of additional schools in the geographic areas of the five schools that have initiated community-based learning. The school's philosophy and objectives in community-based learning, experiences in practice, practical problems in setting up and coordinating such programs, and the effects of various types of community-based experiences on students will be the major areas of study.

2. To develop ways of effectively communicating this experience both to other schools with similar interests as well as among the five schools themselves. This communication process could include the use of film, videotape, performance media, graphics, and photography.

3. To explore the problems of cooperative work between the five alternative schools, considering the possibility of future cooperation.

4. To identify ways of working with teachers, students and parents involved in alternative schools that make use of the materials developed in a process of technical assistance to them.[3]

The original plan then outlined a set of steps for collecting information from the schools, carrying out a preliminary analysis of the information, and then bringing people from the schools together to further analyze the information and to think of ways it could be made useful to others. CNS planned to build commitment at the participating schools by requiring each school to designate a local coordinator who would be responsible for helping to gather information, for arranging site visits by CNS staff, for attending the conference to review results, and later for using the results of the project in helping their school and others.

Five schools were chosen for the project and made the necessary commitments. Three were urban public high schools, one a private high school, and another a kindergarten through twelve public school. They all chose students from volunteers and had a diverse racial population, with Black students comprising between 20% and 70% of their student populations. They used community learning resources in a variety of ways, including courses taught in the community by full-time teachers or volunteer auxiliary teachers, student internships, student-initiated investigation of community issues, and extended trips.

In the fall and winter of 1973-74, CNS staff carried out visits to the five schools, involving two CNS staff for three days at each school. They conducted interviews with administrators, staff, a sample of students, some parents, and some community resource people. The focus of these interviews was on how the community-based learning aspect of the school operated, what problems it had encountered, what solutions to these problems had been attempted, and what effects the program had had on students. Although the focus of the visits was on the community-based learning aspect of the school, a thorough analysis of CBL entailed looking at a number of other aspects of the program. For example, a common problem encountered by the schools was that staff within individual schools had widely differing notions of the purpose of community-based learning--

was it to enrich conventional courses, prepare students for jobs, involve students in solving community problems, or what? Thus, analyzing CBL involved the CNS team in examining the processes by which goals were set in the school and by which staff either agreed or failed to agree on what community-based learning meant in concrete terms.

Rapport in this stage between CNS and the schools was extremely good. It appears that one important factor in establishing rapport and credibility was that the CNS research team was able to demonstrate a specific prior knowledge of the problems that the schools were facing, based on past CNS experience. This prior knowledge allowed them to zero in quickly on what people were concerned about and to ask questions that demonstrated sensitivity to the issues the schools were facing.

The CNS research team consisted of Don Moore, Manford Holmes (who had assisted on past CNS research efforts), and Mimi Edmunds, an anthropologist and writer. One weakness of this period was that delays in forward movement on the project resulted from overload on Don Moore, a pattern that has been repeated throughout the project's history. It was Don Moore who had the overall sense of where the project was moving, and when he turned to other tasks, the other staff members were not well enough prepared by the project director to move ahead.

The CNS team collected a large volume of field notes on interviews and collected many documents from the schools, including details of course offerings, scheduling procedures, etc. In reviewing these materials, several patterns became evident:

1. As CNS had observed before, there was a great deal of consistency across schools in terms of experience.

2. In dealing with characteristic problems, there was a much higher percentage of failure than success, but various schools had found ways to deal with specific problems that seemed effective.

3. There was not one "right" way to deal with a particular problem. There seemed to be several promising ways to deal with a particular problem that were either appropriate to a given set of circumstances or represented a trade-off between certain advantages and disadvantages. For example, concentration of the responsibility for setting up community-based learning experiences with a single staff coordinator made the process more efficient, but decreased the extent to which other staff integrated CBL experiences into their courses. Dispersion of responsibility for setting up CBL experiences increased the integration of CBL experiences with the overall learning program but created serious problems of management and follow-through.

4. There seemed to be some lines of activity in setting up a CBL program that appeared attractive but in practice proved unworkable. For example, it seemed to some school staff that community experiences would be so intrinsically interesting to students that they could be counted on to attend almost automatically, but school staff soon discovered that they had to set up some type of monitoring and counseling system to work with students who did not in fact attend.

5. There seemed to be certain key activities--which CNS called critical activities--that played a major role in determining the success or failure of a CBL program. For example, student orientation was critical, and failure to clarify the limits within the program during student orientation had important effects on later program operation.

The notion of "critical activities" became an important conceptual link between the fruits of the research at the schools and an approach to assisting them. Using the information available, the CNS staff identified approximately seventy "critical activities" in setting up and maintaining a CBL program, such as "setting and enforcing limits within the program," clarifying program objectives," "designing a headquarters space," "establishing and maintaining a credit system," etc. These were chosen for their strategic usefulness in helping schools improve their CBL programs. CNS staff organized the following types of information around such critical activities:

1. Characteristic patterns and processes in carrying out the activity.
2. Approaches for carrying out the activity that seemed effective under various conditions and approaches that seemed to fail consistently.
3. "Nitty-gritty" information about how the activity could be carried out successfully, e.g. scheduling procedures, handouts for students or resource people.

The definition of critical activities was intuitive, and they were chosen with technical assistance objectives in mind. They were selected to represent an area of work that a participant in a CBL school could readily understand and could feel that they could potentially bring under conscious control. A refined list of these activities appears at the end of this chapter.

In April 1974, CNS held a conference attended by one to two staff members and one student from each participating school, along with people from several other schools interested in CBL. The purpose of the conference was to review the information that CNS had collected and the way in which it was organized around the critical activities idea, to facilitate direct sharing of ideas between schools, and to plan for the development of materials for technical assistance that would grow out of a continued collaborative effort. The conference was rated one of the most successful of this type of information-sharing conferences that CNS had carried out. The feeling of cooperation was high, and there were high expectations for forward movement on the materials development process and on future collaboration. CNS agreed to take the leadership in producing four products for use in technical assistance: First, they planned a catalogue of learning experiences drawn from the experience of the participating schools that would help give people a concrete understanding of the variety of CBL experiences it was possible to set up. Second, they planned a resource box organized around the critical activities (which the participants had refined at the conference). The box was to contain both short analytical pieces and specific materials from each school, helpful for carrying out the activity. An illustration of what might be included in the box under a critical activity is reflected in a subsequent newsletter to the schools:

> As an example, in the folder for ORGANIZATION, Activity 8: Establishing/maintaining a system for evaluating, communicating and recording student progress, the following

> are included: guidelines for making a transcript useful to students in applying to college, suggestions about major questions to consider in choosing and implementing an evaluation system, a description and analysis of four systems of grading, examples and descriptions of several different evaluation systems which have been adapted by specific schools, some notes describing ways of helping students evaluate their own work, a description of a method used to make evaluation for resource persons easier, and a couple of examples of transcripts.[4]

Third, the group planned to develop a resource manual for schools that dealt with some of the most important issues for each critical activity drawn from the resource box. Fourth, the group wanted to refine a simulation exercise they had tried out at the workshop for getting CBL schools to analyze their problems.

CNS estimated that most of these products could be completed before the end of 1974. They also promised to provide short-term help to the schools involved as much as was feasible during this materials development phase and planned to reassemble key people from each school to train them in using the materials once they were completed.

CNS moved ahead on producing the materials, but grossly underestimated the time that it would take to complete them. Delays stemmed from the following influences:

1. Don Moore was a key actor in keeping the project moving. As he became involved in other activities, progress was slowed.
2. There was a periodic turnover of staff working on the project. One original research person left CNS, two of her replacements later left and a third was shifted to another project.

3. Projects that involved specific time deadlines for reports to funders or immediate commitments in Chicago to parents groups were more salient and took precedence over the materials development process.

4. CNS underestimated the complexities of producing materials, including time required for graphic design and assembling and editing written contributions from a variety of sources.

5. The key graphic designer working with CNS on the materials moved to California, and a decision was made to work with her through the mails. This proved a time-consuming and frustrating process.

As of September 1976 (almost two years after CNS's first projected date for completing the materials), their status is as follows:

1. The Resource Box is complete, but it is so extensive that it is not easy to transport or to copy for other people's use. It has been used by CNS staff to help participating schools obtain information about specific critical activities and has been used as a resource by a number of people interested in community-based learning who have come to CNS.

2. The catalogue of learning experiences has become a book called Learning from the City that describes sixteen specific CBL experiences and analyzes common issues in them. Development of the individual descriptions of learning experiences was done in close collaboration with the participating schools. The book, including high quality graphics for each experience, is scheduled for publication by CNS early in 1977.

3. The handbook to be based on the resource box has not been finished.

4. The simulation has been tried by a few of the schools in a revised form.

CNS has provided short-term assistance to two schools in the project based on the information it collected and analyzed. Shortly after the conference with representatives from the schools in spring 1974, Wabash Urban Learning Community requested and received workshop assistance based on the information the CBL project had developed. A year later, they requested a similar workshop, and at that same time, a second school, Brighton City-Wide Learning Community, requested a workshop. In each case, the format was basically the same, CNS asked the school to use the list of critical activities to survey its staff and students and identify those critical activities that they wanted to strengthen in their school. CNS staff then facilitated a problem-solving workshop focused on those critical activities. The CNS workshop leaders led the problem-solving process, kept it on track, and introduced substantive information from their research analyses and from the resource box at relevant points in the process. One of these workshops was carried out for two days at the Brighton City-Wide Learning Community during the period of the field observation at CNS by the TAG Study. The three CNS staff people involved were Frances Holliday, who had by this time become Senior Associate for Schools at CNS; Sharon Weitzman who had worked extensively on the CBL project before Mrs. Holliday became involved; and Don Moore. CNS advisors focused on several key issues in negotiating to set up the workshop, based on their past experience. First, they asked the school staff and students to choose from the critical activities list those topics on which they had a commitment to make changes in the program; they also asked the staff and students to do some preliminary analysis of what the problems were in these areas. Second, they established some limits for their assistance effort in light of a deep split among the City-Wide school staff as to who should be the coordinator of the program for the next year. CNS made it clear that they could not get involved in this disagreement, and both factions agreed that they would not try to draw the CNS advisors into this conflict. CNS advisors used a structured problem-solving technique called force field analysis as the basis for the two days of work. The staff and students who participated had not made much progress before CNS advisors arrived in clarifying priority problems to focus on, so the first portion of the workshop was spent (following the general approach of force field analysis and other problem-solving procedures) in arriving at exact statements of various high priority problems and enumerating instances of them. Participants, including staff members and students, agreed that this step was extremely helpful to them, since they often defined problems in vague terms that masked the variation in the way each person understood them. They then decided on a problem to deal with first--the fact that a high percentage of Black students were dropping out of the program. They analyzed some causes of the problem and by the end of the day had broken down into several groups to plan various concrete steps for dealing with it. They expressed general satisfaction with the process to that point and felt it was allowing them to make concrete progress that was not customary, given their usual style of operation.

At the end of the first day, CNS staff held an extended discussion of how things had gone. They felt that their facilitation of the group's problem-solving, coupled with some substantive suggestions along the way, had been of some help, but that the group was still avoiding some hard questions that affected the Black student drop-out rate--specifically, the CNS advisors felt that the group was unwilling to tighten up program structure to give Black students the direction that the advisors felt was necessary to make the program meaningful to them. The advisors also felt that the commitment of the school staff to participatory decision-making (in which they had an extremely strong investment) was taking up so much energy that it had a direct effect on the program's ability to work with Black students. The advisors discussed whether they should continue to facilitate a planning process, perhaps moving to a second problem, or put some of their observations on the table, delving deeper into the drop-out problem and possibly undercutting their credibility in facilitating group process by making their analysis of the substantive problems known. The advisors decided to introduce their substantive views as part of a process of focusing further on the dropout issue. This approach heightened tension in the group during the second day, producing both a more "real" discussion of problems as well as some strong resistance, particularly on the issue of participatory decision-making.

The result of the workshop was a set of plans for increased recruitment of Black students, hiring of additional Black staff, and better orientation and counseling procedures in the early phases of the program the next fall. Conversations with one school staff member during the fall indicated that most decisions had been followed through, at least in the short term. He also felt that the workshop had stimulated the staff to seek local help in facilitating its functioning as a group. Finally, the staff member interviewed reflected a general consensus of the staff at the workshop that CNS's ability to introduce substantive information into the workshop made them more effective than a group process expert might have been who would have only led the group through a problem-solving procedure.

The results of this workshop and similar results of the two workshops conducted for the Walash Urban Learning Community suggest a potential for the assistance approach that grew out of the CBL project, although these short-term results are merely suggestive. At present, CNS needs to decide what they want to do in following up the work so far in the CBL project. At a minimum, they want to complete the Learning from the City book and make the resource box available to the participating schools when they request information on a given subject. Those involved in the project also want to keep the intial commitment and hold a second conference to feed back results. Beyond these activities, there is an important policy question for CNS. At the time the project was started, community-based learning and alternative schools were a central focus of the organization; now they are only part of a much broader strategy. CNS staff feel that the information they have developed can be of great use to CBL schools, but wonder whether a major effort should be made to focus staffing and fund-raising toward developing services in these areas.

One final point should be emphasized. The CBL project did fulfill one of its major objectives for CNS in that it provided a conceptual tool for linking research and assistance that has been used in other CNS projects. Ideas from the CBL project, including the "critical activities" notion, were important in winning the DTA contract.

Patterns in Technical Assistance. We have reviewed two projects from what we have characterized as the second phase of CNS operation, from 1971 to 1974, in which a variety of approaches were attempted for facilitating urban school change. Considering also projects reviewed in the section on CNS history, we can see certain patterns in CNS assistance efforts.

1. While CNS has almost since its inception talked about integrating assistance to schools and communities and serving as a bridge between research and assistance, the bulk of its projects have reflected only a portion of the overall ideal in terms of the client group focused on, the orientation of the CNS staff members who served as advisors, and the role that applied research actually played in the project. Only the projects most recently under way operationalize a significant portion of the total CNS strategy.

2. CNS has established a generally positive reputation for doing careful research, despite the fact that they are also advocates clearly identified with particular positions. However, CNS has yet to solve the problem of using applied research results in a consistently useful way to help program participants. Some challenging ideas and preliminary thrusts have been made in this direction, but the full test of an applied research strategy as an integral part of technical assistance has yet to be carried off in the field.

3. CNS experience in helping schools and communities suggests a wide variety of interesting techniques and strategies for changing schools, and these techniques and strategies have been subjected to a fair degree of analysis, so that they represent a rich potential resource from which to build a strategy for assistance whose implications for action in particular situations

are clear. To date, however, the sharing of a strategy with clear implications for action in the assistance process has not been realized. Often, these overall conceptions have existed primarily in the heads of the Executive Associates or the heads of various advisors, without adequate orientation of people working on the projects and without systematic on-going group analysis for the refinement of strategy.

4. Linked to the above style, the typical assistance project has been shaped largely by the individual advisor or the Project Manager, within the broad outlines of CNS philosophy. This has meant that there were few clear shared limits that define the role of the facilitator. At times the facilitator became one of the major actors in the situation, however, unlike the situation of United Bronx Parents, for example, the facilitators were not usually full-fledged members of the RTA. This high level of involvement has often been a strength (e.g. at Metro), but has carried with it certain problems. One key problem has been the lack of a clearly delineated agreement between advisor and RTA, with the result being that even high levels of advisor commitment were sometimes viewed as inadequate and the responsibilities of the RTA in the relationship with CNS were unclear.

5. Most CNS technical assistance has been focused on providing substantive input (advising on strategy, characteristic

problems of carrying out a particular innovation, etc.). Most of this substantive input has been done as a part of the ongoing process of the RTA, rather than through setting up special workshops or other training formats. However, the work in Crestline and in Community-Based Learning made extensive use of workshop formats combining substantive information with an attempt to strengthen group process, and these efforts seemed generally successful.

6. CNS assistance projects have suffered from overload on advisors and other key personnel involved, so that uneven levels of assistance were provided, with efforts being shelved for periods of time or operated on a minimal basis. This variability was a major irritant to RTAs. It seems to stem from multiple sources, including inadequate funding of some projects, multiple responsibilities of staff involved (especially key leadership), underestimates of time required to complete projects, the high standards that CNS staff set for themselves in carrying out projects, and unclear limits for assistance in relationships with RTAs.

Issues for the Future

Success in Strategy Integration. The School Community Improvement project and the Documentation and Technical Assistance project represent in many ways a conscious effort to deal with the issues raised at the end of the preceeding section. CNS has analyzed its past experience and is attempting to carry out plans to build on its strengths and overcome its weaknesses. The next few years will indicate their success in this regard. There seem to be two directions in which events might lead. Either the attempted integrations of strategy will succeed in practice and CNS will indeed carry though its intentions, or the integration will be unsuccessful. Failure to develop a fully integrated strategy with all the components CNS envisions might occur in an atmosphere of internal conflict that would fatally weaken the organization. Or it may cause a greater internal differentiation, with various subprojects and interest groups co-existing under the CNS umbrella but not making an attempt to develop an overarching design for assistance and test it in practice. Or perhaps a subgroup will retain this goal, but other subgroups will focus primarily on other pursuits. Another way of seeing this problem is in terms of the recurring issue of participation in decision-making at CNS: what will be the final result of the desire of some staff members for more autonomy to pursue those directions in their work that they individually perceive as most important?

In addition to the internal questions raised by the attempt to develop an integrated strategy linking research with practice and assistance to school staffs with assistance to parents, there are some important questions about the external effectiveness of such an approach that need to be tested through experience. CNS has moved toward a more encompassing strategy because its analysis has indicated that comprehensive change in school communities requires attention to a variety of role groups and subsystems of the school community system. However, it may be that these various tasks can be carried out better by several groups working in the school community rather than one. AFRAM, for example, worked on several of its sites primarily with parents while another TAG assisted school staff. Effective CNS work with one role group may preclude effective work with others and, at the least, will require a skillful balancing act.

Another major issue area is the cluster of management problems that either have been with CNS from the beginning or have been brought to the fore by rapid expansion. Various needs for improving internal functioning have been recognized throughout the case study, including regularization of certain activities that were carried out informally in the smaller organization, development of a management structure that reduces the overload on Executives by placing more clear authority and responsibility with managers of projects and subprojects, greater attention to such overall CNS needs as staff development and orientation, the more effective sharing of information between projects, and dealing with the management of research and assistance activities at geographically dispersed sites.

2

FOOTNOTES

1. Center for New Schools. "Strengthening Alternative High Schools." Harvard Educational Review, 1972, 42, 313-350.

2. A current list of Center for New Schools publications is available by writing Center for New Schools, 59 East Van Buren, Room 1800, Chicago, Illinois 60605.

3. Center for New Schools. "A Proposal for Collaborative Action to Strengthen Community-Based Learning." Mimeographed. Undated.

4. Center for New Schools. Community Based Learning Newsletter. December 9, 1974.

RESPONSE TO THE CNS CASE STUDY

CnS

Center for New Schools

59 E. Van Buren, Suite 1800, Chicago, Illinois 60605 (312) 435-3838

SOME LIMITATIONS OF THE CNS CASE STUDY

Thomas A. Wilson
Executive Associate, CNS

Several circumstances mark the CNS case study as an unusual document: First, it is a self-study case study included with regular case studies. Second, the CNS case study was written during a time of open organizational conflict regarding the purpose of CNS, long term goals, leadership structure, and interpretation of CNS history. Third, the primary author of the study is also both the Principal Investigator of the TAG study and an Executive Associate of CNS, limiting meaningful checks on author bias. Fourth, the perspective on CNS of the other Executive Associate, the other major actor in the organizational conflict, was not drawn into the case study either in its planning, or its implementation.

In spite of these circumstances, the CNS case study remains a useful document for highlighting some of the methodological difficulties in writing self-study case studies, and provides a basis for those who have a broader knowledge of the actual circumstances and history of CNS to better understand some of the problems an organization like CNS can encounter in its development process. The study also remains useful as a documentation of certain events leading up to the emergence of SCI, one of the technical assistance efforts rooted within CNS.

The comments which follow are limited to the sections on overall CNS development, including Overview, History, Philosophy Internal Functioning, Issues for the Future, and the general comments framing the Technical Assistance Work section. The subsections on the La Dulce Project and the Community-Based Learning Project, are not considered since my involvement in those projects and thus my information about them has been quite limited.

The self-study case study is an important, but delicate, research tool. It is important because critical, rigorous self-examination can provide insights and information which are difficult and sometimes impossible to gather in any other way. Even under the best of circumstances, which did not pertain in this case, it can be difficult to separate the shaping and conclusions of such a study from the preconceptions and desires of the author(s) who are directly participating in the organization. Nevertheless, despite the inherent difficulties, the self-study case study has been and continues to be an important research tool at CNS, and has been part of our attempt to develop and refine useful methodological tools for understanding positive urban school change and ways to facilitate it.

At CNS we have discussed several important principles for our work in this area to insure that questions about validity, which are always asked of self-study research efforts, can be effectively answered. These principles are ideal and cannot be carried out completely in practice. The CNS case study, however, in my judgment goes beyond a reasonable tolerance for the difficulties of conducting this type of research.

The important violations of these principles, which limit the document's validity as a description and analysis of *CNS*, follow:

1. *The use of outside perspectives to check internal perspectives was minimal.* Although an outside person, Paul Shane, was hired to collect the data and write the study, he worked for only a few months collecting data before leaving. His impact on the final document was minimal for several reasons: conflict with the Principal Investigator regarding issues of confidentiality which resulted in the bulk of Paul's data, which was recorded on tape, being unavailable in drafting the study; the notes which Paul did leave were inadequate, requiring Emile Schepers, a CNS staff member since 1972, to prepare the first draft, completing Paul's task; subsequent drafts, substantially editing and elaborating from Emile's first draft and shifting the primary authorship, were prepared by Don Moore, the Principal Investigator and CNS Executive Associate. Use of other outside perspectives, beyond Paul Shane's limited input, was slight.

2. The range of perspectives within the organization was not adequately considered. The top leadership structure of CNS at the time of the case study was a co-directorship of the two Executive Associates. A case study of CNS should have included information from and the perspectives of both Executive Associates. My perspective is not represented in this study. While Paul Shane spent about two hours with me on CNS history during his first weeks on the case study assignment, I was not interviewed by the authors or anyone working on the study after Paul's single interview. Since his data was considered only minimally, I suspect that even that one early interview had little weight. I have written extensive documents on my perspective on the Center. Although they are available, apparently even they were not reviewed for this purpose.

3. Important forces and issues that might systematically limit the perspective of the study are not noted. The fact that the principal author of the sections dealing with overall CNS development, including philosophy, organizational functioning, and directions was involved as a protagonist in the internal conflict already mentioned is not clearly acknowledged.

4. The time frame of the study is ambiguous. At various points reference is made to spring of 1975 as the time of the field work. The document shifts in its time frame, however, from the "time of the data collection" to varying unspecified

points including close to the present time. These shifts appear to be made either arbitrarily or in the interest of developing selective evidence for supporting specific conclusions about the Center. For example, the SCI list of goals was developed about a year after the collection of data. Ambiguity about the time frame is related to ambiguity about what the data base for the study really was.

Failure to provide reasonable checks against bias has led to important predictable results in the substance of the study. Several important examples of inaccuracies of fact and/or representation follow:

1. The document states or implies in places that CNS has _a_ change strategy. While some CNS funding proposals requested money for the development of a single change strategy, the reality of the Center is considerably more complicated. The purpose of the five year DTA contract is to generate from research and practice effective strateg_ies_ for change. There is little coordination and no comprehensive agreement regarding change strategies between the two major technical assistance efforts within the Center. The CNS staff does not see the development of a single change strategy as the prime purpose of the Center.

2. While the CNS case study focuses on SCI, the development of SCI as a project is blurred, partly because it is not carefully tied to the time frame. SCI did not emerge at the

stage(s) at which it is described in this document until well after the data collection. In fact, the SCI project did not come into existence until August, 1976, even though it was directly related to some previous technical assistance efforts such as those encompassed under SCAT. Since the purpose of the TAG study is to understand issues facing organizations attempting to deliver technical assistance to schools, and since SCI is the focus of the case study, it would seem to be important to: (1) represent more fully the evolution of SCI from earlier projects; (2) describe the problems which developed in relating the work and focus of SCI to the CNS organization as a whole and to its other parts; and (3) describe the internal problems SCI has experienced in its development and work.

3. The future issues listed at the end of the document constitute another example of time frame ambiguity. These are current issues that Don Moore sees for the Center. They were not concerns in the spring of 1975. Furthermore, this selection, presentation, and analysis of future issues is not necessarily seen by others at CNS as an accurate focus on the real issues the Center is or will be facing. Because Don has selectively developed only certain threads beyond the document's time frame and up to the current time (excluding, for instance the major technical assistance efforts associated with DTA) the overall conclusions and predictions regarding CNS are necessarily warped.

4. The description of DTA is somewhat shallow in terms of presenting the substance of DTA, as well as inaccurate in describing DTA's impact on CNS.

5. The document claims that Don Moore played the predominant role in preparing the content of CNS proposals. This is inaccurate.

6. The study fails to differentiate adequately between Don Moore and Tom Wilson. Significant differences between us include how:

- We view the role of organizational philosophy in organizational functioning;
- We delegate authority;
- We have contributed to the CNS research approach;
- Our previous training and experience prepared us for CNS work;
- Our experience and effectiveness with major management responsibility have differed.

Understanding these differences, and the different roles we have played, is important to understanding the development of CNS as an organization.

7. A particular concern of the case study is CNS philosophy. The case study presents an interesting and useful statement of the philosophy Don would like the Center to embrace. Contrary to how this section is presented, it is neither an "official" CNS philosophy, nor one I completely share. Although certain ideas, values, and concerns have been shared by Don and me, and

more broadly by key CNS staff, there is no official statement which integrates what is shared into an organizational philosophy. A shared purpose--to improve the quality of the urban public school experience for urban students--unifies CNS work. But significant differences in how to implement that general purpose have always existed at CNS and are part of its strength and durability. Differences exist not only as to what are the best or most appropriate goals and strategies in specific CNS work, but also regarding how and to what extent organizational philosophy is developed and how explicit statements of purpose and goals relate to the work. The failure of the philosophy section of the CNS case study results from the author's advocating a certain point of view regarding philosophy and its relationship to organizational functioning rather than carefully describing and analyzing the reality of CNS. My view of some of the differences between Don and I regarding CNS philosophy follow:

Tom Wilson	Don Moore
No comprehensive statement of a CNS philosophy exists.	The CNS case study contains an accurate statement of CNS philosophy.
At CNS research and technical assistance exist in dynamic balance, with neither dominating nor "containing" the other. CNS is more than a TAG.	Research exists in the service of technical assistance and social change at CNS. CNS is a TAG.

Tom Wilson	Don Moore
Linking research and practice is a continual, ongoing, interactive process.	Linking research and practice at CNS is cyclic.
CNS is an organization dedicated to significant urban educational change.	CNS is an organization dedicated to significant educational and larger social change.
CNS does not have a single change strategy.	CNS has a single strategy for change.
The SCI list of goals represents a broad scope taken all together and constitutes a diffuse focus for any specific technical assistance work. The goals require constant interpretation to be useful in specific situations. They are not CNS organizational goals.	The SCI list of goals constitutes an important identification of shared CNS educational objectives which are useful in CNS technical assistance work.
Specific goals and strategies and understanding of their relationship to overall purpose, continually change and develop with the expanding experience of the organization. The role of leadership is to articulate these goals and strategies as they emerge from the work. This process must be carried out within the limits of the organization's purpose.	The overall organizational philosophy should relate directly to specific goals and a single strategy for change. Leadership must establish and interpret philosophy, goals, and change strategy, and assure that all staff accept and work within those limits.

CNS has been strengthened by the differing views the organization contains. This case study and my response are part of that process of a dynamic organization engaged with important and complex issues of urban school change. In the past Don and I have often provided checks and balances on each other's work. More recently, due to differences between us and organizational circumstances, we have separated our work. Thus, I have not critically reviewed other sections of the TAG study and I make no statement regarding limitations beyond the CNS case study. The CNS case study is a flawed self-study of CNS and is an artifact of the development of the Center. If these limitations are considered, it can be a useful document.

FINAL REPORT
VOLUME II

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION PROJECT NO. 4-0768
GRANT NO. NIE-G-74-0052

ASSISTANCE STRATEGIES OF SIX GROUPS THAT FACILITATE EDUCATIONAL CHANGE AT THE SCHOOL/COMMUNITY LEVEL

Center for New Schools*
59 East Van Buren, Suite 1800
Chicago, Illinois 60605

February 15, 1977

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant from the National Institute of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgement in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official National Institute of Education position or policy.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF

HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

OFFICE OF RESEARCH GRANTS

---

*Individual contributions described in Preface.

CHAPTER 8. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SIX TAGs

Introduction

The individual case studies just presented and the data on which they are based provide a foundation for analyzing similarities and differences among the six TAGs. As explained in Chapter 1, we first completed the individual case studies and then prepared a set of questions for comparative analysis of the TAGs that is contained in Appendix D. In response to each "cross-site analysis" question, we characterized each TAG in terms of the present patterns of activity with respect to the question, the historical reasons for this current pattern of activities, and the implications of this current pattern of activities. Using this comparative information for the six TAGs, we were then faced with the problem of presenting the most useful information from the analysis in the most useful format.

We have attempted to focus the presentation of comparative information about the TAGs in a way that has value for (1) suggesting directions for future research, (2) aiding the formulation of public policy, and (3) providing concrete information for those engaged in providing technical assistance. One major device we have employed for accomplishing these ends is to organize our presentation around the attempt to develop an initial list of "critical activities" for TAG group functioning. The concept of critical activities has been defined through earlier applied research efforts of Center for New Schools.[1] In the study of TAG groups, critical activities are those activities carried out by a TAG that are, based on our data, most important in establishing and maintaining the TAG as a viable organization and in enabling them to provide appropriate technical assistance services to RTAs. The following, for example, are critical activities we will discuss in this chapter:

--The TAG draws on existing change movements consistent with its chosen strategy as a source of legitimacy, mutual support, ideas about effective practices, information about funding, and potential staff members.

--The TAG develops flexible systems of materials to aid the direct assistance process that are consistent in format, but made up of separate items dealing with specific topics of interest to RTAs.

--The TAG obtains specific commitments during the entry phase for the RTA's responsibilities in the assistance process.

--The TAG develops effective methods for information-sharing and joint analysis that avoid the danger of facilitator isolation.

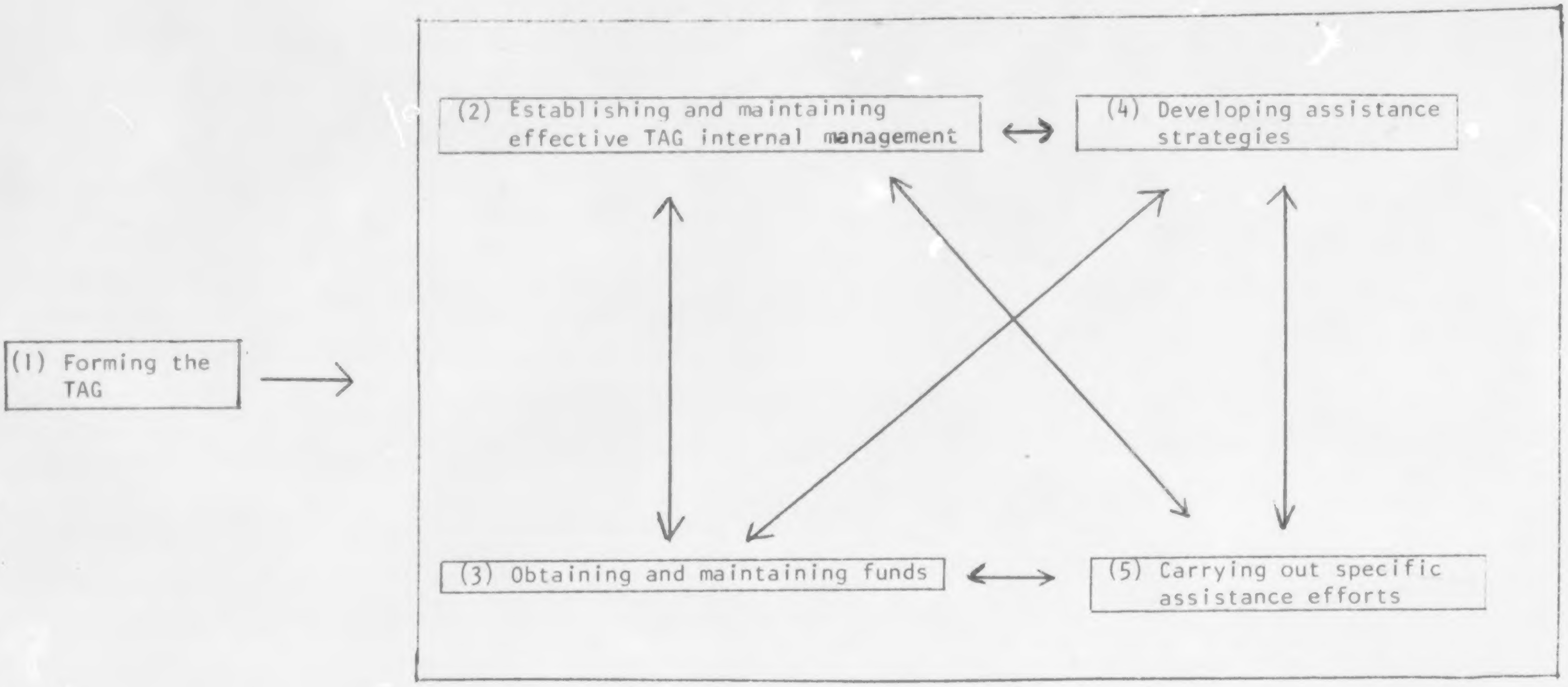
In identifying such activities, we are attempting to describe significant but potentially manageable tasks that the TAG group actually carries out. We do not have exact rules for delimiting a critical activity; it is an intuitive judgment based on a thorough familiarity with the data. There are many potential ways of dividing the work of a TAG into critical activities; a given critical activity, for example, can always be further sub-divided. We are attempting to define a set of activities that are as useful as possible. We hope they will provide a basis for those carrying out technical assistance to improve their efforts and a basis for directing researchers and policymakers toward those aspects of assistance programs that are most responsive to conscious improvement efforts. The bulk of the chapter provides information on various aspects of TAG internal operation and assistance that is summarized in a list of critical activities presented near the end of the chapter.

The major topics covered in the chapter are the following:

1. Forming the technical assistance group.
2. Establishing and maintaining effective TAG internal management.
3. Obtaining and maintaining funds.
4. Developing assistance strategies.
5. Carrying out specific assistance efforts.
6. Effectiveness of TAG assistance efforts.

The overall relationship of the first five topics discussed is presented in Figure 8-1. The formation of the TAG is a crucial event in which the TAGs studied were shaped in fundamental ways that had a strong influence on all subsequent TAG activity. Following this early formative process, effective TAGs focus on the four interdependent areas of activity shown in Figure 8-1: establishing and maintaining effective TAG internal management, obtaining and maintaining funds, developing assistance strategies, and carrying out specific assistance efforts. These major areas of activity are comprised of more specific sub-areas of activity that are treated in turn in discussing the four major activity areas. The areas and sub-areas discussed in this chapter represent our effort to boil down the

Figure 8-1. Major Areas of TAG Operation.


(1) Forming the TAG
(2) Establishing and maintaining effective TAG internal management
(3) Obtaining and maintaining funds
(4) Developing assistance strategies
(5) Carrying out specific assistance efforts

great bulk of specific information generated by our analysis of the questions in Appendices C and D to focus on those topics most important in determining the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of a TAG.

Crucial Interdependence of Internal and External TAG Activities. Although we discuss the four areas of TAG activity sequentially, we wish to emphasize (as reflected in Figure 8-1) that they are closely interlocked. Further, issues of internal functioning that might seem at first glance to be of superficial importance turn out to be critical determinants of effectiveness in providing services to RTAs. To cite an example that is expanded on near the end of the chapter that illustrates this point, a major goal of most TAGs is to develop the capacity for independent action among RTAs and to avoid developing a dependency of the RTAs on the TAG facilitators. This issue is particularly difficult for the facilitator in the field to deal with since there are constant pressures on her to do things *for* people rather than helping them learn to do things themselves, which are often intensified by the personal relationships that develop between facilitators and RTAs. A number of factors hava a critical impact on whether or not a facilitator can deal effectively with this dependency issue. The likelihood that a facilitator will yield to requests to help that foster dependency is greatly increased, for example:

1. If the leadership of the TAG is not viewed as legitimate

by staff members when leadership clarifies the TAGs strategy and its limits.

2. If the TAG doesn't have a conscious program of socializing members through direct experience in the TAG's work, analysis of that experience, and planned training sessions.

3. If the TAG doesn't organize itself so that the individual facilitator can carry out some regular analysis of the assistance process with co-workers not directly involved in the assistance situation.

4. If the TAG doesn't over a period of time develop a strategy whose implications for action in specific situations are clear.

5. If the TAG doesn't develop materials that explain for the benefit of both facilitators and RTAs what types of assistance will be provided under this approach.

6. If the TAG fails to communicate in early discussions with potentials RTAs the limits of assistance that can be provided.

7. If the TAG fails to obtain specific commitments during early negotiations concerning what the RTA must do to hold up their end of the bargain in the assistance process.

There are additional relevant considerations affecting the dependency issue discussed later. We have cited a few of them to underscore the ways in which issues of internal management, strategy development, and assistance to RTAs interact. It is basically because of this pervasive pattern of interrelationship that we spend a great deal of time analyzing issues of internal TAG functioning that have impact on the delivery of technical assistance.

As part of or at the end of each of the first five sections (or forming the technical assistance group, establishing and maintaining effective TAG internal functioning, obtaining and maintaining funds, developing assistance strategies, and carrying out specific assistance efforts), we present a list of critical activities for effective TAG functioning drawn from that section. At the end of the chapter, we present a complete list of the critical activities we have identified, categorized according to the aspect of TAG functioning to which they are related.

After discussing the formation of the TAG and the four main areas of TAG activity, we discussed those conclusions that we can draw about the effectiveness of TAGs based on this study. In Chapter 9, we summarize some key conclusions and discus their policy implications.

In discussing the cross-site patterns we have identified, we have made frequent use of illustrative examples. These are used to make our analysis more concrete, but not to "prove" the existence of a certain pattern. Further, we did not illustrate many of the conclusions we heard at all. To do so would mean extensive repetition of case study material and would have greatly lengthened the chapter. Proof of the consistency of a pattern is contained in the case studies and in our cross-site analysis sheets (see Appendix D). Thus, we sometimes present examples to clarify a point, and they are usually not the total number of examples on which we base a generalization.

Forming the Technical Assistance Group

The formation of the groups under study was a response to and was made possible by the wave of dissatisfaction with American education and American society that began with Sputnik and continued through the 1960's. Major social trends contributing to the establishment of various TAG groups included the American response to the launching of Sputnik and the resulting availability of funds aimed at educational improvement, the civil rights movement and the associated Johnson-era educational and social programs, the community control movement, the humanistic education and organizational development movements, and the alternative schools movement. While historians might view most or all of these movements to be linked to the same broad historical trends, each has had its own characteristic assumptions about what is wrong with education and with society and how one proceeds in correcting these problems. Thus, the individual TAGs studied differ in their approaches in large measures because they draw on different change traditions of the 1960's. The main sources for the various groups seem to be as follows:

AFRAM: Community control. Black power and pride.

Center for New Schools: Alternative schools. Community control. Applied research.

Creative Teaching Workshop: Curriculum reform movement in response to Sputnik, especially those reformers stressing experiential education. Open education.

/I/D/E/A/: School reform movement in response to Sputnik. Continuing school reform movement of progressive administrators and professors of education in elementary and secondary education.

Rural Education Program: Establishment of federal labs and centers as part of Johnson reforms. Research, development, and dissemination tradition of educational reform. Rural sociology and social improvement programs. Organizational development movement. Community education movement.

United Bronx Parents: Community control. Puerto Rican nationalism.

From these traditions or movements, the TAGs drew some initial assumptions about key issues, which decisively shaped their assistance strategies, including assumptions about which role groups within the school community and which subsystems of school community functioning should be the primary focus of change efforts, what is wrong with education and what directions should be pursued in improving it, how education relates to larger societal issues, and what assistance techniques are most likely to yield success.

Critical to this process of shaping an initial ideology and to the founding process in general was a key leader or a small leadership group who generally had these characteristics:

1. They had, for a variety of reasons, developed a previous commitment to both (1) direct action and involvement and (2) to analysis, intellectual investigation, or research. They had significant past personal experience in both action and analysis.

2. They had through this previous experience developed some strong convictions about what was wrong with education and what avenues were most profitable for improving it. These convictions were drawn from an identifiable movement for educational or social reform.

3. They were linked into social networks that provided ideas, a feeling of a shared commitment to an approach to reform, a source of potential staff members with similar values, and access to funders.

Such leaders drew on a change tradition (or traditions), their network of contacts, and their own personal experience and skills to form a viable assistance group. The typical process of group formation is depicted in Figure 8-2. The committed leader or leadership group was able to articulate some basic principles of a change strategy that had a grounding in particular past efforts to improve schools, including their own efforts. And, as will be discussed later, these leaders continued to employ a combination of direct experience and analysis of that experience in the critical early phases of strategy development.

Leadership also linked with funding sources as a result of their network of contacts. Funding sources for efforts associated with the group's founding and early stabilization came primarily from Johnson-era federal programs and from the support of private foundations who focus on broad issues of public policy, including Carnegie and Kettering.

Also crucial for the groups studied was a particular opportunity, incident, or conflict related to the tradition or movement in which the group had its origins: for example, the community control movement at I.S. 201 in New York; the receptivity of the Chicago school superintendent to the alternative school concept; the decision of the Kettering Foundation to support an educational improvement effort within the tradition of the reform movement led by educational administrators and professors of education.

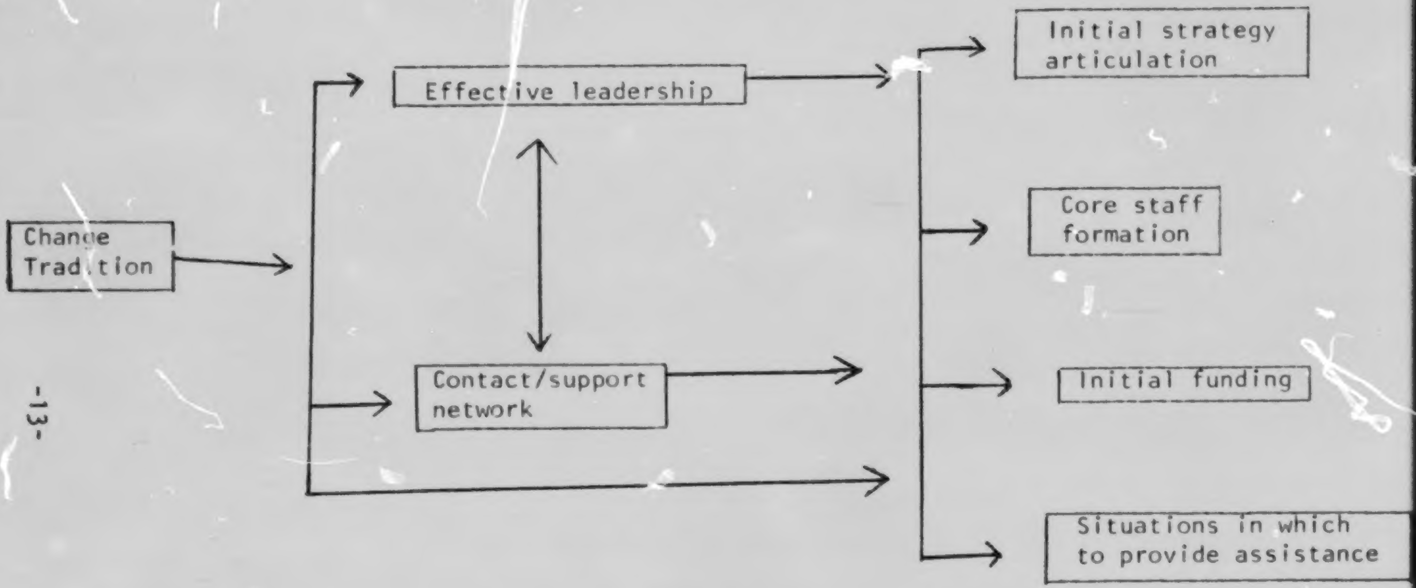

Change Tradition
Effective leadership
Contact/support network
Initial strategy articulation
Core staff formation
Initial funding
Situations in which to provide assistance

Figure 8-2. Typical Pattern in the Formation of a Technical Assistance Group.

TAG leadership tended to bring together a staff with beliefs and experiences similar to their own. For example, /I/D/E/A/ leadership formed a group of progressive professional educators with past experience in facilitating team teaching, individualized instruction, etc. in schools; Preston Wilcox drew together Black community organizers experienced in the community control movement. CTW formed a staff with past experience as teachers and advisors committed to experiential and open education. These core staff groups had two important characteristics generally: (1) a common commitment to a particular tradition or movement or change and (2) a grounding in the practical efforts of this movement to bring about change.

This coming together of key leadership and of a core group of persons with similar values and experiences is, based on our data, the single most important factor in shaping the future development of the group. It gave the group the energy and commitment to create a highly complex organization for which there were no previously existing models or plans. It suggested certain styles of internal operation. It allowed the group to select from the infinite number of approaches to change they might take the one that they regarded as either desirable or self-evident. (We were repeatedly confronted in our observations with wide variations in approach to a given task among the groups; however, members of each group would state that theirs was the "natural" way to view the task and get it done). Their shared commitments also caused them to focus on a particular set of RTAs as the key to improvement and to develop a distinctive form of relating to these RTA s. Their shared ideology allowed members of the TAG to approach the RTAs with a conviction about their approach that was highly motivating to the RTAs.

While opening up a certain line of activity along which the TAG began to work, this coming together of a group around a particular set of values also closed off other lines of activity or made them more difficult. By choosing to work with Black parents using a strategy that emphasizes Black pride and the redistribution of power, AFRAM makes it more difficult to establish credibility with non-Black parents and with school staff. By choosing to enter and remain in a school district only through a contractual agreement with a school board, REP limits the types of school districts it can work in and the extent to which it can identify with parents in direct opposition to the Board's policy. Because of their values and commitments, the TAG groups see many of these limits implied by their chosen strategy as unimportant or even desirable in light of their major objectives and strategy.

The evidence from the six groups under study about the circumstances of their formation and its impact on their subsequent development raises an intriguing question about the nature of technical assistance. Technical assistance in many fields is associated with value neutrality--the image, for example, of the agriculture agent who introduces a new strain of corn that has been scientifically proven superior. The movement toward product testing and product certification in education represents a similar thrust. However, our data suggests that the origins of the groups under study did not lie in some scientifically-validated technique or approach. Rather, it grew from a distinctive set of convictions and values out of which a strategy was developed that was based on previous direct experience of program leadership. This committed quality of the groups we studied may be largely an artifact of our selection process. One of our methods for insuring diversity in the study was to select groups who drew on different change traditions or movements. The pervasiveness of the influence of these change traditions in the operation of all TAGs studied, however, leads us to speculate that we have touched on something basic about the process of educational change. Strong commitment to an approach to change by program leadership fosters effective internal functioning of the TAG and inspires confidence among RTAs, as will be discussed more later. It also reflects that fact that there is little educational research that validates proven techniques for accomplishing educational goals, as is the case, for example, in medicine.[2] Further, ideas about what constitutes "better education" will always be inextricably tied with personal and group values.

One important issue associated with the founding of the groups is why they chose an approach involving direct assistance on a long-term basis, when the dominant approach to educational improvement has been the research, development, and dissemination model that relies principally on written materials. It seems that this focus on long-term direct assistance can be traced to several influences. First, the traditions on which the founders drew often provided a model for a direct assistance role over an extended period. These included the open education advisor, the master teacher, the clinical professor, the community organizer, and the group process facilitator. Second, founders were, as mentioned earlier, persons with experience in both direct action efforts to change schools and in analysis of the change process. The TAG approach was a way of combining the two, of bringing analysis to bear in direct efforts to improve schools. Third, several of the groups (REP, /I/D/E/A/, CTW, and CNS) were stimulated to become involved in direct assistance because they perceived short-comings in the traditions that had influenced key leadership in the past. REP, /I/D/E/A/, and CTW all trace their development partly to a dissatisfaction with the production of curriculums and curriculum materials as a change strategy. CNS founders were reacting to shortcomings of traditional research.

In concluding our discussion of the formation of the TAGs, we wish to underline some elements present in the founding of the groups that reappear constantly as important influences in all aspects of TAG operation: ties to a change tradition or movement, ties to a support network, strong leadership, shared values among TAG staff, access to funding, and a cycle of analysis and assistance.

Critical Activities in Forming the Group. Based on our analysis, we see the following as critical activities in forming the group:

1. The TAG draws on existing change movements and traditions consistent with their values as a source of legitimacy, ideas, mutual support, potential staff members, and funding leads.

2. The TAG develops strong organizational leadership that initially organizes resources around the stated strategy.

3. The TAG develops a contact/resource network to provide them with legitimacy, ideas, mutual support, potential staff members, and funding leads.

4. The founding leaders develop an initial plan for a change strategy. This initial formulation generally includes an analysis of what is deficient in current education, how things could be better, what role groups should receive assistance to make these improvements, what subsystems of the school community system are priorities for the change effort, and what the role of the facilitator is.

5. The leadership obtains sufficient funding for a period of about three years to allow an initial strategy development process to take place.

6. The founding leaders form a core staff that subscribes to the basic assumptions of the initial strategy formulation and have had sufficient experience in the settings in which assistance is going to be provided to develop creative but realistic notions of how the strategy can be refined.

7. The TAG successfully develops relationships with an initial set of RTAs, often building on opportunities that result from their identification with a particular educational movement or change tradition.

Establishing and Maintaining Effective TAG Internal Management*

This area of activity includes major internal activities, except those related to fund-raising and strategy development. Our discussion includes those aspects of internal management we found to be the most critical determinants of effectiveness, including the following:

1. Leadership roles and styles
2. Staff recruitment
3. Staff socialization
4. Definition and coordination of subgroups, roles, and tasks.
5. Decision-making and problem-solving
6. Social control
7. Communications
8. Support network maintenance
9. Clerical, administrative, and technical operations

In reviewing our data on internal TAG management, as well as on other major areas of TAG activity, we have found a concept this is employed in various forms in biology, sociology, and psychology to be consistently useful--the concept of "adaptation." Adaptation is the process of mutual influence that occurs when two systems come into some sort of interrelationship. For example, if a TAG group hires a new staff member, he may through his activities in the TAG completely alter the TAG's approach to providing technical assistance. Or the TAG may train him so that his behavior is completely consistent with a pre-existing TAG concept of the technical assistance role. Or some middle ground process may take place in which the new TAG member changes his approach and philosophy to some degree and so does the TAG. Thus, the TAG is both changing the new member's behavior and being changed by it. Many theorists in the social and physical sciences characterize these dual processes (e.g. Piaget in describing psychological development).[3] We find a phrase used by Berman and McLaughlin in characterizing school change to be apt in describing this process--i.e. "mutual adaptation."[4] We will use this term subsequently in this analysis.

---

* As indicated earlier, internal functioning and fund-raising which is discussed in the next section are described in detail because of their impact on strategy development and delivery of assistance. Readers not interested in internal management and fund-raising might want to move directly to the discussion of strategy development on page 52 .

Successful functioning of a TAG seems to involve such processes of mutual adaptation in many domains. In recruiting and socializing TAG staff, for example, the TAG neither wants an automaton nor a person who is unwilling to accept what the group regards as well-established principles and tactics of its approach. Ideally, new staff members become thoroughly imbued with the TAG's present philosophy, but also alter it through their own talents and experiences and thus strengthen it. Similarly, in working with a particular school or community, it is desirable that the TAG strategy and the RTA social system interact through some optimal pattern of mutual adaptation. Our data suggests that a rigid TAG strategy that does not respond to local conditions will be ineffective, while a totally reactive strategy--one which attempts to fulfill the moment to moment expectations of the RTA--will be equally ineffective. We will refer frequently to this concept of optimal mutual adaptation in discussing the major areas of TAG functioning.

Key Leadership Roles and Styles. The TAG groups studied have developed without any precise historical models on which to base their internal functioning; they must mesh the talents of persons with diverse skills and training; they must raise funds in an environment where their work does not fit established funding categories; they must develop and maintain relationships with RTAs who operate in systems to which the TAG is often external; they must also maintain a variety of other complicated external relationships (e.g. with the academic community, with larger entities of which the TAG is a part, etc).

The complexity of these tasks creates a constant potential for breakdown in the organization, and we have found the qualities of key leadership to be decisive in counter-acting these tendencies and moving the TAG toward organizational goals. With the multiple tasks implied by the complexities listed above, the danger of overload on key leadership is great. Many of the procedures and tactics of the organization have to be invented as the TAG goes along, but must also be developed in light of overall organizational purposes. Therefore, the tendency for leadership is to keep a hand in all aspects of organizational functioning. The resulting overload is intensified by orgainizational "success" and related expansion. Leaders who saw themselves initially as activists or program development specialists must take on complex managerial responsibilities. They often seek to meet these responsibilities as they have in the past--by working harder--but they ultimately reach their limits. The most effective way to cope with this pattern of overload seems to be through taking a major hand in the development of a specific function or project, while developing among key staff involved in the function or project the skills necessary to carry on without constant input from the TAG leadership. Failure to follow this pattern can cause serious dysfunction, especially in a period of expansion. A major contributor to the smooth delegation of authority while maintaining an overall unified direction is the involvement of TAG members in an on-going process of strategy development, a point discussed in more detail later.

Given the need for a unified direction of TAG effort and the pressures that tend to fragment TAG activity, one common quality of TAG leadership that seems associated with effectiveness is the ability to set clear limits in light of the TAG's overall purpose. One way of viewing this process is that the TAG leader is the main agent who maintains an optimal process of adaptation in the TAG's functioning, insuring that changes in internal operations or assistance strategy grow out of careful analysis and are not a response to short-term pressure.

In general, the legitimacy of TAG leadership flows first from the fact that they were either the founders of the organization or persons who took over leadership in an early stage and shaped the TAG decisively during a period of strategy clarification and growth. Their leadership tends to be accepted because they have "produced", i.e. insured the organization's survival and helped it gain some measure of recognition in a highly uncertain environment.

Our data does not yield further clear generalizations about TAG leadership, although there are undoubtedly some critical ones that we have not identified. TAG leaders exhibit a variety of leadership styles, examined in the case studies. One general pattern we noted is that their leadership styles are effective when they mesh with the philosophy and needs of their particular TAG staff and RTAs. Styles effective in one context would probably be ineffective in others. For example, Preston Wilcox has an inspirational style that gives staff members and parents confidence in their right to assert their role in educational decisions. John Bahner of /I/D/E/A/ exercises leadership consistent with the conception of the democratic leader that /I/D/E/A/ describes as desirable for administrative leadership in IGE schools.

Staff Recruitment. As mentioned earlier, TAGs generally attempt to recruit program staff members with basic assumptions about educational and social change similar to their own in many respects. They also seek staff with concrete experience as facilitators of the types of changes the TAG values. Groups also employ some technical specialists without such a background in varying degrees. REP makes the most use of such staff but all groups employ some specialists. In all TAGs, there is a heavy reliance on staff recruitment through networks of people personally known to present TAG staff. In three groups, this is the exclusive recruitment mechanism; in the others it is supplemented by other search procedures, such as advertisements in newspapers or professional journals. A major incentive for prospective staff that operates in all groups is the possibility of participating in improvement efforts consistent with one's own values. The social network in which the TAG is involved helps legitimate the TAG to the prospective staff member by vouching for the quality of the TAG's work.

A staff recruitment pattern that is characteristic of the two parent-oriented groups we studied is to draw their staff from the ranks of RTAs they have assisted and trained. This insures that the staff member will be thoroughly socialized in the TAG's approach. This "up through the ranks" approach has important advantages in terms of organizational continuity, since it takes a long time to socialize a person totally unfamiliar with the work of a TAG to become an effective member, even if he shares the TAG's general values. In periods of rapid expansion, TAGs who cannot draw on previously trained RTAs are sometimes forced to hire outsiders for key TAG positions who are not familiar with the TAG's strategy, and this necessity has sometimes led to serious problems. However, recruitment of former RTAs (often from the communities in which the TAG staff member will work) also has a definite problem associated with it. Such community members are confronted with a conflict in roles between being community member and TAG member. To the extent that the TAG strategy calls for limits on staff behavior (e.g. facilitators should not become local leaders), recruitment from the local setting raises serious role conflicts. REP says explicitly that they attempt to recruit facilitators from backgrounds similar to the populations they assist, but that they will try to avoid hiring someone from the specific town served.

Counter-balancing the problems associated with hiring staff not drawn from the ranks of RTAs is the potential that staff members with different sets of experiences can provide fresh ideas and imput and possess technical skills that are needed by the TAG. Again the concept of adaptation is useful--the TAG must ask itself whether a profitable process of mutual adaptation can take place with respect to the prospective new member.

Staff Socialization. Once a TAG member is hired, the task of the TAG is to socialize that staff member into its ways of doing things and ideally to also capitalize on her unique strengths and ideas. There was a great variation among TAGs in the extent to which the early period of employment provided for a systematic introduction to the group's ideas and strategies. On-the-job training was unsatisfactory as a method of staff socialization. Consciously planned introductions to the group's work, involving materials, structured training experiences, and direct involvement in TAG work with supervision seemed most effective. Those groups with a training emphasis in their assistance work were generally effective in socializing new staff, since many of the formats used in training RTAs can be used to orient new staff. An important mechanism for socializing new staff is to include them in a small work group, part of whose function is to train the new staff member, along with performing some aspect of the TAG's work. REP, for example, often pairs a more experienced and less experienced person together partly for this purpose.

Effective socialization is greatly aided if there is a general mechanism operating for development of a TAG strategy through a cycle of experience and analysis. If such an on-going cycle exists, it is relatively easy to draw new staff into it as part of their socialization (e.g. if the staff makes regular use of de-briefing to analyze assistance efforts, this activity serves as an effective staff orientation experience).

Effective staff socialization is sometimes neglected in the face of work overload--a constant problem for TAGs but one that is intensified in periods of expansion. Thus, staff socialization mechanisms may break down at precisely the time when they are most needed--when there is a large influx of new staff and a corresponding sharp increase in the TAG's responsibilities. This occured, for example, when CNS brought on new staff for its SCI project in the midst of a period of rapid expansion. In such circumstances, the TAG fares best that has well-established mechanisms for staff socialization or can draw its staff members from the ranks of RTAs familiar with the TAG's methods.

Another problem that hinders effective staff socialization is geographical dispersion of staff. Often as in the case of AFRAM or of CNS, a group that developed an approach in one locale with a staff that was in constant contact has had to expand to geographically-dispersed sites where they have to rely on quite different communication mechanisms for socialization. This geographical dispersion issue will be discussed more later in analyzing social control and communication.

Definition and Coordination of Subgroups, Roles, and Tasks. The effective functioning of a TAG group entails a high degree of interrelationship between a large number of functions within the organization and the relationship of this internal effort to a complicated external environment. Some of the problems involved in dealing with the resulting issues are as follows:

1. The TAG houses under one roof a much larger number of major activities than most other organizations. These include such activities as assistance to schools; assistance to communities; leadership/management; research/evaluation; development of materials and strategies; administration/fiscal; media; and clerical. Further, these must interrelate with each other to a higher degree than in most organizations.

2. Within such areas of activity, the methods for carrying out each activity and for relating it to other areas of activity are generally under development. Few areas of activity have a clear technology.

3. Persons functioning in these areas of activity sometimes have different prior training and ways of viewing the world, generating a constant potential for overall coordination to break down.

4. Internal functioning is strongly influenced by the pressures of key external audiences. The need to raise funds and to satisfy the expectations of funders raises one such set of demands. The need to provide useful assistance to RTA's raises another, sometimes conflicting, set of pressures.

5. Two tendencies of TAGs designed to meet the need for overall coordination and integration of the group's activity have been (1) to increase the level of participation of TAG staff in decision-making and (2) to give people overlapping roles that straddle several types of activity (e.g. assistance to schools and development) or that involve duties in several TAG projects. However, these tendencies create serious problems of their own. Broadening participation in decision-making often conflicts with efficiency, and over-lapping roles contribute to confusion and work overload.

6. Work overload is a serious problem, both in general and especially for key staff.

7. Immediate demands of particular projects, funders, or RTAs crowd out time for activities contributing to the general health of

the organization, such as overall strategy development, sharing across projects, and staff development.

8. Rapid staff expansion changes the basic character of the organization, moving it from a situation where complex demands on the group can be met informally and through face-to-face negotiation to a situation where more complex management procedures must be put in place.

9. Geographical dispersion (which often accompanies expansion) raises a whole new set of socialization, communication, decision-making, and control problems.

10. One particular area of interrelationship that often raises problems is the relationship of the headquarters to the facilitators. Facilitators may feel at one extreme that their work is being dictated by the headquarters staff and that the facilitators are not allowed to respond to local conditions; at the other extreme they may feel abandoned by the headquarters. On the other side, headquarters staff may feel either that the facilitators are doing their own thing and failing to capitalize on the accumulated knowledge of the TAG or that they make unrealistic demands on headquarters resources.

Naturally, many of the problems listed above are closely related. One can see, for example, the ways in which many of these problems interact in a specific problem area cited frequently by TAG staff: work overload. Among the causes of overload we observed were the following:

1. Attempt to simultaneously develop a technology and apply it in one's work.

2. High percentage of time entailed in internal decision-making activities.

3. Need for TAG staff to constantly move from one activity to another to satisfy multiple role demands.

4. Meeting variable or expanding expectations of RTAs, including crisis situations.

5. Shortage of particular specialized skills in the organization.

6. Lack of staff development procedures to prepare people to take on tasks where skill shortages exist.

7. Underestimating time required to complete tasks.

8. Flexible job descriptions and strong personal commitment that encourage people to take on more and more work.

9. Necessity to make unrealistic time commitments to obtain funding.

10. Expectations of funders, including unexpected requests for reports and unexpected shifts in funders' requirements. These are most pressing in federal contracts.

Because of the diversity of experience the six TAGs have had in coping with such problems, the documentation of their experience in the case studies represents a rich resource for suggesting how these problems might be dealt with. Although no group has developed perfect solutions to these problems, they have made changes in their history that should be of interest to others. We wish to emphasize that effective changes by the various groups have been made in light of their own characteristic values and style of functioning; we do not wish to imply that there is one "correct" way of dealing with the problems of TAG coordination.

First, as mentioned earlier, the organization's key leadership is probably the most important factor in dealing with these problems. If the organization's leadership is regarded as the legitimate interpreter of the organization's goals and strategies, diverse work units will respond to the leadership's efforts to coordinate the work, whatever the particular leadership style. Also critical is the leadership's willingness to move toward a conception of their role that includes management as well as idea development and to acquire the necessary managment skills through outside consultants or through analysis of their own experience. Another alternative is to delegate management responsibilities to someone who is good at them.

Second, our data suggests that two working arrangements seem optimal in terms of job satisfaction and productivity in the various TAG groups: a project team consisting of about seven people and a subgroup to work on specific tasks consisting of two or three people. Two of the TAGs (CTW and /I/D/E/A/) have a total program staff of six or seven people, while characteristic project groups in several other TAGs (e.g. the School Community Improvement project of CNS; the Development Team of REP) consist of about seven people. Further, all TAGs make frequent use of two to three person subgroups to work on a specific task within a larger project. These sizes for project groups and subgroups seem to allow for effective interchange of ideas and sharing of skills without becoming unwieldy. Project groups much larger than seven people don't allow for effective face-to-face interchange; persons working alone don't have the advantage of multiple perspectives in TAG work that is consistently ambiguous.

Third, all TAGs have moved toward developing mechanisms that allow greater clarity in such areas as planning, job descriptions, task assignments, and time estimations. While all groups have moved in this direction, those that are explicitly oriented toward broader political change still tend to rely more on commitment to the group's ideology and the inspiration of the leaders to cope with such stresses (AFRAM, UBP), while groups who see themselves more as providing technical expertise have moved much further in the formal systematization of internal procedures (REP, /I/D/E/A/, CTW, CNS). Among the specific steps taken in this regard are the following:

1. The TAG clarifies job responsibilities in writing and/or through clear shared understanding amoung TAG members.
2. The TAG devotes greater time to pre-planning activities and making realistic time estimates for the completion of activites.
3. The TAG leadership delegates more responsibility and authority and consciously trains people to assume it.
4. The TAG seeks funding proportional to the projects they agree to carry out or renegotiates commitments to bring them in line with available funds.
5. The TAG increases admininstrative support roles or the responsibility of people in these roles to relieve overload on program staff.
6. The TAG lessens multiple roles and responsibilities.
7. The TAG increases supervision and monitoring of work.
8. The TAG regularizes personnel policies and procedures.
9. The TAG specifies more precisely what "participation in decision-making" means by specifying who participates in what kinds of decision.
10. The TAG improves internal communications among project teams.

Fourth, groups have moved toward distinguishing those areas of activity that require close interrelation from those that can be carried out by a discrete group operating independently. Greater efficiency has been achieved by concentrating responsibility for functions that can operate more independently in a distinct group, hiring people who specialize in that function, and monitoring that group's work to insure a high level of quality. For example, all TAGs have an identifiable clerical group and have focused on increasing its standards of performance. In addition, a hallmark of several very different TAGs is the high quality of their media products, and they use specialists and close monitoring to achieve these results. Several groups (for example, /I/D/E/A/ in the area of media and research) have contracted for specialized capabilities.

Fifth, while some groups have expanded eagerly as a result of successful fund-raising and requests for their services, some have consciously questioned the desirability of growth and felt that they could be more productive if they maintained a small size, i.e. a program staff of about seven people who can interact and plan comfortably in a face-to-face group. It should be pointed out that it is difficult to maintain a steady size in the face of the prevailing funding situation--failure to maintain funding necessitates cutbacks while success often brings funder demands that cause abrupt expansion on a scale that the TAG would not ideally choose itself.

Sixth, TAGs deal with the question of coordination by applying various reward and sanctions that will be discussed later. Two of the strongest are feedback that one is or is not adhering to the group's ideology and inclusion in the TAG as a social group (e.g. being judged a good member of the "CTW family").

Decision-Making and Problem-Solving. Most organizations have three key levels of decision-making among program staff: a leadership group (or single leader) with the final authority to make almost all decisions, a middle leadership group who have varying degrees of responsibility in heading specific projects or sub-projects, and program staff without major management responsibility. We will not repeat the extensive descriptions of decision-making from the case studies. We only wish to underline certain key trends. First, persons at each of the three levels of decision-making feel a need to make important decisions and have developed a rationale for their need for decision-making authority or participation. Top leadership sees its role as critical to maintaining the overall thrust and coordination of the TAG. Middle level leadership sees its role as critical because the organization cannot function if top leadership is over-loaded with all decisions and fails to use the talents of seasoned staff members. Middle level leadership is usually an emergent group formed because of TAG expansion. They state that they are often given responsibility without clear authority-- that top leadership often overrules them or that their subordinates go around them. The third level of program staff--those without significant leadership responsibilities--argue that they too should have a key role in decision-making since they are often most directly in contact with RTAs. There seems to be broad agreement in all groups that everyone should at least be consulted about important decisions that affect their work.

In all groups, the top leadership has maintained ultimate authority--no group operates as a collective of equals. Below top leadership, UBP, AFRAM and CTW maintain a more fluid authority structure with middle level leadership overruled if top leadership thinks it is in the best interests of the group. REP has moved toward the precise specification of who will be involved in what decision, and CNS is moving in that direction although problems of clarity still exist. /I/D/E/A/ has experienced these stresses over decision-making less than the other groups because of their small program staff, their long history of working together, and the consistent application and acceptance of their philosophy of democratic leadership in internal operation.

/I/D/E/A/'s internal use of the decision-making procedure it advocates for RTAs is also especially prominent in two other groups; AFRAM and REP. AFRAM stresses "getting things out on the table" and a confrontation style of decision-making both internally and externally; REP stresses a model in which the roles of various groups are precisely delineated both internally and externally.

Despite their diversity of styles, almost all groups make some use of techniques drawn from the organizational development tradition in their decision-making and problem-solving, including agenda-setting, role-playing, de-briefing, active listening, brain-storming, and force-field analysis. Consistent use of such mechanisms--so that they are almost automatically drawn on when problems arise--appears to be associated with more satisfying and effective processes of decision-making and problem-solving. Effective problem-solving is also related to the existence of regularized mechansims for analyzing assistance work, so that disagreements can be dealt with through concrete reference to experience rather than through abstract battles between differing philosophies.

As with other aspects of functioning, decision-making and problem-solving are strongly influenced by the degree of underlying agreement among staff about basic issues in the educational change process. Agreement on first principles allows more time for effective work on other organizational tasks, provided it doesn't cut off feedback from the TAG's environment. In the most diverse TAG in terms of staff background (CNS), there is a dissatisfaction with decision-making mechansisms that can be traced partly to the conflict between the priorities of staff subgroups (e.g. those who advocate service to Latino communities, service to Black communities, research, strategy development, etc).

Rewards and Sanctions. To insure that decisions and other expectations of the TAG are carried out, TAGs rely on various rewards and sanctions. As mentioned earlier, adherence to the ideology of the group is an extremely strong incentive in all groups. Leadership and fellow TAG members provide feedback that a staff member is or is not meeting the expectations of the ideology in terms of work performance, and this serves to regulate behavior. More important, staff selection and socialization procedures help insure that group members internalize the ideology so that adherence to it does not depend in most instances on external monitoring. A second powerful incentive for regulating behavior is inclusion in the group through expressions of interpersonal affection, approval, and acceptance. This mechanism is reinforced quite explicitly by the conceptions of the "AFRAM family" and the "CTW family" in those two groups and is also important in the other groups.

A third incentive is the prestige of the organization in the eyes of some reference group valued by the TAG members. This incentive is related both to praise from reference group members for being part of the group and to possibilities for professional advancement later that are associated with the TAG's prestige. Such considerations of professional advancement seem less important in AFRAM and UBP.

Material incentives are of somewhat varying importance to staff members, but in general do not appear to be as important as the incentives listed above. Relative to the larger job market, most TAGs are paying average or slightly below average salaries for the skills of their staff. Many staff members express the sentiment, "I am getting paid adequately and doing what I really want to do." Raises based on job performance do not appear to be a major reward or sanction. Raises are generally granted on a fairly uniform basis to reflect availability of funds. However, promotion is a fairly important incentive, since TAGs generally prefer to promote competent people on their present staff rather than to hire outsiders.

The overall effect of this set of rewards and sanctions is to create a high level of commitment among TAG staff either to the group as a whole or to the specific aspect of the TAG's activity in which a staff member is involved. This general high level of staff commitment is an important factor in overall TAG effectiveness.

Communication. Another important area of TAG activity closely related to other aspects of internal functioning is the pattern of communication within the TAG. The typical mechanisms employed for staff communication are regular staff or project meetings, problem-oriented staff or project meetings, memos and reports, staff mail boxes, informal interaction within staff subgroups, and research data. We observed the problems one might expect associated with each type of communication. Meetings are extremely time-consuming, memos are not read, and research data tends to be ignored if it doesn't comfirm one's existing opinions. Another important problem, discussed earlier, is the tendency of communication about immediate problems to drive out communication about more deep-seated problems, new ideas, longer range planning etc.

The key medium of internal communication that holds the TAGs together is constant formal and informal face-to-face interaction. Given the lack of clearly established methods for accomplishing many of the tasks the TAGs confront and the resulting uncertainty the staff faces, there seems to be a much higher frequency of face-to-face communication throughout the TAG staff than would be characteristic of other types of organizations of the same size (e.g. the public school staffs whom the TAGs assist). Dysfunction appears in communication when the TAG expands beyond the size for which plans can be made and problems solved only through face-to-face communication. Such problems seem to emerge when the program staff exceeds ten people, and a staff of 20 makes previous methods of operating primarily through constant face-to-face communication seriously dysfunctional.

One of the most difficult communication problems faced by TAGs (which often accompanies expansion) is any geographical dispersion that makes it difficult to carry out a large amount of formal and informal face-to-face communication. This difficulty can be introduced when a school is difficult to reach by public transportation in New York City or when a rural assistance site can be reached only through special plane flights and car trips over mountain roads. In any such case, the predominate mode of communication becomes the phone call, memo, or special visit. Since it appears that most people's loyalties and identifications are formed primarily through face-to-face interaction, TAG members isolated in this way often have a greater tendency to identify with the local setting than with the TAG. Staff can through conscious planning develop ways to use the phone conversation as a fairly effective communication mechanisms for reviewing and analyzing information, if not for settling disputes. Further, concrete written or audio-visual materials describing the strategy are important in maintaining continuity across long distances. However, even at best, phone calls and materials are somewhat impersonal. Given geographical dispersion, the personal visits of the headquarters staff become critical, and their effectiveness seems to depend on the ability of the headquarters staff to tune into the local situation quickly, inspire the field staff (which usually can't be done by phone or memo), and provide useful advice that reaffirms the value of the link between the field site and the headquarters. Another improtant strategy for dealing with geographical dispersion is to encourage self-reliance on the part of field staff and to make it clear that they can't count on extensive help from headquarters. Both /I/D/E/A/ and AFRAM consistently emphasize this notion.

Developing a resource network to support the TAG's Work. Already discussed in connection with several other areas of TAG functioning is the importance of a resource network that can supply critical aid to the TAG in maintaining and developing its program. In the successful TAGs we studied, we noted that program leadership had developed a resource network that was drawn on for a variety of purposes. A major part of this network, mentioned earlier, is the social movement out of which the TAG developed. It is drawn on for initial funding, ideas, legitimacy, candidates for staff position, funding leads and contacts, and political support in maintaining funding or overcoming other obstacles. Beyond this network related to a social or educational movement, effective TAG leadership develops a wide variety of contacts of other types that are employed for the same purposes--such as persons in government to provide information on funding, political figures to lend legitimacy and support in conflicts, etc. Such networks can also be the source of specialized expertise (such as research or media capabilities) that can be drawn on as an alternative to developing such a capability within the TAG. CTW's use of key consultants is a good example of one way in which such a network is drawn on to improve a TAG's program.

In maintaining such networks, successful TAGs seem to have applied a concept from their assistance efforts to other aspects of their operation, i.e. that personal contact is a decisive factor in influencing people's behavior.

Clerical, Administrative, Fiscal, and Technical Operations. In an organization with the complexity of a technical assistance group, both internally and in its relations with the outside world, the regular and efficient performance of these operations is vital. They include such activities as getting letters typed, answering the phone and keeping track of messages, preparing the payroll, establishing office procedures, responding to routine requests for information, printing, graphic design, and photo-processing.

Some TAGs have experimented with combining some of these roles with others, but by-and-large they are separate and distinct roles within all organizations studied. Attempts to get secretarial people too heavily involved in the program for example, have meant that office work didn't get done, if there wasn't a way to reduce their regular work load. However, several organizations have been successful in involving clerical and technical people in duties over and above their main responsibilities if the additional duties are clearly spelled out and delineated. Also, some groups have provided specific orientation or staff development experiences to give persons in clerical and technical roles a better understanding of the purpose of the organization, and these appear to have been beneficial. In addition, groups differ greatly in the degree to which people in these support roles can move into program roles. There is a full spread among the groups from groups where it is common for support staff to move into program roles to groups where it is impossible.

The most critical effect on a TAG of the failure to regularize these activities is that program leadership, who are suffering in most cases from severe overload, are pulled back into the areas of activity that aren't running smoothly, either to constantly solve problems or to actually do the work themselves. Thus, a critical task of program leadership, particulary as a TAG expands, is to identify and train people to carry out these support and technical tasks efficiently and independently. Of all the demands on the time of program leadership, these tasks seem to be the easiest to transfer to others without loss of effectiveness. As is emphasized in reviewing the case studies, TAGs with very different philosophies and styles of operation place a common emphasis on high quality in the performance of technical tasks (such as graphic design and printing), and this concern seems an important contributor to TAG effectiveness.

As mentioned earlier, a practice used by several groups with good results is to subcontract for some services in such areas (e.g. printing, fiscal planning, media design and production, computerized payroll) rather than developing an internal ability to carry out these tasks.

Critical Activities in Establishing and Maintaining Effective TAG Internal Management. Based on the foregoing analysis, we see the following as the critical activities in this area of TAG activity:

1. The leadership establishes itself as the legitimate interpreter of the nature of the TAG strategy and of the limits it implies, while facilitating the adaptation of the strategy based on the analysis of TAG experience.

2. The leadership creates and maintains internal operating units that function in overall harmony with TAG goals, but develops the skills of key staff so that these units operate independent of constant leadership intervention.

3. Leadership acquires management skills that correspond with the increasing complexity of the organization, changing from an initial perception of themselves primarily as activists or program developers.

4. The leadership adapts its leadership style to the values and needs of TAG staff and RTAs.

5. The TAG recruits program staff who share the basic assumptions of the TAG about educational and social change and who have had sufficient experience in the settings in which assistance is provided to develop creative but realistic notions of how the strategy can be refined.

6. The TAG draws on its contact network and/or its RTAs as a source of candidates for staff positions.

7. The TAG socializes staff members through a conscious program of direct experience in the TAG's work, analysis of that experience, planned training sessions, and written materials.

8. The TAG makes frequent use of project teams consisting of about seven persons and subteams to work on specific tasks consisting of two to three persons.

9. The TAG clarifies job responsibilities in writing and/or through clear shared understanding among TAG members.

10. The TAG devotes greater time to pre-planning activities and making realistic time estimates for the completion of activities.

11. The TAG leadership delegates more responsibility and authority and consciously trains people to assume it.

12. The TAG seeks funding proportional to the projects they agree to carry out or renegotiates commitments to bring them in line with available funds.

13. The TAG increases administrative support roles or the responsibility of people in those roles to relieve overload on program staff as it expands.

14. The TAG carefully examines the impact of multiple roles and responsibilities.

15. The TAG extablishes regular procedures for supervision and monitoring of work.

16. The TAG regularizes personnel policies and procedures.

17. The TAG specifies more precisely what "participation in decision-making" means by specifying who participates in what kinds of internal decisions.

18. The TAG distinguishes those tasks for which close intercoordination of teams and projects is desirable and should be encouraged by frequent communication, coordination, and role overlap from those tasks that can be performed with less interdependence by specialists.

19. The TAG carefully analyzes the question of TAG size and seeks to attain or maintain a size most appropriate for achieving its purposes.

20. The TAG develops functional procedures for allocating decision-making responsibility to the three levels of program staff within the organization: top leadership, middle level leadership, and other program staff.

21. The TAG employs mechanisms for consulting staff members about important decisions that affect their work.

22. The TAG integrates a set of decision-making and problem-solving procedures it has found useful (e.g. brainstorming, active listening) into its on-going operation.

23. The TAG exercises social control, through feedback that a person is or is not adhering to the group's ideology; through including people in the TAG as a social group (the TAG family); through the prestige of being associated with the group; and through other mechanisms appropriate for the group.

24. The TAG perfects a set of communication mechanisms appropriate to the group, capitalizing on the strengths and minimizing the weaknesses of the mechansisms chosen. The TAG relies heavily on effective face-to-face communications.

25. The TAG adjusts communication mechanisms appropriately as it increases in size.

26. The TAG develops regular mechanisms for communicating with geographically dispersed sites, including the effective use of the telephone, written communications, and on-site visits.

27. The TAG develops and maintains a contact/resource network to provide them with ideas, mutual support, potential staff members, and funding leads.

28. The TAG regularizes day-to-day clerical and administrative activities.

29. The TAG develops a high quality of specialized technical capabilities (either on staff or through subcontracts) in such areas as fiscal control, media, and writing.

Obtaining and Maintaining Funds

The strategies we observed being carried out in the various TAGs seemed to be at different points in a developmental process that requires five to seven years to reach full potential. The stages of this process will be discussed in the next section on strategy development. Completing this process requires steady funding over this extended period, but the reality is that there are few funding sources who will provide this funding continuity and who recognize the value of the results of such a development effort. Thus, fund-raising and dealing with the requirements of funding becomes a key area of concern for the TAG and particularly its leadership. Fund-raising and responding to the needs and requirements of funders absorbs a large amount of time, especially of program leadership. Funding must often be pieced together from a variety of sources, often by redefining or stretching the funder's priorities so that they fit the assistance project or vice versa. The prevailing wisdom among funders usually means support for only two to three years for a particular type of effort; thus, when the TAG's strategy development is just starting to bear fruit, the TAG is often under pressure to move into a "new" area to maintain itself. Funders often expect TAG services to become "user-supported" after a few years, but the general tightening of school budgets decreases the likihood that such local support can contribute most of the funding necessary for a TAG operation.

A further problem is that TAGs are developing an infant technology and will almost certainly experience a combination of successes and failures in their work, but any failures or problems can mean loss of funding support, given the fact that funders are often hesitant about supporting TAG work in the first place.

/I/D/E/A/'s experience puts all these pressures into perspective because they are in a unique position in comparison with the other TAGs under study; they have had a fixed but relatively secure source of funding for a period of seven years through the Kettering Foundation. Issues associated with funding are dealt with even more smoothly because the /I/D/E/A/ Executive Director works with the funding source, and the rest of the staff doesn't even have to deal with the amount of maintenance needed to renew /I/D/E/A/ funding. Thus, the /I/D/E/A/ staff not only has secure funding but doesn't have to court funders, write reports solely for funders, justify their funding at the end of grant periods that may not relate to natural benchmarks in their work, and respond to changing priorities of funding sources. Our comparative study reveals a significant amount of the total talent of a TAG is absorbed in these tasks.

Unless a TAG is fortunate enough to be in /I/D/E/A/'s position, they must cope with the problems of fund-raising and maintenance describe above. Here are some activities that appear to be critical in contributing to a successful effort to raise and maintain funds:

1. The TAG devotes regular energy to the analysis of funding possibilities and to cultivating relationships with funders--A common weakness of fund-raising procedures is that they are sporadic or do not entail sufficient lead time to meet a deadline for needed funding. In addition, it takes regular attention to establish and maintain personal relationships with potential funders, and the great majority of instances in which a TAG has received money have entailed some prior personal relationship with the funder.

2. The TAG builds a network of persons in various funding agencies, other TAG groups, influential political positions, etc., who can serve as a source of information about funding possibilities and a source of political support in obtaining and maintaining funds.

3. The TAG convinces funders that their assistance work is appropriate for support under their funding priorities, while maintaining the basic integrity of their program-- There is a pressure on successful TAGs to survive by accepting projects tangential to their main strategy and service priorities. TAGs face the constant dilemma of deciding whether a certain funding possibility can be shaped to their purposes or will end up disrupting the TAG, and whether projects of tangential interest should be accepted to survive when the TAG believes the projects will do little to further their goals and may introduce difficult problems of expansion. Thus, funding represents another area in which the TAG must successfully initiate a process of mutual adaptation--seeking to remain viable by adjusting to funder priorities and constraints and at the same time trying to

get funders to adjust to the TAG.

Such grantsmanship is becoming especially difficult for those TAGs emphasizing community and parent participation. Johnson-era funds for these purposes are drying up, and the criticism of the Ford Foundation for supporting community control projects in New York City has made many foundations frightened of supporting projects in these areas.

4. The TAG develops technical proposal and report writing skills -- We found no evidence to support the notion that a fund-raising specialist working only on funding was responsible for a TAG's fund-raising success; the major impetus for funding efforts came from program leadership. However, specialists have been helpful in the proposal writing, budget planning, and report preparation aspects of fund-raising and fund maintenance.

5. The TAG includes realistic time-tables and specific realistic objectives in funding proposals, insofar as possible -- TAGs feel the pressure to make unrealistic promises of accomplishment and unrealistic time tables to obtain funds. Sometimes, this is inevitable, but sometimes the TAG plays a major role in making unrealistic projections and can avoid the related pressures through more realistic planning.

6. The TAG plans the ends of funding cycles to coincide with natural benchmarks in the progress of the TAG's work -- We often observed strains that resulted from funder reporting requirements

that were unrelated to the completion of any phase in the TAG work. Again, the TAG cannot totally contol this problem, but can lessen it through planning.

7. The TAG presses for long-term rather than short-term funding.

8. The TAG diversifies its funding sources so that changes in a particular funding source won't wipe out all TAG programs.

9. The TAG minimizes the effects of funder demands on TAG time and energy -- This is accomplished through such strategies as hiring specialists to write progress reports so they don't bring the entire program staff to a halt and placing most of the responsibility for contact with a specific funder with one TAG member, so that the funder doesn't disrupt the whole TAG staff.

10. The TAG documents its work to establish what services were delivered and what effects they had --This point is discussed more in the section on strategy development.

11. The TAG trains people as facilitators who have an independent source of financial support (e.g. personnel of local school districts, intermediate school districts, state education agencies, community mental health centers, community organizations, universities). Funding to train and support the staff of organizations with sources of funding independent of the TAG may be easier to obtain than long-term funding for facilitators on the TAG's payroll. Thus, one attractive product of a long-term strategy development effort is a program for training and supporting such people. One reflection of the fruit-

fulness of this approach is /I/D/E/A/'s successful attempt to convince almost 100 agencies to support staff members to act as IGE facilitators. REP has also had some initial successes in this area, through its successful efforts to get the Canyon County school district and the tribal council to pay the salaries of facilitators and to continue this support after REP's initial cycle of help ended. One major consideration for a TAG in pursuing this strategy is the TAG's philosophy about the degree to which existing educational agencies will address basic problems in education and will actually carry out the TAG's strategy. Those agencies that have stable funding and could support facilitators may be the agencies with whom the TAG feels it is in basic conflict.

The funder's perspective. This section has been written primarily from the perspective of the TAG trying to maintain and develop its program, not from the perspective of the funder trying to make sure that money is well-spent. This discussion and the rest of our analysis imply, however, ways that funders' needs to monitor work could be reconciled with a funding policy more supportive of TAG development. A major source of conflict seems to stem from inappropriate expectations of funders, and the analysis in this report (including the lists of critical activities) suggest how more appropriate expectations could form the basis for a more productive relationship between funders and TAGs. For example, this study suggests that it takes about five to seven years for a TAG to develop an effective change strategy and that it takes three to four years for basic organizational changes to take root in a school. Of course, there are many intermediate benchmarks by which a funder could decide whether a TAG was making progress, but if a funder is interested in supporting this type of change, they should fund such programs with the expectation that such time frames are necessary.

The critical activities cited in this study suggest some possible benchmarks of progress, including those described in the later sections on strategy development and assistance efforts. The nature of these activities suggest that an important role in assessing TAG progress might be given to local RTAs.

Additional ideas about appropriate and helpful expectations of funders are suggested by the preceeding discussion, for example, planning with the TAG so that reporting deadlines coincide with natural benchmarks in the TAG's work, expecting a certain amount of failure even in the work of effective TAGs, and working with the TAG to develop realistic objectives for work within a given a time-frame.

Developing Assistance Strategies

In this section, we first analyze similarities and differences in the process of strategy development, whatever the specific content of the strategy might be. We then discuss two specific aspects of this process; materials development and research and evaluation. Finally, we discuss the substantive contrasts between the various TAG strategies.

The Strategy Development Process: We frequently use the term "strategy development" in this section, reflecting our observation that TAGs tend to focus on the development of one strategy growing out of a basic set of values and assumptions, rather than attempting to develop two or more basically different strategies within one organization. TAGs sometimes try out variations on a set of basic assumptions (as did REP after its funding by the National Institute of Education) or make important shifts in strategy (as have CNS and CTW, for example). However, even in these instances, we can trace the continuity of most basic assumptions. Thus, when we refer to the development of "a strategy" in this section, we also are referring to the development of several related strategies or the evolution of a strategy flowing from the same basic set of assumptions.

As mentioned earlier, the formation of a TAG group brings together the basic elements that are critical for strategy development:

1. The perspective [illegible] change of a tradition or movement for

educational improvement.

2. Strong leadership that articulates the basic outlines of a change strategy.
3. A resource network.
4. A staff which shares the basic values of the change strategy and has had relevant concrete experience related to carrying it out.
5. Initial funding.
6. Initial opportunities to work with RTAs in refining the strategy.

The initial organizing concepts that the leadership group articulates are fundamental in shaping the group's direction, but they are quite broad. They touch, for example, on the basic deficiences of current educational practice; a broad vision of how things could be better; the specification of the key role groups to work for improvement; the key subsystems of school community functioning that need improvement; and broad definition of a role for the TAG facilitator. These are the ideas that the leadership articulates initially and their motivating power is enough to bring together a staff who subscribe to them and begin work with a set of RTAs.

After this coming together, a period in the development of the group ensues that is critical in terms of the TAG's effectiveness. This is a period of intensive direct field experience in applying the initial formulation of the assistance strategy in work with RTAs and, ideally, a systematic refinement of this strategy through an interplay of experience and analysis. This period seems to require a number of ingredients to contribute to optimal success, some of which have been discussed earlier:

1. Leadership that is perceived as a legitimate interpreter of the nature of the strategy and the limits it implies.
2. Leadership that can coordinate the complex functions necessary to maintain the group and allow the experience-analysis cycle to take place.
3. A staff with sufficient commitment to the initial formulation of the strategy to focus on strategy improvement rather than constantly debating basic issues.
4. A staff with sufficient experiential background in the setting in which assistance is provided to develop creative but realistic notions of how the strategy can be refined.
5. Sufficient funding over a period of about three years to carry out a trial and error process leading to a strategy formulation that is comprehensive and detailed enough to suggest appropriate TAG actions in specific situations.
6. Sufficient funding for an additional period of about three years to field-test a fully developed and detailed strategy and to modify it through experience.
7. A series of efforts to apply the strategy in particular situations that involves an interplay between direct experience and analysis. This process must involve appropriate feedback mechanisms so that an optimal adaptation takes place between the formulation of the strategy at any point in time and the concrete experience of applying it in particular situations.
8. The development of a social systems perspective on the nature of the school community and of the change process.

Several of these points require elaboration.

Effective leadership: As mentioned earlier, effective leadership may be manifested in a variety of ways appropriate to the context of the organization, but a common underlying characteristic of successful leadership is the perception among TAG staff and RTA s that the leadership is the embodiment of the organization's strategy--that the leadership always does what's best in terms of the assistance program's philosophy and development. Leaders as different in their styles as John Bahner of /I/D/E/A/ and Evelina Antonetty of United Bronx Parents are generally viewed in this way by program staff. Leadership viewed as legitimate is in a position to make interpretations of the "correct" application of the general philosophy in particular situations, to declare certain ideas out of bounds, and to keep TAG members who are involved in diverse tasks coordinated in terms of their contribution to an overall organizational mission of strategy development. We are not, of course, speaking merely of rigidity--rather of an ability to judge optimal adaptation in reconciling the articulation of the strategy by leadership at any point in time with the viewpoints of TAG staff and with the TAG's experience in helping particular RTAs.

Extended Period of Strategy Development: The development of a TAG strategy occurs in roughly two phases that together take five to seven years to complete. In the initial phase, the TAG develops its strategy through an intensive combination experience and analysis that seems essential to transform general ideas into a specific strategy whose implications for action in particular situations are clear. However, this initial three or four years of effort often generates a mixed bag of successes and failures--what emerges is a sense of "how we would we do it ideally" that requires substantial further testing. An additional period of about three years for further refinement and the testing of the fully-developed strategy in specific situations is needed. This additional period can also be one in which the original developers of the strategy have it well enough worked out so that additional funding will enable them to develop a program for training others in its implementation.

As mentioned earlier, the flexible funding for such an extended period of strategy development is hard to obtain. The groups we studied were successful in acquiring initial flexible funding with many fewer strings attached than is the norm. Two have been successful in obtaining funds that have allowed them to carry out the second phase we have identified--consolidation of the strategy.

The Assistance-Analysis Cycle: Most critical during the entire strategy development phase is the interplay of direct assistance attempts and analysis. In attempting to bring these two types of activity into some productive relationship, the TAG is trying to build a bridge between areas that are usually separate in our society, since practitioners generally operate in one world and researchers and theorists in another. Thus, given the pressures of work overload characteristic of TAGs, there is a tendency for one type of activity to drive out the other, or for the two to co-exist without interrelating in a productive fashion. Thus, for example, in the two assistance projects of Center for New Schools we examined, one that was planned to be a research and assistance project has so far been mainly research, while the community assistance work in La Dulce has suffered from a lack of on-going group analysis. One key to developing an effective analysis-assistance cycle seems to be the legitimation of generally accepted mechanisms for reflecting on direct experience that are used as a matter of course and not just in crises. Thus, for example, United Bronx Parents regularly employs pre-planning sessions, role-playing of confrontations, and post-mortum discussions; REP uses de-briefing sessions in which people who have provided assistance analyze the event for those who weren't present; and AFRAM carries out regular family conferences as an opportunity to reflect on the experiences of a year's work.

Interaction of Facilitators: From the standpoint of strategy development, the patterns of interaction among facilitators and between facilitators and the rest of the TAG staff are critical. A common pattern for deploying facilitators has been to have a single facilitator working by himself in a single school or community. In addition, the facilitator often has little interaction with other TAG members about his work. The net effect of such isolation is to maximize variability of assistance work in light of the values of the individual facilitator and the characteristics of the local setting. From the standpoint of strategy development, this mode of work then appears to have built-in problems. To counteract this isolation and individualized pattern of assistance, TAGs have established facilitator teams of two or three people to work together on the same sites, encouraged site visitation between facilitators, designated experienced facilitators to coordinate assistance work and spend time with newer facilitators in the field, instituted regular or periodic debriefing and strategy development sessions involving facilitators and other TAG staff, and defined facilitator roles that include other types of responsibilities within the TAG. In reviewing the history of several of the TAGs a clear implication is that it is easier to build in such cooperative activity from the beginning rather than to try to "tighten up" after a long period when facilitators have been allowed to function fairly independently. Efforts to tighten up have been a major source of conflict in several instances in the history of the groups.

Social Systems Perspective: Despite the variety of TAG strategies, one common conceptual approach that is employed across groups is a social systems perspective. The TAGs acquire a growing sense of the primary importance of social structures and processes in determining the possibilities for school community change and of the ways in which different parts of the total school community system interrelate. The vocabulary used to discuss the school community as a social system varies greatly--in some groups it draws heavily on social science, in others on concepts drawn directly from school and community experience. /I/D/E/A/, REP, and CNS for example, developed their approaches in reaction to traditions that emphasized the development of materials; /I/D/E/A/, REP, and CNS strategy formulations speak of the "schools as a social system" and of "the culture of the school." CTW began with a focus on curriculum materials and experiential learning for children and moved to an emphasis on "subtle systems" that shape the school and on a broadened concept of experiential learning that asks school staff to analyze their position in these "subtle systems." AFRAM asks parents to see the school in light of such social system properties as decision-making and power, and in its relationship to the family and larger community, as does UBP. Thus, an initial and deepening analysis of the school and community as social systems seems to greatly aid the development of effective strategy and tactics.

Clear Language for Communicating the TAG Strategy: In the process of communicating with RTAs, it is critical that the TAG develop a clear language and method of communication for key terms and concepts. Many of the most important concepts in the various TAG strategies are outside the everyday experience of RTA's (for example, most people think of a school in terms of a building, classrooms, teachers, and books, not in terms of roles or power relationships). Relating the TAG's ideas to RTA ideas is tricky, and if it is not done properly, the TAG staff may be perceived as spouting jargon or being impractical. Further, if each TAG member explains the TAG's approach in a slightly different way and uses different terminology, the impression is one of confusion. TAG members may develop internal jargon and abbreviations for communicating that have no meaning when used in conversations with people outside the organization.

For all these reasons, an important activity for effective strategy development is to perfect a clear language and method of communication for key concepts and terms in the assistance strategy.

Diversity of Approaches to Effective Strategy Development: It should be emphasized that although there are underlying patterns across groups studied in the activities associated with effective strategy development, the particular manifestations of such common underlying patterns may be quite different in particular groups and tied to their distinctive ideology and arena for providing assistance. For example, one critical activity is that "the TAG specifies a consciously-shared strategy for school community improvement whose implications for facilitator action in specific situations are clearly understood and consistantly acted on by TAG staff."

Superficially, it might seem that groups with highly codified written strategies have fulfilled this criteria, while groups that do not produce such statements have not. However, a highly codified strategy may be disregarded by TAG members in practice-they may view it as impractical or merely not be aware of its specifics. On the other hand, there may be a thoroughly shared strategy for action in particular situations that is communicated through training in the context of direct action, through modeling, and through interpretation by the leadership, but this strategy may not be neatly recorded anywhere. As represented in figure 8-3, four combinations with respect to strategy clarification are possible: low written codification

Figure 8-3. Possible relationships of written codification of TAG strategy and shared awareness of strategy among TAG staff.

	Low written codification of strategy	High written codification of strategy
High shared awareness among the staff of strategy and its implications in specific situations	Strategy taught through modeling direct action, analysis of action, and leadership interpretation in unclear situations.	Strategy taught through modeling, direct action, analysis of direct action, group participation in the development of a written strategy, and formal training with materials describing the strategy.
Low shared awareness among TAG staff of strategy and its implications in specific situations	Individual activism without systematic training and analysis	A subgroup develops a codified strategy but it is not linked to action, training, and analysis activities for the rest of the TAG.

awareness among TAG staff, low written codification with low shared awareness among TAG staff, high written codification with high shared awareness among TAG staff, and high written codification with low shared awareness among TAG staff.

Developing Materials for Assistance Efforts. Despite the assumption of the groups under study that face-to-face assistance is the most effective way to bring about change, we consistently found that well-prepared written and audio-visual materials were extremely important tools in such an assistance process and that they could bear much of the burden of communicating the TAG's approach in a consistent and clear fashion. Thus, the facilitators, if they use good materials appropriately, can concentrate on elaborating the TAG's ideas and adapting them to specific situations, rather than constantly restating them. Such materials were very useful as part of a plan for assisting geographically- dispersed sites.

It is interesting that several TAGs with widely different approaches have successfully developed and employed sets of materials which have similar underlying characteristics that make them useful in the assistance process. Four examples are the Afram stimulators, the REP training materials, the UBP handouts, and the IGE materials developed by /I/D/E/A/. Each set of materials is developed with a distinctive overall format that can clearly be indentified with the organization. The consistency of the format contributes to the TAG's legitimacy, giving RTAs the sense that the

TAG is not merely flying by the seat of its pants but has a comprehsensive approach and has anticipated and thought out some of the problems the RTA faces.

Perhaps more important, these materials systems are flexible. TAG staff can give the RTA a specific short handout, booklet, or filmstrip suited to the needs of a particular situation, without handing the RTA a thick book. This flexibility also allows for the systems to be regularly revised, updated, and added to, since the parts are relatively independent of each other. As mentioned earlier, such contrasting groups as REP, /I/D/E/A/, UBP, and AFRAM all have developed the capability to produce materials of high technical quality.

Drawing On Research and Analysis Concerning One's Own Work and The Work of Others. As discussed earlier, all six groups make significant use of some regularized methods for analyzing the process and effectiveness of their own work. REP uses questionnaires and ratings to judge the quality of the products it is developing and site observations and other methods to understand the process and the effectiveness of its assistance work; the entire REP staff employs regular formats for analysis such as de-briefing. /I/D/E/A/ carries out its own monitoring program to determine the degree to which IGE is being implemented and subcontracts for independent research on its effectiveness; /I/D/E/A/ staff also spends considerable time engaged in internal analysis of their program through team discussions and visits to Intermediate Agencies and schools. CNS makes extensive use of multiple research techniques with a heavy emphasis on anthropology to understand the process of implementation in its own and other programs. AFRAM regularly employs family conferences and other self-evaluation sessions to reflect on its program. CTW employs regular planning and post mortum sessions to look at its effectiveness and is now attempting to document its work more systematically and to see itself more as a research organization. UBP strongly emphasizes pre-planning and post-mortum sessions in its work with parents.

Thus, there is a strong emphasis in all groups on various types of analytical activity, and as we have stated earlier, the effectiveness of assistance efforts and strategy development appear to be related to the extent to which analysis and assistance are functioning as part of a regular cycle within the TAG.

One important subset of these analytical activities is the formal research and evaluation carried out by several of the TAGs. Those groups carrying out such research and evaluation are also likely to conduct reviews of research and evaluation literature on the work of others. The following generalizations appear to be true about TAG research activity:

1. As stated earlier, the origins of the TAGs were not in a disinterested review of the literature on educational change but in the values and observations about the change process of the core leadership who founded the group. Research literature from others has had an often important but clearly secondary role in this process as a source of ideas for refining basic assumptions and as a legitimater of basic assumptions.

2. Research findings concerning one's own program and the work of others are used effectively to legitimate the TAG's approach in the eyes of funders and RTA's.

3. TAG members tend to trust their own experience-based analysis of their effectiveness more than they do the research. If research underscores weaknesses perceived from experience-based analysis, the research develops additional credibility in this instance and is likely to be acted on. If it conflicts with the perceptions of TAG members, it is often disregarded.

4. Research evidence is more credible and is used more frequently when it provides information about the process of assistance or its components, rather than summary quantitative judgments about effectiveness.

5. Unless special feedback mechansisms through group interaction are developed for reflecting on research information, it tends to be ignored.

Substantive Contrasts in TAG Strategies. Individual case study information makes clear a number of contrasts as well as similarities between the approaches of the various TAGs to the process of improving education. One major contrast emerges from differing TAG viewpoints about the adequacy of the basic existing political arrangements in our society. One end of the continuum of belief among TAGs is based on an acceptance of many of the present institutional arrangements in society, coupled with an effort to improve these institutions. This viewpoint is represented by the approaches of /I/D/E/A/ and REP. They work through the existing network of state agencies, universities, school boards, and administrators and seek to strengthen them in the light of the stated ideals of American society and American education. They emphasize the correspondence between the TAG's goals for educational improvement and the core stated values of the United States--such as individual development and local participation in decision-making. They see the problems of American education as resulting from a gap between ideal and reality that can be overcome by providing technical help to professionals or professionals and citizens to strengthen existing institutions.

At the other end of this continuum are groups whose approach is premised on the need for a basic redistribution of power in American society and the radical reform of many existing institutions. AFRAM and UBP represent this position most clearly. They see American values as either unattainable within existing institutional arrangements or harmful to the TAG's hopes for society. They don't believe, for example, that existing school boards will allow for participation of Black and Puerto Rican parents in decision-making in any significant way without a struggle for power. They see the American ideal of individual development as a threat to the solidarity of the Black family (in the case of AFRAM) and to the communal values they espouse (in the case of UBP). Since they regard problems in the schools as closely intertwined with larger societal patterns, they stress the need to work simultaneously in other arenas as well as education and to encourage their RTAs to become involved in these areas.

Creative Teaching Workshop is closer to /I/D/E/A/ and REP in believing that change must be based on an understanding and acceptance of existing institutional arrangements and an effort to alter them through a gradual process. Like /I/D/E/A/ and REP, they see a major strategy for change as being the development of the skills of key individuals in existing institutions along with the attempt to change institutional structure in an evolutionary way.

CNS is somewhat closer to UBP and AFRAM in seeing the need for a redistribution of power as a necessary component of change, but they believe this change effort should include simultanous technical help to school professionals on a scale that AFRAM and UBP would probably not favor.

The Role of Conflict: A key difference among the groups are varying conceptions of the role of conflict in achieving their goals, although these differences cannot be captured in a simple dichotomy. /I/D/E/A/ and CTW are explicit in down-playing conflict tactics as a means for achieving valued changes. /I/D/E/A/ places strong belief in rational discussion and techniques for promoting consensus as the most productive tools for achieving change. CTW emphasizes that it advocates "evolutionary" change and views conflict as counter-productive. REP focuses more on the role of conflict in change, but sees most conflicts as resulting from the lack of participation of all parties affected by a decision in making the decision and the lack of conflict-resolution skills among those involved, rather than irreconcilable conflicts of interest.

AFRAM and UBP see basic conflict of interest as an overriding fact of social reality and believe that tactics for reversing the balance of power between the schools and the families they serve are the first basic step in improving education. However, it is important to emphasize that neither group advocates the constant indiscriminate use of conflict tactics or defines all school professionals as their enemies. They are careful to emphasize that conflict tactics are a tool to be used in dealing with school professionals and others who oppose their objectives. They are willing to provide strong political support for those school staff they see as acting in harmony with their objectives. Further, they do not simply advocate opposition to existing schools but project a set of values and a program of their own through which they feel the schools can operate more effectively. It appears that the two qualities just mentioned (focused use of conflict tactics and the projection of alternative approaches to school operation) distinguish them from many other conflict-oriented groups and may partially account for their effectiveness.

CNS is again probably closer to UBP and AFRAM in seeing basic conflicts of interest as being at the root of many educational problems, but places a relatively greater emphasis on cooperation and technical help for all parties involved than do AFRAM and UBP.

Specific Contrasts of Strategies: It has been repeatedly stressed earlier that these views about the nature of political and educational change are related to (1) the social context and social or educational movement from which the various TAGs grew and (2) the social position, training, and beliefs of key founding leaders and core staff. Growing from these influences, each group has chosen particular aspects of the school community system on which to focus in achieving change and particular role groups who should be the primary focus of their assistance. In characterizing these differences, we have found that the use of the TAGs own descriptions of their philosophy often leads to ambiguity. For example, both /I/D/E/A/ and REP consider themselves as being "process-oriented" rather than as advocating specific solutions. Yet their change strategies are quite different and both advocate some specific structural changes in the school community system. Rather than decide who is "really" process-oriented it seems more helpful to characterize those social structures, social processes attitudes, and skills in the school community system that each is trying to alter. A second problem with accepting the strategy formulations of the groups being studied at face value is that the TAGs make some comments in their philosophy about virtually all aspects of school community functioning. If one accepts these philosophies as reflections of the priorities of the various TAGs, the differences between the TAGs become blurred. However, when one observes the TAGs in operation, it becomes clear that they have certain clear priorities in terms of whom they work with and what types of changes they invest most of their energy in trying to achieve. If one compares these priority areas for change, the contrasts between the groups become much clearer.

The assistance efforts of the TAGs studied place high priority on one or more of the following directions through which school effectiveness might be increased:

1. Increasing the responsiveness of school leadership to parents.
2. Increasing parents' roles in decions-making and problem-solving about school policies and programs.
3. Altering the way students and parents are treated in exercising their individual rights.

4. Increasing parent involvement in community issues beyond education.

5. Introducing a systematic problem-solving process to identify and deal with school problems.

6. Increasing school leadership role in providing direction for the learning program.

7. Increasing school staff roles in decision-making and problem-solving about school policy and programs.

8. Altering the organization of social roles of the school staff.

9. Altering the school's learning program as it is actually carried out in practice.

10. Strengthening the staff development activities of the school.

11. Promoting sharing among RTAs who are peers.

12. Introducing information about other effective programs into relevant processes of school community functioning.

13. Developing a support and resource network beyond the school community to aid desired changes.

In Figures 8-4 to 8-10, we have characterized the respective TAGs in terms of whether their focus on these strategies for change is High, Moderate, or Low:

1. High means that a strategy is a top priority of the TAG which shapes their basic thinking about change, is the subject of very specific proposals for change that are projected to RTAs, and occupies a high percentage of facilitator time in the field.

2. Moderate means that a strategy receives a moderate level of attention in TAG thinking about change, is the subject of moderately specific proposals for change that are projected to RTAs, and occupies a moderate percentage of the time of the facilitator.

3. Low means that the strategy is not mentioned by the TAG, is subject to only general or vague plans for change, and/ or is not a significant focus of facilitator time.

Figure 8-4. United Bronx Parents Focus on Various Strategies for School Community Change (See explanation of High, Moderate and Low in the Text).

1.	Increasing the responsiveness of school leadership to parents.	High. Strong focus on pressuring school leadership to be responsive to parents in light of parent goals. UBP supports principals who are responsive in obtaining resources from higher levels in the school system.
2.	Increasing parents' roles in decision-making and problem-solving about school policies and programs.	High. Encourage greatly increased participation of parents in school decision-making through on-site evaluation of school programs and pressure for desired changes through strong parent groups.
3.	Altering the ways students and parents are treated in exercising their individual rights.	High. Sophisticated focus on parent and student rights in such areas as student suspension.
4.	Increasing parent involvement in community issues beyond education.	High. Often encourage parents to become involved in other community issues and operate a wide range of social programs to serve community needs.
5.	Introducing a systematic problem-solving process to identify and deal with school problems.	Moderate. An emphasis in their training and assistance to parents on a problem-solving cycle and on taking precise well-planned steps in this cycle.
6.	Increasing school leadership role in providing direction for the learning program.	Low.

Figure 8-4 (Cont.) United Bronx Parents

7.	Increasing school staff roles in decision-making and problem-solving about school policy and programs.	Low.
8.	Altering the organization of social roles on the school staff.	Low.
9.	Altering the school's learning program as it is actually carried out in practice.	Low to Moderate. Emphasis on introduceing Hispanic culture in curriculum and in aiding specific learning projects in schools under UBP influence.
10.	Strengthening staff development activities of the school.	Low.
11.	Promoting sharing among RTAs who are peers.	Moderate. Some emphasis on encouraging parents to share strategies.
12.	Introducing information about other effective programs into relevant processes of school community functioning.	Low.
13.	Developing a support and resource network beyond the school community to aid desired changes	Moderate. An emphasis on building a responsive network of school staff in central office, in influencing community school boards, and in building a community network of political support.

Figure 8-5. AFRAM's Focus on Various Strategies for School Community Change (See explanation of High, Moderate, and Low in the text).

1.	Increasing the responsiveness of school leadership to parents.	Moderate to High. The focus of parent demands is often on school administration.
2.	Increasing parents' roles in decision-making and problem-solving about school policies and programs.	High. Changes in parents' beliefs in their right to be involved in their child's formal education and confidence in asserting this right is strongly emphasized. Seek to develop permanent mechanisms by which families can ideally become full decision-making partners in their children's education or gain intermediate concessions to move in that direction (includes strengthening parent organization).
3.	Altering the way students and parents are treated in exercising their individual rights.	Moderate to High. AFRAM's emphasis on close monitoring of the school by parents brings about many instances in which facilitators become advocates for individual parents and students.
4.	Increasing parent involvement in community issues beyond education.	High. AFRAM emphasizes the importance of viewing education in the context of broader community needs, encourages facilitators to provide aid in all areas of community needs, and strongly encourages parents to form organizations whose focus extends to other community issues.
5.	Introducing a systematic problem-solving process to identify and deal with school problems.	Low.

Figure 8-5 (Cont). AFRAM.

6.	Increasing school leadership role in providing direction for the learning program.	Low.
7.	Increasing school staff roles in decision-making and problem-solving about school policy and programs.	Low.
8.	Altering the organization of social roles of the school staff.	Low.
9.	Altering the school's learning program as it is actually carried out in practice.	**Low to Moderate. Some** emphasis on introducing culturally-relevant materials in the learning program. Emphasis on parents as co-teachers in schools with clear community control.
10.	Strengthening the staff development activities of the school.	Low.
11.	Promoting sharing among RTA's who are peers.	High. A strong emphasis on parents in different settings sharing information about their ideas, concerns, and successes.
12.	Introducing information about other effective programs into relevant processes of school community functioning.	Moderate. Mechanisms for sharing information through family conferences and media systems.
13.	Developing a support and resource network beyond the school community to aid desired changes.	Moderate. Encourage national organizations through which parents can exert political influence.

Figure 8-6 Center for New Schools Focus on Various Strategies for School Community Change (See explanation of High, Moderate, and Low in the text).

1.	Increasing the responsiveness of school leadership to parents.	Low to Moderate. Work with parent groups has stressed an increasing parent role in principal selection, tactics for pressure on the principal. Alternative school work has sometimes ignored this area.
2.	Increasing parents' roles in decision-making and problem-solving about school policies and programs.	High. Advises parents on ways to deal with school practices they object to and has helped them to become actively involved in shaping their school's learning programs. Has included emphasis on strengthening independent community organization focused on schools, including help for them in obtaining funds.
3.	Altering the way students and parents are treated in exercising their individual rights.	Low. Some work on student and parent advocacy as an aspect of assistance to parents.
4.	Increasing parent involvement in community issues beyond education.	Low.
5.	Introducing a systematic problem-solving process to identify and deal with school problems.	Moderate. Most recent strategy emphasizes each role group identifying priority problems and working to solve them, with advisors seeking to build common agenda among role groups whenever possible.
6.	Increasing school leadership role in providing direction for the learning program.	Low.

Figure 8-6 (Cont.) Center For New Schools

7.	Increasing school staff roles in decision-making and problem-solving about school policy and programs.	Moderate. Alternative school assistance and also more recent assistance projects have stressed this idea and sought ways to make it work in practice.
8.	Altering the organization of social roles on the school staff.	Moderate. Has sometimes pressed for alternative schools inside of larger schools or teaching teams responsible for a portion of students.
9.	Altering the school's learning program as it is actually carried out in practice.	High. Has attempted to develop effective ways for making alternatives to predominant instructional programs for high school students work in practice.
10.	Strengthening the staff development activities of the school.	Low.
11.	Promoting sharing among RTA's who are peers.	Low.
12.	Introducing information about other effective programs into relevant processes of school community functioning.	High. A major focus is the applied research notion that mechanisms can be developed by which school communities can learn from successful programs elsewhere.
13.	Developing a support and resource network beyond the school community to aid desired changes.	Low.

Figure 8-7 Rural Education Program Focus on Various Strategies for School Community Change (See explanation of High, Moderate and Low in the text).

1.	Increasing the responsiveness of school leadership to parents.	Moderate to high. Seek to motivate school professionals to take community input seriously.
2.	Increasing parents' roles in decision-making and problem-solving about school policies and programs.	High. A major focus in the development of the School-Community Group.
3.	Altering the ways students and parents are treated in exercising their individual rights.	Low.
4.	Increasing parent involvement in community issues beyond the education.	Low.
5.	Introducing a systematic problem-solving process to identify and deal with school problems.	High. The core of REP's change strategy is to establish a representative group of school staff and community members who carry out a needs assessment of school problems, recommend solutions to the school board, and then participate in carrying out and evaluating these solutions.
6.	Increasing school leadership role in providing direction for the learning program.	Low.
7.	Increasing school staff roles in decision-making and problem-solving about school policy and programs.	Moderate. Results from staff participation in the School Community Group and a parallel problem-solving process that facilitators initiate with the school staff.

Figure 8-7 (Cont.) Rural Education Program

8.	Altering the organization of social roles on the school staff.	Low.
9.	Altering the school's learning program as it is actually carried out in practice.	Low.
10.	Strengthening staff development activities of the school.	Low to Moderate. Some emphasis on training staff in process skills.
[illegible]	Promoting sharing among RTAs who are peers.	Low.
12.	Introducing information about other effective programs into relevant processes of school community functioning.	Moderate. REP provides such information at the stage in the planned change process when the RTA is searching for alternative solutions to identified problems.
13.	Developing a support and resource network beyond the school community to aid desired changes.	High. A major focus on developing a permanent support network for the REP change process among intermediate and state agencies.

Figure 8-8. /I/D/E/A/ Focus on Various Strategies for School Community Change (See explanation of High, Moderate, and Low in the text).

1.	Increasing the responsiveness of school leadership to parents.	Low.
2.	Increasing parents' roles in decision-making and problem-solving about school policies and programs.	Low.
3.	Altering the ways students and parents are treated in exercising their individual rights.	Low.
4.	Increasing parent involvement in community issues beyond education.	Low.
5.	Introducing a systematic problem-solving process to identify and deal with school problems.	High. Explicit efforts to encourage school staff to use planned problem-solving process.
6.	Increasing school leadership role in providing direction for the learning program.	Moderate to High. Encourage the principal to delegate decision-making and work to support and monitor efforts of Learning Community Teams.
7.	Increasing school staff roles in decision-making and problem-solving about school policy and programs.	High. Explicit efforts to shift decision-making to Learning Community Teams and Program Improvement Council.
8.	Altering the organization of social roles on the school staff.	High. Specific comprehensive plan for reorganization of staff into Learning Community Teams.
9.	Altering the school's learning program as it is actually carried out in practice.	High. Concrete plan and processes for individualized instruction.

Figure 8-8 (Cont). /I/D/E/A/.

10.	Strengthening staff development activities of the school.	Moderate. A high stated emphasis, but somewhat less emphasis in practice.
11.	Promoting sharing among RTA's who are peers.	High. Develop mechanisms for peer sharing among teachers and principals.
12.	Introducing information about other effective programs into relevant processes of school community functioning.	Low to Moderate. A stated focus on sharing among IGE Leagues of schools carried out through periodic meetings and newsletters.
13.	Developing a support and resource network beyond the school community to aid desired changes.	High. Strong focus and great success in developing commitment of Intermediate Agencies to support their staff as facilitators for IGE.

Figure 8-9. Creative Teaching Workshop Focus on Various Strategies for School Community Change (see explanation of High, Moderate, and Low in the text).

1.	Increasing the responsiveness of school leadership to parents.	Low. Some emphasis is placed on this issue in recent work with principals.
2.	Increasing parents' roles in decision-making and problem-solving about school policies and programs.	Low.
3.	Altering the way students and parents are treated in exercising their individual rights.	Low.
4.	Increasing parent involvement in community issues beyond education.	Low.
5.	Introducing a systematic problem-solving process to identify and deal with school problems.	Low to Moderate. A recent emphasis in work with principals.
6.	Increasing school leadership role in providing direction for the learning program.	High. A major emphasis of work with principals is to help them to become involved in the school's learning program and to provide assistance to teachers.
7.	Increasing school staff roles in decision-making and problem-solving about school policy and programs.	Moderate. Some emphasis is placed on teachers articulating their needs to the principal and the principal becoming more responsive to teachers' expressed needs.
8.	Altering the organization of social roles on the school staff.	Low to moderate. Stress greater teacher cooperation but do not project a specific model.

Figure 8-9 (Cont.) Creative Teaching Workshop.

9.	Altering the school's learning program as it is actually carried out in practice.	High. Strong emphasis on developing teaching approaches that involve concrete experiences for children.
10.	Strengthening staff development activities of the school.	High. Emphasis on well-developed mechanisms for over-the-shoulder assistance. Also skilled in conducting workshops, but are sparing in their use.
11.	Promoting sharing among RTA's who are peers.	High. A key aspect of their work with principals and, to a lesser extent, of work with teachers.
12.	Introducing information about other effective programs into relevant processes of school community functioning.	Low.
13.	Developing a support and resource network beyond the school community to aid desired changes.	Low.

Figure 8-10 Summary of the Six TAGs' Focus on Various Strategies for School Community Change (See explanation of High, Moderate, and Low in the text).

	UBP	AFRAM	CNS	REP	IDEA	CTW
1. Increasing the responsiveness of school leadership to parents.	High	Mod. to High	Low to Mod.	Mod. to High	Low	Low
2. Increasing parents' roles in decision-making and problem-solving about school policies and programs.	High	High	High	High	Low	Low
3. Altering the ways students and parents are treated in exercising their individual rights.	High	Mod. to High	Low	Low	Low	Low
4. Increasing parent involvement in community issues beyond education.	High	High	Low	Low	Low	Low
5. Introducing a systematic problem-solving process to identify and deal with school problems.	Mod.	Low	Mod.	High	High	Low to Mod.
6. Increasing school leadership role in providing direction for the learning program.	Low	Low	Low	Low	Mod. to High	High
7. Increasing school staff roles in decision-making and problem-solving about school policy and programs.	Low	Low	Mod.	Mod.	High	Mod.
8. Altering the organization of social roles on the school staff.	Low	Low	Mod.	Low	High	Low to Mod.
9. Altering the school's learning program as it is actually carried out in practice.	Low to Mod.	Low to Mod.	High	Low	High	High

Figure 8-10 (Cont.) Summary of Six TAG's Focus on Various Strategies for School Community Change.

		UBP	AFRAM	CNS	REP	IDEA	CTW
10.	Strengthening staff development activities of the school.	Low	Low	Mod.	Low	Mod.	High
11.	Promoting sharing among RTAs who are peers.	Mod.	High	Low	Low	High	High
12.	Introducing information about other effective programs into relevant processes of school community functioning.	Low	Mod.	High	Mod.	Low to Mod.	Low
13.	Developing a support and resource network beyond the school community to aid desired changes.	Mod.	Mod.	Low	High	High	Low

The configurations of TAG strategies presented in the accompanying figures depict concisely the contrasts between the focus of the work of various TAGs. One clear pattern reflected is the way the various groups define who their RTA is. AFRAM and UBP emphasize that their primary identification is with parents and that they do not want to become a broker between parents and school staff, but rather to support parents in dealing with these groups directly. They see their primary RTAs then as parents groups and individual parents and students, whether or not these parents and children are associated with an organized group. In the most recent formulation of CNS's philosophy, CNS sees its RTA as three major role groups in the school community, with the specification that their support of these groups must be consistent with CNS's stated goals for school improvement. CNS further states that it will work with parents in accordance with these goals even in situations where school staff are resistent to them. REP sees itself serving a variety of RTAs, including the School Community Group it helps form, the local school board, and the intermediate and state agencies who provide supportive services to local problem-solving efforts. This orientation reflects the need that REP emphasizes for an integrated network of support for local change. /I/D/E/A/ sees its RTAs as the Intermediate Agencies who in turn help local schools, and the RTA of the Intermediate Agency is the school staff who participate in the "We Agree" workshop and commit themselves to carry out IGE. CTW sees its RTAs as the principals and teachers of individual schools.

Each TAG has developed a rationale showing how work with a particular role group(s) or particular subsystem(s) is critical to the processes of educational change in two senses. First, the TAGs focus on changing what seems most critical from the standpoint of their collective values. For AFRAM, it is the relation of the school to the family; for REP, it is the way that problems are defined and solved. Second, each group has developed an argument that its focus for school community intervention is critical in the sense that it will lead to broader changes in the functioning of other aspects of the school community system. As will be discussed later, these hopes do not seem, in general, to be borne out. The structure of the school community seems to be "lossely coupled", so that those subsystems get changed in which primary energy is invested and for which specific objectives and tactics are developed. Other subsystems, not the focus of the TAG's change efforts, continue to operate largely the way they did before the TAG intervened; they resist change that is not aimed directly at them.

Broad Role Envisioned in Changing Education: Another set of broad contrasts in the approaches of the TAGs is the overall role they see themselves playing in the process of educational and social change. Their conception of this role is strongly influenced by the relationship they see between model development and direct service. /I/D/E/A/ and REP are explicit in stating that they have engaged in direct service in order to develop a model for others to implement in direct work with RTAs. They state that any direct involvement in working with local school communities is based on the question "What can we learn from this?" Since REP and /I/D/E/A/ accept the legitimacy of existing social institutions, these provide a potential mechanism for introducing their strategy widely at the local level. /I/D/E/A/ has already achieved impressive success in carrying out such an effort. REP has achieved initial success in involving agencies in support of its efforts in Canyon County and intends to focus on a broad program for implementing its strategy through support from educational agencies.

AFRAM sees its wider role as combining direct service to local groups with the effort to catalyze a national political movement for parent partnership in educational decision-making. They emphasize close on-going ties between TAG members and RTAs, as all being members of the AFRAM family. Like REP and /I/D/E/A/, then, their ultimate focus is national in scope, but their differing analysis of the larger society motivates them to try to organize a political movement rather than a network of service institutions.

UBP differs from the three groups discussed above in that its primary focus is on a limited geographical area: the South Bronx. "I will be on these streets until I die," says Mrs. Antonetty. UBP's interest is on achieving their goals in this specific geographical area, and broader influence is seen as coming through coalition with other groups and through the spreading of information about the successes of UBP.

The longer term roles desired by CNS and by CTW are less clear. Both have worked primarily in a specific city to develop an approach to change, and emphasize in their rhetoric about an equal balance between service and model development. Both are continuing efforts to focus on education in the specific cities where they have their headquarters, as well as attempting to affect the thinking either of others in the educational movements in which they are involved and in the federal government.

Critical Activities in Developing Assistance Strategies. The following activities seem critical in developing assistance strategies:

1. The leadership establishes itself as the legitimate interpreter of the nature of the TAG strategy and of the limits it implies, while facilitating the development of the strategy based on the analysis of TAG experience.

2. The TAG carries out roughly a three year period of intensive assistance to RTAs, coupled with the regular analysis of these assistance efforts.

3. After an initial period of about three years, the TAG specifies a consciously shared strategy whose implications for facilitator action in specific situations are clearly understood and consistently acted on by the TAG staff.

4. The TAG obtains funding for an additional period of about three years in which to field test and modify the initial detailed formulation of the strategy.

5. The TAG develops and deepens an analysis of the school community as a social system whose interdependent social structures and processes must be understood to carry out their change strategy.

6. The TAG develops regularized mechanisms for analysis of their direct assistance activities.

7. The TAG teams its facilitators and/or develops other effective methods for information-sharing and joint analysis that avoid the danger of facilitator isolation.

8. The TAG develops a clear language and method of communication for key terms and concepts that is understood by RTAs.

9. The TAG develops flexible systems of materials to aid the direct assistance process that are consistent in format, but made up of separate items dealing with specific topics of concern to RTAs at various points in the assistance process.

10. The TAG uses research and evaluation results to legitimate its approach with RTAs and funders.

11. If the TAG collects research data, it is focused on providing useful information about program process as well as results.

12. The TAG employs effective formats for feeding back to its staff and RTAs any research information it collects, beyond merely distributing written reports or briefly discussing research findings.

13. If conflict tactics are used, the TAG uses them in a focused way and projects an alternative idea of what education could be as well as opposing present practices.

14 The TAG makes those subsystems of school community functioning that they most want to change the focus of detailed plans for improvement, detailed strategy and tactics, and a significant percentage of facilitator effort.

Carrying Out Specific Assistance Efforts.

The fourth major area of TAG activity is the process of carrying out specific assistance efforts, the process which the other TAG activities is intended to make possible. As mentioned earlier, carrying out assistance efforts effectively is closely linked to the other three areas of TAG activity and changes in any of the other three areas have major effects on assistance efforts. The process of carrying out specific assistance efforts is especially closely linked with strategy development, to the extent that the discussion of many issues concerning specific assistance efforts could just as easily be part of the section on strategy development. Thus, this section focusing on the dynamics of assistance to RTAs will continually touch on strategy development issues.

Our analysis of the patterns we observed in specific TAG assistance efforts deals with the following topics:

1. Organizing the facilitator function.
2. The entry and relationship-building process.
3. Stages of assistance.
4. Specific techniques of assistance.
5. Mutual adaptation betwen the TAG and the local setting.
6. Documenting and communicating TAG and RTA accomplishments.
7. Termination of assistance and persistence of changes beyond the termination of assistance.
8. Some issues in working with school staffs.

9. Some issues in working with parents.

Organizing the Facilitator Function. A number of critical choices are made in structuring the facilitator function. As mentioned earlier, higher levels of facilitator functioning seem to be associated with the following:

1. Organizing of facilitators on teams of two or more rather than having facilitators work singly. This mode of organization insures multiple perspectives on the site, provides a cross-check on individual styles and reactions to the local situation, and helps overcome the problems associated with the departure of any individual facilitator.
2. Regular sharing of information and analysis of experience by facilitators from several sites and by facilitators and other TAG staff members.

The Internal-External Dimension: One important issue confronted in developing the role of the facilitator is the internal-external dimension of the role in relationship to the RTA, which is also often related to geography. At one extreme, a TAG may be a part of the school, school system, or community it assists; UBP, for example, is physically present in and closely interwoven with the community it assists. At the other extreme, REP and /I/D/E/A/ are professional organizations not tied to specific communities and often serving people several thousand miles away. AFRAM faces a similar problem of geography although it strives to closely identify with the RTAs it serves and break down the TAG-RTA distinction to some extent. CNS and CTW are in the same city as their RTAs but clearly not part of the local community; CNS seeks to become more closely tied to the community by hiring persons who have previously been active in change efforts in neighborhoods they serve.

Each TAG achieves success to the extent that it adapts to the particular strengths and weaknesses of its relationship to those it serves. The major strengths of a close identification with the community and a physical location within the community appear to be (1) the credibility that this creates among RTAs (they feel they can count on the TAG) and (2) the flexibility of the TAG in responding to immediate events and crises and in mobilizing all of its forces in the area to deal with a problem in a particular place. Close indentification with the community and a geographical location within it also raises some potential problems:

1. The TAG can become too closely identified with certain community factions cutting themselves off from others.

2. The TAG can be pressured to become involved in every request for help in education and other fields, thus spreading themselves so thin that they don't have time to focus enough energy on specific problems.

3. The TAG can become a local leadership group that, if it tries to dominate the local scene, can inhibit the further development of grassroots local leadership.

4. To the extent that the TAG strategy involves limits on facilitator activity, the TAG member who is also a community member may become involved in serious role conflicts.

The main advantages of a TAG role external to the school community appear to be as follows: (1) outsiders have greater flexibility in choosing the type of setting in which they will work, insuring a match between their skills and the characteristics of the RTA; (2) facilitators without past local involvements find it easier to adhere to the limits entailed in the TAG's strategy. Major problems of the external role and the geographical distance often associated with it are as follows:

1. The TAG can generate unrealistic expectations of what it can provide that it is not in a position to meet.
2. The TAG can be cut off from the reality of the local setting so that it fails to adapt its strategy to local conditions.
3. The TAG may be able to interact with RTA s only in formal settings and at set times and may thus minimize the extent of its integration with school community processes.
4. If facilitators are locally based and the headquarters is distant, adequate communication (especially around settling conflicts) may be difficult.
5. The TAG may find it difficult to generate local loyalty and trust.

Our study does not suggest that one type of relationship with the RTA is necessarily better than any other. It rather suggests that any particular relationship entails a set of strengths and weaknesses that must be constantly considered in maximizing the effect of the particular approach chosen.

An important gap in our sample of TAGs with respect to the internal-external dimension is that we did not study a TAG which was internal to a school or school system, except that in one of the /I/D/E/A/ sites the facilitator was on the central staff of the school system. Studying TAGs internal to school systems seems especially important because the work of Berman and McLaughlin indicates that changes initiated internally be school system personnel were those that they found most successful.[5] Based on our limited data, we offer thses somewhat speculative observations about a TAG internal to a school system:

1. A strong advantage of a TAG internal to the school system is that other school system staff may be less resistant to changes proposed (or mandated) by school system personnel.
2. Further, school system staff are in a good position to understand internal dynamics thoroughly and plan their strategy accordingly.
3. The major disadvantages of operating as an internal TAG would appear to be the fact that one is tied into a hierachy and may lack some flexibility that an outside group has. Further, long-term involvement within the school system may cause one to be identified with certain internal school system factions, just as a TAG internal to a community may be identified with certain community factions.
4. In a loosely-coupled system, being a school district staff member does not necessarily mean one is accepted at the local school--central office staff are often viewed as insensitive outsiders by local school staff until they prove otherwise.
5. The skills of relationship-building discussed in the next section would appear to be decisive in allowing the school system staff member to capitalize on her position as an insider. Inept performance in the relationship-building process will undercut any advantage that the insider has initially.

Specificity of the Facilitator Role: Another important issue concerning the facilitator function is the specificity with which the facilitator role is defined. At one extreme, the facilitator can be following an invariant set of procedures regardless of her own characteristics and the characteristics of the local setting. At the other extreme, the facilitator can operate independently and let her own characteristics and those of the setting be the main determinants of her actions. As indicated earlier, the most effective assistance seems to be associated with a process of adaptation in which the characteristics of the strategy, the facilitator, and the setting mutually adapt to each other. Processes used by TAGs to achieve this mutual adaptation include teaming of facilitators, internships for new facilitators with experienced ones, regular chances for facilitators to share experiences, thorough orientation to TAG strategy through materials and structured training, and on-site support from experienced TAG staff.

Selecting Facilitators: The selection process for facilitators is, of course, critical. Among the considerations that appear important are the following:

1. General consistency between the TAG's philosophy and the individual philosophy of the prospective facilitator.
2. Personal characteristics, training and experience that serve to increase credibility with the RTA. This can include ethnic background, professional training, and experience. Urban Chicanos are less likely to listen to an Anglo with suburban school experience. Teachers quickly determine the teaching experience of facilitators and are less likely to listen to someone who hasn't taught. Administrators seem to respond to other administrators or personnel with doctoral level training.
3. Training and experience relevant to the particular facilitator role envisioned by the TAG.
4. Ability to cope with what REP calls a "marginal social role," one in which the facilitator must often work in isolation, not fully accepted by any social group he relates to.

Identifying facilitators who meet such multiple criteria is usually difficult, especially given the fact that facilitator roles have emerged only recently and the person who has the requisite qualifications often has attained them through an atypical assortment of past experiences.

Contrasts Among TAGs in Defining Facilitator Role: In the individual case studies, we have discussed in some detail the way the individual facilitator role is defined by the various TAG groups. Some major highlights of these definitions for the various groups are as follows:

1. AFRAM: An active local parent, whose main job is to stimulate active parent involvement. A person who makes a total commitment to community service in education and other areas. A leader, but one who encourages broader leadership to develop rather than monopolizing it. A person who closely identifies at an emotional level with parents and children as part of an extended family. Ideally, should not tell others what to do but should reflect back to them their own ideas and encourage them to have confidence in these ideas. Given much leeway in tailoring work priorities to a local setting.

2. CNS: Historically much variation. The most recent conception is of a team member with extensive understanding of the viewpoints of either parents, teachers, or administrators and with concrete skills for helping one of these groups in light of CNS goals for school improvement. Thus, a person with strong identification with a particular role group in the school community, but clearly an outsider who attempts to assess their own role carefully at each step and in light of feedback from other team members.

3. CTW: A person who understands the specific concrete problems of teachers and administrators in urban schools and empathizes with them. A person knowledgeable about specific ways to deal with everyday problems in the change process and with a capacity to help school staff learn by reflecting on their own experience. In the past has varied substantially based on the individual--now a clearer conception has developed of what the role entails in terms of specific techniques.

4. /I/D/E/A/: A person with the local credibility to convince key school system decision-makers to consider IGE. A person who is enthusiastic about the IGE model. The facilitator role is defined by five outcomes considered critical for spreading the IGE approach. Facilitators are encouraged to define and refine their role by referring back to the materials that describe the IGE philosophy.

5. REP: A facilitator of a change process who does not advocate specific changes in curriculum, school organization, etc. Skilled in group facilitation through formal training sessions and advice in on-going activities. A person who can identify with RTA needs, including those of parents from particular ethnic groups. A carefully defined process exists for training the facilitator through materials, formal sessions, and "over-the-shoulder" advice.

6. UBP: A parent who has learned specific skills to press for change that can be of use to other parents. A fighter who will take leadership but who also attempts to develop leadership in others.

A discussion of the facilitator role can be expanded to encompass almost all aspects of the process of providing assistance, since the facilitator is the key actor in the assistance process. We will discuss several additonal issues related to the facilitator role in other parts of this section.

The Entry and Relationship-Building Process. This is the initial step in contact with an RTA, although it continues throughout the course of the assistance effort, as the facilitator clarifies and reclarifies what services the TAG has to offer and what his role is. It is a critical step in the assistance process since patterns set during this period are very difficult to change. The TAG and facilitator quickly come to be seen as having certain skills or lacking them, having certain agendas, having made certain commitments, being allied with particular people in the school community, etc. We saw a number of examples of facilitators struggling after several years to overcome mistakes they made in the first few weeks of contact with the school community.

More effective levels of assistance appear to be associated with a conscious awareness of the overall structure of the school community and of the formats that one can use in building the desired relationships within it. Failure to proceed with such awareness can, for example, cause one to become identified with an isolated parent or faculty subgroup, and this identification can effectively cut the TAG off from other critical subgroups with whom the TAG hopes to work. By failing to talk with certain key persons, one may needlessly make enemies. Of course, various TAG strategies call for primary identification with one role group in the school community, and we are not suggesting that the TAG should necessarily seek to gain rapport with everyone. However, the conditions one creates during entry should be to some extent the result of deliberate choice rather than oversight. The advice of facilitators from several groups is to develop independent assessments of a variety of people, rather than writing them off based on the assessment of one person on subgroup, even if the information comes from your strong supporters.

A second type of pre-planning for the entry process concerns the contexts in which one will interact with RTAs. Facilitators often have accepted instructions to address group meetings without developing an understanding of who will attend and what their past relationships are. The facilitator may thus be in the middle between factions and stand little chance of developing overall credibility. Further, if the facilitator is drawn into such settings and must state what he can do for the RTA without knowing much about the local situation, he is in a difficult dilemma. Fore-thought about initial settings and topics of interaction then, contributes to effectiveness. For example, CNS now stresses an entry plan in which facilitators do not meet in group settings and explain what they can do for the RTA until they have had a chance to conduct extensive individual interviews, diagnose the informal social structure of the school community, and gain substantial information abouts its functioning and its history. AFRAM makes a point of meeting with parents initially in parents' homes rather than on school grounds. REP and /I/D/E/A/ have carefully planned formats for presenting or demonstrating what they can do to be of help. CTW has tested techniques for demonstrating their competence for school staffs through workshops.

Credibility: A critical process during entry and relationship-building is one in which the facilitator establishes or fails to establish credibility as a person who is worthy of respect and can be of some help. A variety of techniques are used by the various groups for establishing credibility. AFRAM underscores the moral basis for its approach, emphasizing in an inspirational style the right of the family to be involved in the education of their own children. AFRAM also emphasizes their close identification with Black parents and with parents in general. CNS builds on its previous experience in urban schools and knowledge about the parcticalities of making various types of programs work; they also attempt to draw on their research about urban schools and communitites to understand school community social structures and the way facilitators are perceived by RTAs ("How is this teacher seeing us when we come in to talk with her?"). CTW relies on recommendations from past users of their services and influential people in the school hierarchy; workshops and in-the-classroom assistance showing concretely how they can be of help; the use of concrete experiences such as building furniture to establish relations with people; and the reputations of its consultants. /I/D/E/A/ draws on its legitimacy through its institutional associations and the grounding of its work in research; the comprehensiveness of the IGE change process; its consistency with the long-stated reform goals of professional educators; networks of contacts among professional educators; and well-designed and powerful workshop formats that combine materials, the presentation of substantive information, and group process techniques. REP emphasizes the research foundation and careful testing of its approach; its consistency with basic American values; and the use of carefully-planned presentations to give an understanding of their approach. UBP relies on its reputation in other parts of the South Bronx; the modeling of effective techniques for change; and the carefully-structured format of its materials and training techniques for dealing with concrete problems.

One important dimension of credibility is to establish with the RTA that the TAG has a substantial commitment to helping this particular RTA, as opposed to some other primary agenda. The fact that a TAG is engaged in strategy development, research, or building wider political coalitions easily raises suspicions that the TAG is not primarily interested in helping the RTA, but is out to "rip them off" in some way. Often, school staffs or parent groups have had previous negative experiences with people who said they came to help, and one issue that is important to probe concerning the history of an RTA is their past experience with outside TAGs or consultants.

Among the varied techniques employed to establish credibility in the entry process, some common threads appear to be that: (1) the facilitators are people with whom the target role group in the school community can identify because of their similarity of social background, values, or professional experience and the facilitators do, in fact, identify with the RTA; (2) the facilitator and TAG have credibility because respected persons within the RTA's social network vouch for them; (3) the facilitator demonstrates that she has specific practical knowledge that can be of use to the RTA; and (4) the TAG's approach is presented as comprehensive and well thought out, not a seat-of-the-pants approach.

Communicating Limits of Assistance: In communicating an image of their capabilities, the TAGs we studied generally projected quite consciously a set of values on which their assistance was based and certain limits in what they saw as their legitimate role. Several TAGs indicated that they had been quite vague in their early assistance work about what they stood for, with the result that they became overextended in attempting to meet varied demands or found themselves "manipulating" RTA's in light of unstated values. Thus, the TAGs now generally emphasize getting their own biases out on the table in the entry process so that an RTA can make a conscious decision about whether or not they want to work with the TAG. This process can be seen clearly, for example, in /I/D/E/A/'s introductory workshops, which are very explicitly based on helping the school staff clarify its own goals and match them up with the IGE change process. Clarification of the limits of the help available and of the facilitator's role is part of this process. AFRAM headquarters staff repeatedly emphasizes in its early work with RTAs that it will not advocate specific solutions or actions, but will throw these questions back to the RTA s to decide for themselves. REP emphasizes that it will not make substantive recommendations, but rather will facilitate processes of problem-solving. CTW seeks to clarify that it will not be the spokesperson carrying the principal's message to the teachers.

One particularly important limit to clarify is the amount of effort the TAG will expend in behalf of the RTA. For the facilitators of AFRAM and UBP, the expectation is that the facilitator is totally commited to serving the community, that he can be called on at any time, so that the failure to follow through on a request simply means that there are not enough hours in the day. Other groups have become involved in serious conflicts in which the expectations of the RTAs have exceeded the TAG's ability to deliver services, even when the level of assistance was high. Thus, some groups have attempted to become quite specific in terms of the types of services they will deliver, specifiying, for example, how many days per week the RTA can expect the facilitator to be on site.

The level of facilitator services (time spent on site or in direct preparation to work on site) varies between groups. As reflected in their most recent assistance work, the level of facilitator effort is listed below. Note that facilitators working with a given school may work only part-time with this school because they assist several schools or have other TAG duties:

1. AFRAM. One Local Stimulator per school (1.00 persons per school time equivalent).
2. Center For New Schools. In the SCI Project, one Parent Advisor, one Teacher Advisory, and one Administration Advisor per school. (2.00 persons per school time equivalent).

3. Creative Teaching Workshop. One Teacher Advisor and one Principal Advisor per school. (1.20 persons per school time equivalent).

4. /I/D/E/A/. One Facilitator per school (.10 persons per school time equivalent).

5. Rural Education Program. Two Process Facilitators per school (.70 persons per school time equivalent).

6. United Bronx Parents. A team of three to five persons serving a group of about twenty schools (.25 persons per school).

Examination of the levels of effort by TAGs being studied in other CNS research indicates that it is typical to deploy between .5 and 1.5 facilitators per school. Given the variety of school situations the groups are working in, the variety of objectives they are attempting to achieve, and the resulting difficulty in making simple comparisions of their effectiveness, it is hard to draw clear conclusions from comparing the level of effort figures for the various TAGs. /I/D/E/A/ specifies lowest level of direct facilitator effort and makes use of structured workshop experiences and written materials to attempt to make this level of assistance effective.

Money As An Incentive to RTAs: One incentive that is not frequently used in establishing credibility or inducing RTAs to cooperate during the entry process is money. In contrast to many federal and state sponsored change programs that use extra money as an inducement for participation, the TAGs studied do not pay the local district to participate, and the general consenus among TAGs is that the use of money as an incentive tends to promote opportunistic participation that decreases rather than increases chances for responsiveness from the RTA. However, such monetary incentives may figure indirectly into the TAG-RTA relationship; for example, participation in the federal Follow-Through program is made possible for some districts by cooperating with AFRAM, and adopting IGE has helped some districts obtain federal E.S.A.A. funds.

Building Mutual Expectations: A further pattern in the entry work of four of the TAGs is a consistent effort to specify the RTA's responsibilities at the same time the TAG is specifying theirs. This process can be seen for example when a CTW advisor sets preconditions for preparation on the teacher's part before he will assist with classroom projects or when REP clarifies the responsibilities of a school district in setting up a School Community Group or in conducting a needs assessment. Facilitators have modified their earlier tendencies to sell themselves by making unconditional promises and now focus more on negotiating mutual responsibilities.

In addition to establishing credibility, then, the most important task of the entry period is to build a mutuality of commitments and expectations. Some groups clarify them through written agreements and review these periodically; some rely on less formal methods, but still make the clarification of mutual expectations a priority through consistent patterns of interpersonal interaction. Ideally, this generates a process in which the RTA has a feeling that they have actively chosen to work with the TAG and made some sacrifices and commitments to do so, not that they have been feverishly courted by the TAG.

Acknowledging TAG Limitations: The emphasis on mutuality in the relationship-building process is related to another trend we perceive as TAGs develop their strategy and provide assistance over time. TAGs become much more realistic about the limitations of their approach and the settings in which it can be effective. Thus, during the entry process, the TAGs now spend much more time assessing the match between their own capabilities and the characteristics of the school community than they did in early assistance efforts. This increased sensitivity to characteristics of potential RTAs reflects one of the most pervasive patterns that we saw in the assistance efforts we observed-- i.e. the powerful influence that characteristics of the local situation had in influencing the effectiveness of various TAG strategies, a topic discussed more later.

Avenues of TAG-RTA Contact: One final pattern that should be pointed out concerning the entry process is the dynamics by which TAGs make initial contacts to explore the possibility of providing assistance with particular RTAs rather than others. A general pattern in this regard is that links between RTA and TAG are formed through pre-existing strong personal relationships between TAG members and school community members or a mutual acquaintance familiar with both the TAG and the potential RTA. In many cases, the RTA was seeking help in solving a specific problem (e.g. failure of a tax levy, need to prepare to occupy an open space school, the suspension of a child). In other cases, the TAG was searching for RTAs with certain characteristics, and the RTA was not seeking outside help to solve a specific problem.

Stages of Assistance. After the entry process, the technical assistance process for each TAG (if it is successful) seems to progress in a series of identifiable stages. In some cases, these are clearly planned in advance and projected as a progression of steps for both facilitators and RTAs. In others, they are not codified, but are patterns discerned by experienced facilitators reflecting on their past experience. We indicate briefly these stages we saw in the work of the various TAGs.

In AFRAM's work within public schools, the first stage was one of confidence-building, in which the facilitators or other AFRAM staff attempted to get parents to surface their dissatisfactions and ideas for improvement and to gain confidence in their right to press them. Within the framework of Follow-Through, there was a simultaneous effort to monitor mandated hiring of parents in school job positions, so that these paid parents become at the minimum a source of information inside the school. The next stage was one of aggressive action to press for changes on those problems that parents saw as a priority. Response to this initiative from the school administration was a major determinant of subsequent events. In some cases, the administration resolutely resisted the parent action; in others, the administration yielded to this pressure. Unified resistance from the school administration at all levels kept the parents in a defensive position, constantly opposing individual actions on a case by case basis, but not getting systematic changes. In other local situations, the administration adopted a conflict management approach rather than one of resolute opposition. Administration yielded to specific initiatives of the parents but did not really internalize AFRAM's philosophy of parent implementation. In this situation, parents developed considerable influence on those decisions on which they focused energy (including a desire for specific types of educational offerings), but there was not a broad internalization of the AFRAM philosophy by school staff. Higher levels of implementation of the overall AFRAM philosophy came when the administration and significant portions of the staff were in active agreement with the AFRAM approach and consistently initiated and supported actions based on it.

Whatever the level of school change as compared to the AFRAM ideal, AFRAM was from the start pushing the local parents to become independent of AFRAM, to make their own decisions, to develop local consulting organizations, etc. At the same time, AFRAM did not project a time when they would completely withdraw from helping their local sites. Since the sites were envisioned as participating in a broad national movement for parent implementation, even full local implementation of AFRAM's ideas was ideally only a step in a longer and broader political process.

The stages of United Bronx Parents work in many ways parallel those of AFRAM. Initial work with parents was designed to build parent confidence and get them to act, through UBP's advocacy support for families in conflict with the school and through UBP training in school evaluation for parent groups. UBP put more emphasis on improving specific training and skills at this stage than AFRAM. The purpose of these activities was to create a core group of parents who convinced the school administration and teachers that they were going to constantly monitor what was going on in their local schools and that they would remain in regular conflict with the school until schools became responsive to parent concerns. The cumulative effect of such pressure varied from school to school, primarily dependent on the responsiveness of the administration. At some early or late point in this conflict, the administration decided that they would cooperate with UBP or the parents groups that UBP supported. UBP might then subsequently marshall its forces in support of administration and teachers when the school needed resources from the larger school system. Growth in the number of schools responsive to UBP seems to have spread roughly geographically, emanating from that area of the South Bronx where UBP has been working longest.

Creative Teaching Workshop began with some level of commitment from the principal of a local school (which they regard as key) and generally from a core of interested teachers. At this point, they saw the rest of the school staff as typically comprised of a few active opponents and a large group of teachers who were indifferent to CTW's ideas. Through techniques of providing assistance described in the CTW case study, CTW attempted to broaden the base of their support by helping not only those persons strongly committed to CTW ideas, but also the large group that was disinterested. They saw careful work with the school principal in helping her become an educational leader in the school as critical to this process. Paralleling the effort to broaden the support base among teachers was an effort to make experiential learning for children an integral part of the learning process and not just a set of added-on gimmicks. A final stage of accomplishment was one in which change in the educational program had progressed to the point where experiential learning had become the norm for the school's educational program, and the advisor's role was one of support and maintenance.

/I/D/E/A/ specifies a highly structured process through which a local school staff can find out about IGE and consider whether they want to participate. One purpose of this process is to build a widespread understanding of what IGE entails and a consensus commitment to participate in it among school staff. Once the decision to adapt the program has taken place, /I/D/E/A/ suggests but does not prescribe steps through which a school can move to implement IGE's thirty-five outcomes. Characteristically, the first step in the schools we observed was the adoption of the basic social structure advocated for the school by /I/D/E/A/, coupled with an attempt to introduce the IGE learning process in one subject area at a time. /I/D/E/A/ hopes that the school staff will continue to expand the program to other subject areas in subsequent years. Our observations suggested a decreasing rate of movement toward IGE objectives after the burst of work during the first year. The course of development in a school implementing IGE was also shaped decisively by the characteristics of the school principal and the extent to which his educational philosophy was already consistent with IGE's. The development of the learning program was also influenced strongly by the popular conception of individualized instruction that emphasizes basic skill development using individualized paper-and-pencil learning activities.

Supporting this pattern of change at the school level is the Intermediate Agency's help to local schools, which proceeds from an initial agreement with /I/D/E/A/ to the initial training for facilitators and limited follow-up help to them. As with AFRAM and UBP, /I/D/E/A/ sees this support from facilitators as permanent and does not envision a cut-off date for it.

Rural Education Program has a very specific set of problem-solving steps that form the heart of its assistance process, including the development of an agreement to work with REP, formation of the School Community Group, needs assessment, search for alternative solutions for dealing with priority needs, adoption of a particular solution recommended to the School Board by the School Community Group and implementation of the solution. REP hopes that the School Community

Group will become institutionalized as a problem-solving group, as will the steps for problem-solving which they have facilitated. It further intends that by training a cadre of facilitators in various state, intermediate, and other agencies, permanent facilitator assistance will be available to local school districts. The major issue that our observations raise about this process is whether the hoped-for institutionalization of the School-Community Group, the problem-solving process, and the facilitator role will take place after the withdrawal of REP support. There is some encouraging preliminary evidence on this issue from the Canyon County assistance work.

CNS has historically been vague about stages in assistance, although its recent School Community Improvement project articulates a series of specific stages that include entry; intensive help for one year from a team of facilitators for parents, teachers, and administration; intensive training for key parents, teachers, and adminstration to take on the facilitator function; and on-going support to the locally-trained people. The evaluation of the way this plan evolves in specific schools lies in the future. The Documentation and Technical Assistance project of CNS is also developing a specific stage plan for assistance.

Several patterns are apparent in these planned and observed stages of assistance of the various groups:

1. The effort, through various tactics, to expand the base of support for the TAG's program in school community, to create a "critical mass" of support for the change effort.

2. The central position of the school principal both as a major target of the TAG's attention in its strategy and as a determiner of the extent of the TAG's success.

3. The conscious effort to transfer skills to the school community and to avoid building a dependency relationship between the TAG and the RTAs.

4. The intention to shift the focus of facilitator assistance or to decrease its intensity, but to maintain it for an indefinite period.

Specific Techniques of Assistance. TAGs provide assistance in five major ways: structured experiences, over-the-shoulder assistance, modeling, provision of materials, and independent intervention. Structured experiences are those experiences specially designed by the TAG and conducted outside of the context of everyday experience in the school community. They include, for example, workshops to teach specific group process skills or help teachers make materials, conflict resolution exercises, formal lectures or TAG-led discussions to communicate some specific knowledge,and conferences sponsored by the TAG.

Over-the-shoulder assistance entails help and advice that is woven into the on-going activities of the RTA, such as commentary on the effectiveness of group process in an RTA meeting, advice as part of a parent group strategy-session, or feedback to the principal through an informal discussion between the principal and facilitator on how she handled a discipline problem.

Modeling involves the facilitator's demonstrating desirable RTA behavior, either as part of a structured experience or as part of the on-going activity of the RTA. In a structured workshop, the facilitator might demonstrate the way to counsel a student through role-playing or model the process of active listening. In on-going RTA activity, the facilitator might model the way that parents should aggressively confront a principal by taking active leadership in this process or the way that a teacher should help a child clarify his learning interests.

Provision of materials entails the use written or audio-visual materials as part of the assistance process, whether these are materials prepared by the TAG for general use, materials prepared by the TAG for use in this specific situation, or materials from some other source that are introduced to the RTA by the TAG.

Independent intervention involves action on the part of the TAG that does not directly involve the RTA, such as independently writing a proposal for the RTA or certifying their competence in conversations with prospective RTA funders.

The individual case studies provide extensive examples of the ways that the groups use the five types of techniques in their work. Each of the five types has characteristic strengths and weaknesses. The following techniques are associated with successful use of the structured experience led by the TAG:

1. Appropriateness of the experience to the immediate needs of the RTA.
2. Provision of concrete practical advice in terms people can understand.
3. The use of active learning experiences for the participants.

4. Combining techniques of group process with substantive information (e.g. /I/D/E/A/ facilitator training).

5. Credibility of the leader of the experience in the eyes of the RTA (see earlier discussion of factors contributing to credibility).

6. Voluntary participation.

Structured experiences with these characteristics have several advantages. The major elements of the experience can be refined so that the experience can be used (with appropriate variations) over and over. Facilitators can be prepared to carry out these experiences through well-established training procedures. If the experience is employed at a strategic time, a small investment of facilitator effort can result in a great deal of change in RTA action. Since the experience is by definition a special one, it is easier to make people conscious they they are acquiring new knowledge and skills, giving them a feeling of accomplishment. Since the facilitator is in control of the experience, there is less likelihood that he will violate the limits of his role.

The great danger of the structured experience is that it will be irrelevant to the immediate needs of the RTAs or perceived as irrelevant and therefore ignored. In schools, those who lead such experiences have to combat a very negative stereotype of the obligatory in-service workshop, where an "expert" comes in and gives a lecture that has nothing to do with local concerns.

The strengths of over-the-shoulder assistance are almost self-evident. Assuming that the facilitator has specific skills and knowledge that will be of use to the RTA, the use of over-the-shoulder assistance maximizes the possibility that the help given will be relevant to the problems at hand and thus that it will be acted on. A further advantage of over-the-shoulder assistance is that it does not require arrangements for special meetings. Special meetings are becoming increasingly difficult to set up in many school systems, where regulations often require that teachers be paid for workshop participation, and there is little money available for such activities. Over-the-shoulder help also has some decided disadvantages. Since it is always linked to particular situations, RTAs may not generalize to apply it in other situations. RTAs also may not be as aware that they are acquiring new skills or knowledge as they would be if the skills or knowledge were acquired in a special setting. Since over-the-shoulder assistance involves the facilitator more actively in the life of the RTA, it also raises dangers that the facilitator may in fact become a full participant moving beyond her intended role. She may thus build dependence or influence group action directly in a way that may make enemies among RTAs and undercut later effectiveness. Over-the-shoulder assistance also tends to be much more time-consuming and often requires a higher level of facilitator skill.

Modeling, if employed as part of the on-going process of RTA activity, has a set of strengths and weaknesses that parallel those of over-the-shoulder assistance. It maximizes relevance to immediate problems and does not require special meetings. Further, it contributes to the facilitator's credibility by showing that the facilitator can practice what he preaches. Disadvantages include the danger that RTAs will not generalize the behavior modeled to other situations, that they will not be aware that they have learned something, and that modeling may draw the facilitator into the role of active participant and undercut later effectiveness. One way to deal with these problems is to view modeling as part of a plan by which the facilitator takes on increasingly a less active role. REP, for example, trains facilitators by first having them watch an experienced facilitator, then by having the trainee act as a facilitator with over-the-shoulder advice from the experienced facilitator. Modeling in structured experiences set up by the TAG seems to have few weaknesses. Its use is consistent with our observations about the effectiveness of active concrete learning experiences for RTAs.

As discussed earlier in the analysis of TAG support functions, materials systems play a prominent role in the work of several TAGs with very different approaches (e.g. /I/D/E/A/ and UBP). The most effective materials systems include short booklets, handouts, filmstrips, etc. that can be given to a person with a specific immediate need or used as part of an individual structured experience. When these materials are developed through experience in the assistance process, they can be used repeatedly to serve recurring needs, rather than developed anew for each individual situation. Such materials systems used appropriately are a much more effective and inexpensive way to communicate basic information than for the facilitator to keep repeating it. To summarize, such effective materials are short, written simply and directly, tuned into specific informational or problem-solving needs of the RTA, and of good technical quality.

The fourth type of assistance technique, independent intevention, tends to be minimized by all TAGs, since they are all ideally concerned with promoting RTA independence and with transferring skills to the RTA. The main justification for independent intervention (e.g. writing a proposal, conducting a needs assessment for an RTA, or intervening directly as an advocate for a student with a central office administrator) is usually that there is an immediate critical need to get the task done and that the future consequences of not getting it done outweigh the possible disadvantages of failing to build RTA skills and independence.

In general, it appears to us that a TAG group is most effective if it makes frequent use of structured experiences, over-the-shoulder assistance, modeling, and materials as part of an integrated assistance strategy and makes limited use of independent intervention. Given the successes we saw with the first four methods and given their often complementary strengths and weaknesses, it appears that a TAG that is neglecting to use one of these types of techniques is to some extent limiting its potential effectiveness.

Assessing RTA Needs and Readiness. The TAGs we studied consistently used specific techniques to assess client needs and readiness for assistance. For example:

1. AFRAM used a process of guided discussion designed to surface needs and to help RTAs develop a strong link between their perceived needs and plans for action.

2. CNS has employed interviews, observation, questionnaires, and rating scales in assessing the states of various school communities and has actively involved RTAs in using these same tools to assess their own local situtation.

3. CTW has employed self-rating devices with principals and teachers; journals for recording teacher and advisor activities; regular post-mortum analysis for advisory work; and analysis of workshops in which RTAs are involved in concrete activities, which CTW feels are particularly revealing.

4. /I/D/E/A/ uses an elaborate system to gather and feed back monitoring data on the "IGEness" of the schools they assist, has developed workshop formats for allowing school staffs to assess their local situation, and encourages RTAs to assess their progress through group discussions and through observation of each other's teaching.

5. REP makes extensive use of rating lists for assessing the readiness of RTAs, and a major part of their strategy is for both the School Community Group it forms and the larger school community to formally assess its needs.

6. UBP encourages a cycle of pre-planning, action, and assessment of results through discussion and has prepared extensive specific materials to help parents rate the strengths and weaknesses of their schools.

All TAGs seek to actively involve RTA s in designing needs assessment methods, data collection, data analysis, and presentation of results. Two TAGs use needs assessment to help varied groups within the school community come together around a common set of priorities. The other four use needs assessment as a device to help one group (e.g. parents) document and legitimate their perceptions of school community needs as a strategy for motivating this group to press for changes. Whether needs assessment is used in a consensus-building or advocacy mode, the widespread use of various strategies for needs assessment is employed to accomplish the following objectives:

1. To develop some systematic indicators of school community needs for the use of the school community itself and for the TAG.
2. To involve school community members in an analytical process that makes them more aware of their own needs and builds a motivation to act on this analysis.
3. To legitimate the complaints and/or proposed changes presented to decision-makers by some group or groups in the school community.

Mutual Adaptation between the TAG and the Local Setting. We have talked previously about the desirability of processes of mutual adaptation in several areas of internal and external TAG functioning, and the relationship between the TAG and the RTA is one such area. TAG strategies appear to be most effective when they provide a coherent underlying philosophy and guidelines for action in specific situations, yet allow for flexibility to meet local conditions. Each of the strategies we studied has a number of built-in features that seek to allow for this flexibility to occur. AFRAM's approach is highly specific in terms of principles and long-term goals, but flexible in day-to-day tactics and insistent that local priorities must emerge from locally perceived parent needs. CTW has moved steadily further away from identifying experiential education with a specific set of classroom techniques and now sees it as a process for analyzing one's own experience as an educator and developing an individual plan for growth based on that analysis. /I/D/E/A/ is quite specific about the social organization of schools and the procedures of the learning program, but adamantly refuses to develop curriculum materials or specify desirable curriculum content. REP refuses to take positions on substantive issues, but attempts to act only to facilitate a problem-solving process. Each TAG has built into its approach mechanisms to allow for or to strongly encourage local flexibility.

Sensitivity to School Community Culture: Successful strategies are sensitive to the need to make adjustments in approach in response to local culture and to build on the strengths of local culture. One reflection of this relation between adaptation to local culture and effectiveness is that, in general, the TAGs studied have experienced most success in assisting those people most like themselves in terms of social background, training, and experience. Numerous examples from our field notes indicate adjustments in approach that were made as a matter of course by persons familiar with the culture of either the school or the community that would not be apparent to persons not intimately familiar with the cultural setting they were trying to change. One common tactic for adjusting to local culture, then, is to hire facilitators who are thoroughly familiar with the way the local school or community function because of social background, training, or experience. Another effective mechanism for dealing with this issue is to use regular procedures for reflecting on experience in providing assistance, so that discontinuities between one's initial plans and local culture characteristics can be identified before they cause major problems.

Adjusting to Constraints: A particular aspect of the local settings that requires thoughtful adjustment of an overall strategy are the constraints of local situations. For example, increasing specificity of union contracts and diminishing school system budgets make it harder to involve teachers in in-service workshops. Thus, the TAG must make adjustments if their strategy leans heavily on workshops—for example by motivating people to participate in workshops on a purely voluntary basis or by making greater use of over-the-shoulder assistance. The TAG that cannot provide advice about how to overcome such constraints is likely to be dismissed as being impractical.

Crises: Increasingly, constraints of local situations include the regular occurrence of major crises. The case studies of specific assistance efforts that we collected are punctuated with accounts of large scale teacher and teacher aide lay-offs because of budget deficits, massive teacher and student transfers for desegregation, abrupt shifts in the composition of school boards, removal of school superintendents, failure of tax levies, school closings, abrupt funding cut-offs for special projects and the like. While it seems doubtful that assistance strategies can ever fully anticipate such events, it is apparent that such crises are the rule rather than the exception and that any assistance effort that is going to be effective must develop strategies for minimizing the impact of such events on the local activity the TAG is trying to nurture.

Predicting Effects of TAG Action: Another aspect of mutual adaptation that seems associated with effective assitance efforts is the increasing understanding of the probable effects of the TAG's activities on the total school community and its environment in both the short and long term. Characteristically, the TAG begins with a thorough familiarity with one aspect of the school community, e.g. progressive teachers, Puerto Rican parents. The TAG's efforts to assist this group, however, cause certain reactions and set up certain barriers in the rest of the school community and beyond. For example, the effort to assist young progressive teachers in a school may cut the TAG off from the majority of older more conservative teachers. Or demands may be made for an administrator to solve a problem that is really beyond his power to solve, so that the real decision-maker must be identified and action focused on the right decision-maker. Or it may be that a particular administrator has become an enemy because the TAG unknowingly violated some minor custom of the school system.

Effective TAGs acquire over a period of time an increasingly sophisticated understanding of how the school, the local community, the central office, the local political organization, etc. are interrelated, and the TAG takes actions based on accurate predictions of what their effects will be on all parts of the school community and its environment, so that problems tend to be anticipated and consciously chosen.

Holding to Limits of TAG Strategy: This discussion of the mutual adaptation process between TAG and RTA has emphasized flexibility on the part of the TAG and its facilitators. However, we wish to underscore a theme emphasized earlier in the chapter, i.e. that the TAG that merely tries to provide reactive assistance to fill immediate RTA needs is ineffective and fosters dependency. Effective TAGs project clear values and strategies in which they exhibit confidence, hold RTA's accountable for carrying out "their end of the bargain," maintain a continuity of purpose in the face of the pressures of short-term needs and crises of RTAs, and follow through on important limits that they feel must define an effective facilitator role and assistance process. Functioning as a facilitator inevitably involves evaluating the agendas of people asking for help and sometimes refusing to give it. It involves pushing people to do for themselves what they would rather you do for them, or striking a bargain that you and the RTA will carry out the task jointly. We have already cited in the case studies a number of examples of this type of limit-setting in work with RTAs. For instance, AFRAM feels that they will inevitably encounter a point of confrontation with local parents in which they must risk the relationship to underscore the fact that they won't make decisions and solve people's problems for them. CTW advisors emphasize the importance of getting the teacher to do part of a curriculum project as a precondition for the advisor's involvement. /I/D/E/A/ emphasizes the limtis of assistance available from them beyond the focused facilitator training and materials.

TAG-RTA Personal Relations: One particulary difficult issue in limit-setting is establishing the nature of interpersonal relations between facilitator and particular RTAs. RTAs often press for close personal relations, and a good argument can be made that building trust through such relations contributes to facilitator effectiveness.

Thus, CTW advisors are willing to discuss personal problems that teachers bring to them, while seeking to eventually turn the focus to education. And UBP and AFRAM facilitators establish credibility by helping people solve a wide variety of problems, including health care and housing needs. For other TAGs the facilitator role is more constrained, but all strategies place importance on building warm personal relations with RTAs. Thus, TAGs seem to avoid two extremes on a spectrum of interpersonal relationships with RTAs; if they are effective they are neither totally impersonal nor do they allow a personal relationship to develop that pulls them outside of the limits of the facilitator role. Within the middle of this spectrum between highly personal and highly impersonal social relations, they employ an approach that is appropriate to their strategy and to the particular local situation.

As mentioned earlier, the major perceived reason for following through on limits of various kinds in the TAG-RTA relationship is to transfer skills to the RTA, to build their confidence for independent action, and to avoid a dependency relationship that will decrease the likelihood that changes initiated through the TAG's help will persist after TAG assistance is decreased or withdrawn.

Documenting and Communicating TAG and RTA Accomplishments: A source of motivation for RTAs is the documentation of their progress toward desired goals. Since the change process is wearing and usually involves a high proportion of failure and frustration, RTAs need to focus on their accomplishments. TAGs also need to document progress, for their own assessment of their effectiveness, to sustain their own morale, and to document a record of accomplishment for funders and others who judge the TAG's work. Some form of documentation seems especially important for TAG efforts since the face-to-face assistance approach is suspect in many eyes, since it does not produce a tangible product in and of itself, and since the role of the TAG in a process of local change is often hard to pinpoint after the fact. Indeed, effective TAGs often minimize their contribution in order to build confidence among the RTAs that they are not dependent on the TAG's assistance. However, these dynamics work against the TAG being able to document the usefulness of its services at a later time (e.g. to assure refunding). We have earlier discussed various ways that TAGs have employed to document their work.

Termination of Assistance and Persistence of Changes Beyond the Termination of Assistance. Termination of assistance can take place as part of a long-term plan for withdrawal of services, because of a decision on the part of the TAG or the RTA that services are no longer effective, or as a result of some outside event (such as the de-funding of AFRAM). Naturally, the process is generally much smoother if it is the result of a long-term plan for withdrawal. Termination that results from dissatisfaction on the part of the TAG or RTA is accomplished most effectively if a clear set of mutual expectations has been established in the TAG-RTA relationship, a bargain that one side or the other is clearly not keeping. In this case, as termination of relationships by CTW and /I/D/E/A/ illustrate, it may be possible to talk through the termination process with a minimum of resentment.

Whatever the circumstances of termination, one of the key aims of all six TAGs is to see the changes that they have attempted to foster persist after their services are withdrawn, decreased to a minimum maintenance level, or shifted to another support group. Each of the TAGs studied has employed strategies to promote the longer term incorporation of the changes they have initiated and has experienced a pattern of successes and failures in this regard.

Here are some of the factors that appear to be associated with the persistence of innovations:

1. An initial choice process on the part of the RTA that was designed to build RTA commitment to the types of changes advocated by the TAG.

2. Consistent emphasis on the fact that the change depends on considerable RTA initiative, that the RTA can only expect limited help from the TAG.

3. A consistent skill development and training orientation on the part of the TAG.

4. The internalization by the school principal of the TAG's approach.

5. The build-up of a critical mass of teachers or parents within the school community who have internalized the strategy, so that the change is in fact a systemic and not individual one.

6. Change efforts focused during the period of TAG assistance on central as opposed to peripheral school community processes (e.g. a new form of teacher collaboration as opposed to a new geography course; a regular physical

presence of parents in school as opposed to an increase in the number of special school events for parents).

7. Higher level administrative support or at lease tolerance of the changes promoted by the TAG.
8. The use by the TAG of specific training formats that can in turn be used by RTAs to train other RTAs.
9. The internalization of an analysis-action cycle by the RTA.
10. A record of concrete accomplishments during the period of TAG assistance.
11. Local school district financial investment in the changes advocated by the TAG as early as possible.
12. The development of broad-based leadership in the RTA.
13. The development of mechanisms for sustaining the feeling that local RTAs are part of a broader social or educational movement (e.g. the AFRAM family).
14. The projection of a clear standard that the RTA seeks to live up to (e.g. are we an IGE school; am I really an open education teacher?).
15. Existence of written and audio-visual materials describing the hoped-for changes in the school community as a continuing source of information.
16. The training of persons with stable sources of financial support (e.g. in the school system or in educational agencies) to play the facilitator role.

Some Issues in Working with School Staffs. In addition to general issues concerning the process of assistance that have been discussed to this point, we wish to comment briefly on some issues specifically involved in work with particular role groups, first school staffs and then parents.

Each TAG relates in some way to school staff and attempts to change their role, or to involve the community more broadly in the teaching role. Of the TAGs that work primarily with school staffs, CTW and /I/D/E/A/ reflect in their strategies an interesting contrast in style. CTW has a broad set of goals in mind, but works in a gradual way toward these goals, putting greatest emphasis on the importance of unique individual patterns of change. /I/D/E/A/ in contrast projects a very specific image of how schools should function and initiates some specific structural changes in the social organization of the school as the usual first step in its change process. It relies on these structural changes to help stimulate individual change.

Both CTW and /I/D/E/A/ recognize the power of social networks among school staff to block or facilitate change. CTW tries to gradually change the character of these networks as they exist, making them more supportive of staff collaboration over a period of time. /I/D/E/A/ moves directly to change these networks through a reoganization of the teaching staff. In terms of technique, CTW relies most on over-the-shoulder assistance, making moderate use of workshops and little use of written materials. In contrast, /I/D/E/A/ make primary use of materials and structured workshops and moderate use of over-the-shoulder assistance, especially with teachers. /I/D/E/A/ also strongly emphasizes peer sharing as an improvement strategy.

As mentioned earlier, most TAGs see the principal as a key actor in the change process and try to help him become more of an educational leader for the school, more responsive to parent concerns, or both. Both CTW and /I/D/E/A/ establish a support group for principals where principals can share ideas and problems. TAGs' efforts to establish such sharing situations reflect the insight that principals have often been given limited training for their roles, but school system norms view any admission of uncertainty on the part of the principal as a sign of weakness.

In the case of strategies aimed at changing the school's learning program, the attitudes of principals are generally decisive, as reflected in the experiences of /I/D/E/A/, of CTW, and CNS. Schools tended to change most fundamentally when the principals saw the TAG's ideas as the realization of his own educational philosophy. In addition, change efforts were most likely to be successful when the principal (1) identified with teaching and saw himself as a teacher; (2) used unconventional and aggressive methods to gain resources for the school; (3) communicated a firm commitment to the TAG's program to his staff; and (4) had support networks both inside and outside the school system.

One of the key issues we identified in looking at school assistance efforts is the effect of the school's size and the nature of the school system on what can be expected from the principal. In larger schools and larger urban districts, even the innovative principal must inevitably spend a great deal of time on internal administration and on protecting the innovative program within the school system. In some effective /I/D/E/A/ schools we visited, an assistant principal or educational coordinator played many of the educational leadership roles envisioned by /I/D/E/A/ for the principal. TAG strategies might focus more on other administrators in addition to the principal.

Fundamental changes in the teaching practices of teachers often require three or four years of patient supportive assistance. Pressure from parents or the principal may start a teacher moving in a change process, but it appears to require continued concrete assistance for teachers to incorporate changes in a fundamental rather than superficial way. The other side of this argument, from those advocating strategies that involves exerting pressure is that the percentage of teachers in many school situations who will change on their own initiative is small, and that unless external pressure is exerted it is not likely that very many schools will build up the critical mass of people neccessary to sustain change.

Some Issues in Working With Parents. Several approaches, discussed in the individual case studies and in earlier parts of this chapter, seem to be associated with effective efforts to involve parents more actively in shaping the school community:

1. Developing broad-based rather than one-person RTA leadership.

2. Sensitivity to the styles and strengths of local community culture and acting on an analysis of the school as a part of a larger fabric of community life.

3. Focus on building parent confidence in the validity of their judgments about the schools and their confidence in dealing with school staff on an equal basis.

4. Developing detailed knowledge among parents of how the school system works and what their rights are in dealing with it.

5. An effort to help create a variety of channels for involvement in the school so that parents can begin to function at a level they feel comfortable with. This can include regular visits to a parent room in the school, helping in the classroom, working as an aide or school-community liaison,making materials for the learning program, advocating for the rights of other parents and children, and participating in formal decision-making or advice-giving.

6. Strengthening or developing independent community organizations concerned not only with school issues but also with other community issues.

7. Developing mechanisms for sustaining parent involement on a regular non-crisis-oriented basis.

8. Developing regular mechanisms through which parents reflect on their actions.

Critical Activities Derived from Analyzing Specific Assistance Efforts: The following critical activities are drawn from the previous section:

1. The TAG builds on strengths and minimizes the weaknesses of its relation to RTAs on the internal-external dimension.

2. The TAG develops strategies appropriate to its geographical relationship with respect to RTAs.

3. The TAG develops a facilitator role that supports the mutual adaptation of TAG strategy, facilitator characteristics, and setting characteristics.

4. TAG identifies facilitators with appropriate philosophy, racial or ethnic background, experience, and ability to cope with the stresses of the facilitator role.

5. Facilitators constantly clarify their roles with members of the school community.

6. Facilitators consider effects of the entry process on all major actors and subgroups within the school community before and during the entry process.

7. TAG and facilitators establish credibility with RTAs building on the RTA's personal identification with the facilitator; the TAG's legitimacy through recommendations of persons respected by the RTA; the TAG's ability to demonstrate that the facilitators can be of concrete practical help; the TAG's ability to demonstrate that their approach is a comprehensive one; the TAG's ability to establish that a major priority for them is to help the RTA, as opposed to some hidden agenda; and additional tactics appropriate to the individual TAG approaches.

8. Facilitators gather extensive knowledge about the characteristics and history of the school community early in the entry process.

9. Facilitators consciously control the formats for interaction with RTAs (e.g. group meeting vs. individual interview) during the entry process.

10. The facilitator effectively communicates in the entry process the nature of the TAG's strategy, the values it involves, and limits on the nature and amount of assistance available.

11. The TAG obtains specific commitments during the entry process for the RTA's responsibilities in the assistance process.

12. The TAG makes realistic assessments of the match between its capabilities and the characteristics of the RTA before making a commitment to provide assistance.

13. The TAG develops an overall plan for stages in the assistance process that is modified in light of experience.

14. The TAG develops strategies in light of the central position of the school principal in almost any change process.

15. The TAG seeks to develop a critical mass of support so that its efforts lead to changes in norms, roles, and subsystems rather than in individuals.

16. The TAG seeks to develop a permanent network for the support of local facilitators.

17. The TAG makes use of a comprehensive strategy employing the following major types of techniques: structured experiences, over-the-shoulder assistance, modeling, and provision of materials.

18. The TAG minimizes those instances in which it intervenes independently to do things for the RTA without RTA involvement.

19. The TAG strongly emphasizes concrete assistance to immediate problems as a major aspect of its assistance efforts.

20. The TAG employs formats for assistance that combine communication of substantive information with the use of group process techniques.

21. The TAG develops and refines sophisticated formats for structured experiences that train RTAs in the most central aspects of the TAG's approach.

22. The TAG makes RTAs conscious that they are acquiring new skills and making progress toward desired goals.

23. The TAG employs techniques refined through experience in assessing the needs and readiness of RTAs.

24. The TAG actively involves RTAs in all aspects of needs assessment.

25. The TAG helps RTAs legitimate their needs for decision-makers by using the results of formal needs assessments.

26. The TAG has built into its approach mechanisms that allow it to be responsive to local needs and conditions.

27. The TAG hires facilitators and carries out analytical procedures that allow it to be sensitive to local school and community culture and to make appropriate adjustments. This includes adjustments to the constraints of local situations.

28. The TAG develops strategies for minimizing the impact of major crises that are beyond the control of the school community, such as teacher transfers and budget cuts.

29. The TAG and RTA become increasingly competent in predicting the effect of their actions on all segments of the school community and on important aspects of its environment.

30. The facilitators develop personal relationships with RTAs, but do not allow personal obligations to pressure them into violating key limits of the facilitator role.

31. The TAG develops effective means for documenting and communicating TAG and RTA accomplishment for both internal and external audiences.

32. The TAG consistently emphasizes the need for independent action by the RTA.

33. The TAG has a strong skill development and training orientation in its work with the RTA.

34. The TAG focuses on central rather than peripheral aspects of school community functioning in its change effort.

35. The TAG helps RTAs build a network of support within the school hierarchy and in the broader community.

36. The TAG helps the RTA themselves become trainers of other members of the school community.

37. The TAG helps the RTA to internalize a cycle of analysis and action.

38. The TAG helps the RTA obtain significant financing for change efforts from the local school system at as early a stage as possible.

39. The TAG develops broad-based leadership among RTAs.

40. The TAG employs mechanisms that sustain the feeling that RTAs are part of a larger social or educational movement.

41. The TAG helps RTAs internalize a standard for what it means to carry out the TAG's approach effectively.

42. The TAG develops mechanisms of support and collaboration among peers on school staffs.

43. The TAG analyzes the school as an integral part of a larger community.

44. In working with parents, the TAG helps them develop confidence to press for their own ideas on an equal basis with school staff, develop detailed knowledge of the functioning of the school, and develop knowledge of the rights of parents and children.

45. In working with parents, the TAG creates a variety of channels for involvement in the school.

46. In working with parents, the TAG encourages parents to develop a regular presence in the school that comes to be expected and accepted by school staff.

47. In working with parents, the TAG helps strengthen independent community organizations concerned with educational and other social issues.

48. In working with parents, the TAG helps them develop mechanisms for sustaining parent involvement on a regular non-crisis-oriented basis.

Effectiveness of TAG Assistance Efforts

The Inappropriateness of Comparing One TAG with Another. In our original research proposal, we emphasized that our focus was primarily on understanding the process by which groups maintained themselves and provided assistance and not on making summary judgments about the comparative effectiveness of one TAG group versus another. This position was restated in Chapter 1. As we became more deeply immersed in the study, we were strenghened in the belief that our emphasis was the correct one, for several reasons.

First, the groups we were studying had been in existence for varying lengths of time, had had different levels and continuity of funding support, and had been able to work with various RTAs for differing periods of time.

Second, the types of school communities they were attempting to assist were quite different and the school community subsystems on which they focused their change efforts were different. As mentioned earlier, each group makes some claims that the subsystem in which it intervenes is a strategic one that will have a ripple effect on other subsytems, but this claim does not tend to be borne out in practice. Those aspects of the school community tend to change that are the primary focus of specific TAG efforts. Thus, it is inappropriate to compare a group focused primarily on altering staff organizational structure with one seeking to involve parents in decision-making using any common standard.

Third, our study underscores the fact that technical assistance is an infant technology that deserves a greater opportunity for development before its effectiveness is evaluated in a summative way. Critiques of existing evaluation paradigms emphasize the need to guard against premature summative evaluation, and we feel that evaluation that is formative in character is much more appropriate for technical assistance strategies at this point.

An Alternative View of the Change Process and of Analyzing TAG Effectiveness. Although we do not feel that it is appropriate based on this study to compare one TAG with another in terms of effectiveness, we believe that the study suggests an alternative way of viewing effectiveness that will be extremely useful in a longer term effort to stregthen technical assistance efforts and to study them.

A first question in thinking about effectiveness is what sort of effectiveness criteria should be employed. As we have argued elsewhere in this report, the most appropriate criteria of effectiveness is the TAG's ability to stimulate changes in the social structure and process of school communities (consistent with TAG intentions) that persist after the withdrawl of TAG services. Indeed, we have argued earlier in this chapter that the most useful way to think about TAG strategies is through specifying the subsystems of school community functioning that TAGs are primarily trying to change, the role groups they see as primary targets of change and the specific substantive changes that the TAG is working to achieve in these subsystems and role groups. This way of thinking about change lessens the ambiguity inherent in such frequently used and value-laden terms as "process-oriented."

If TAGs can develop reliable strategies and techniques for achieving these sorts of change in RTA social functioning, it will then be possible for school communities to decide what types of changes they wish to see in their own situation in the light of their educational objectives and values.

As a review of the case studies indicates, all of the TAGs have been effective in stimulating some basic changes in the functioning of one or more school communities. For example, United Bronx Parents has basically altered the relationship parents and school administration in a number of schools in the South Bronx. AFRAM has helped parents in changing their role in the educational decision-making process. Creative Teaching Workshop has helped fundmentally alter the teaching and learning process at P.S. 152 in New York City. Center For New Schools has assisted the experimental Metro High School in Chicago to carry out an educational program whose functioning is basically different from the norm for public high schools, and these changes have persisted after their withdrawal. Rural Education Program has helped parents and school staff in Canyon County form a new decision-making relationship that has persisted after their withdrawal of direct support. /I/D/E/A/ has stimulated basic changes in the role of the principal and the working relationships of teachers in the two IGE schools we studied closely.

At the same time, all groups have experienced a great deal of failure, of objectives not attained. The resulting mixture of impressive success, partial success, and failure in various situations has provided us with a basis for analyzing those actions of the TAG staff that are associated with success or failure, effectiveness or ineffectiveness. The result is the list of critical activities that has been derived in this chapter under headings of formation, internal management, fund maintenance, strategy development, and assistance. The full list appears at the end of this chapter. Our major conclusion as a result of the study is that the effectiveness of technical assistance groups in terms of the criteria described above will be associated with the competent performance of as many as possible of the listed critical activities. We are not claiming that the list is complete or that the formulation of individual items is optimal; in some cases they are vague and are merely place-markers for certain issues that people should attend to. However, the usefulness of this way of thinking about TAG effectiveness to date has convinced us of the utility of pursuing this direction for thinking about TAG effectiveness.

One question that might be raised about this method is why so much stress has been placed on activities that are largely internal to the TAGs. To some extent, this reflects a limitation of our study; given the time limits of our field work, we gained a richer understanding of internal functioning. However, internal functioning is stressed primarily because we repeatedly observed the close interlocking of internal and external activity. Internal activities are critical determinants of external effectiveness. Even "mundane" internal problems have important implications for effectiveness in providing assistance. For example, failure to clarify a secretary's role in one TAG meant that she began to view her clerical work as beneath her, and vital day-to-day support services were not carried out. Resulting shortages of materials for workshops affected their quality; inadequate routine message-taking caused a failure to respond to phone calls from RTAs; and a great amount of leadership time was absorbed in clarifying roles and compensating for the negative effects on RTAs. The documentation of such patterns may not seem very important at first glance, but they recur in the complex functioning of TAGs and need to be focused on as an important determinant of external effectiveness.

Other patterns of interrelationship between various areas of internal and external functioning have been cited throughout this report. For example, we spoke of the importance of staff socialization earlier, and of achieving a satisfactory mutual adaptation between the characteristics of the staff members and of the TAG strategy. Below, we list and comment on those critical activities that are most important in bringing about such a process of adaptation for key program staff members:

A-6. The founding leaders form a core staff that subscribes to the basic assumptions of the strategy formulation and who have had sufficient experience in the settings in which assistance is going to be provided to develop creative but realistic notions of how the strategy can be defined (Comment: If the new staff member is not brought into an environment where the present staff has this combination of shared values and experience, satisfactory socialization is doubtful. If the new staff member does not also possess these characteristics, basic value conflicts may impede socialization or the level of training required may consistute an excesive drain on resources).

E-4. TAG identifies facilitators with appropriate philosophy, racial or ethnic background, experience, and ability to cope with the stresses of the facilitator role.

B-5. The leadership establishes itself as the legitimate interpreter of the nature of the TAG strategy and of the limits it implies, while facilitating the adaptation of the strategy based on the analysis of TAG experience. (Comment: This behavior of leadership is key to establishing many of the internal mechanisms described in critical activities below that foster effective staff socialization).

B-11. The TAG clarifies job responsibilities in writing and/or through clear shared understanding among TAG members. (Comment: Unless clarification of job descriptions is a standard organizational practice, the complexities of TAG functioning easily lead to the development of a diffuse unclear role).

B-16. The TAG establishes regular procedures for supervision and monitoring of work.

B-23. The TAG exercises social control through feedback that a person is or is not adhering to the group's ideology, through including people in the TAG as a social group (the TAG family), through the prestige of being associated with the group, and through other mechanisms appropriate for the group.

D-10. The TAG develops regularized mechanisms for analysis of their direct assistance activities. (Comment: This activity is especially important because it is the major mechanism by which a TAG develops a strategy in which to socialize its members and because direct participation in this analysis process is a highly effective socialization procedure for new staff].

D-11. The TAG teams its facilitators and/or develops other effective mechanisms for information-sharing and joint analysis that avoid the danger of facilitator isolation (Comment: A commonly-observed weakness is to hire an individual facilitator and expect this person, working in relative isolation, to become an effective member of the TAG).

D-12. The TAG develops a clear language and method of communication of key terms and concepts that is understood by RTAs. [Comment: The resulting clarity and communications mechanisms are of great benefit for internal staff socialization as are systems of materials (Activity D-13) and a skill-development orientation in assistance to RTAs (Activity E-32)].

D-13. The TAG develops flexible systems of materials to aid the direct assistance process that are consistent in format, but made up of separate items dealing with specific topics of concerns to RTAs at various points in the assistance process. (Comment: See D-12).

E-33. The TAG has a strong skill development and training orientation in its work with RTAs. (Comment: See D-12).

B-9. The TAG socializes staff members through a conscious program of direct experience in the TAG's work, analysis of that experience, planned training sessions, and written material (Comment: This critical activity is the one leading most directly to effective staff socialization. However, critical activities preceeding it establish the preconditions that make it more likely that conscious staff socialization will take place and will be effective. For example, if no materials already exist describing the TAG's strategy (Activity D-13) these are not likely to be developed especially for training staff.

The above analysis of the interelationships of critical activities that contribute to the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of TAG staff socialization is an example of the type of analysis that is facilitated by identifying critical activities. As the list of critical activities is refined, we will continue to build our understanding of the ways that critical activities interrelate. Full clarification of such networks of interrelationships can be an important aid to the process of strengthening technical assistance efforts, since it demonstrates clearly the implications of taking or failing to take various actions in the development and operation of a TAG.

In this report, however, we can only give a few examples of these patterns of interrelationship. To further clarify for the reader the direction we feel it is profitable to pursue in using the critical activities concept, we have discussed below some major determinants of another objective that all TAGs studied have consciously pursued: they have tried to insure that changed RTA behavior will persist after they depart by encouraging independent RTA action and avoiding dependency. Again, a series of important internal and external influences contribute to success or failure in moving toward this objective.

B-9. The TAG socializes staff members through a conscious program of direct experience in the TAG's work, analysis of that experience, planned training sessions, and written materials. (Comment: Without explicit staff socialization efforts, the likelihood is decreased that facilitators will resist RTA pressures to provide help that in turn leads to dependency. The importance of staff socialization in a chain of activities that deals with RTA dependency indicates that the dependency issue is tied to all of those critical activities discussed earlier that lead to effective staff socialization).

B-16. The TAG establishes regular procedures for supervision and monitoring of work. (Comment: Without supervision procedures and other mechanisms for group support and sharing within the TAG, the likelihood is increased that facilitators will respond to individual requests for help in ways increasing dependency.

D-7. After an initial period of about three years, the TAG specifies a consciously-shared strategy whose implications for facilitator action in specific situations are clearly understood and consistently acted on by the staff. (Comment: Characteristically, early assistance efforts run into problems with dependency, and a TAG that is developing soundly will, over time, clarify a specific strategy for assistance that deals with these problems).

D-10. The TAG develops regularized mechanisms for analysis of their direct assistance activities. (Comment: See D-7).

D-11. The TAG teams its facilitators and/or develops other effective mechanisms for information-sharing and joint analysis that avoid the danger of facilitator isolation. (Comment: See D-7).

D-13. The TAG develops flexible systems of materials to aid the direct assistance process....(Comment: written clarification of the strategy is one aid in resisting requests that will lead to dependency).

E-1. The TAG builds on strengths and minimizes the weaknesses of its relation to the RTAs on the internal-external dimension. (Comment: TAGs that are readily available can build dependency by always doing things for people that they should be doing themselves; TAGs that are external to the community can build dependency by creating unrealistic expectations for assistance that can then be used as a justification for inactivity by the RTA).

E-2. The TAG develops strategies appropriate to its geographical relationship with respect to RTAs. (Comment: See E-1).

E-10. The facilitator effectively communicates in the entry process the nature of the TAG's strategy, the values it involves and limits on the nature and amount of assistance available (Comments: Entry constitutes a crucial stage with respect to the dependency issue in which the TAG must clarify the limits of the help it can give and also the responsibilities of the RTA in the assistance process. Without such clarity, RTA dependency is almost assured).

E-11. The TAG obtains specific commitments during the entry process for the RTA's responsibilities in the assistance process. (Comment: See E-10).

E-12. The TAG makes realistic assessments of the match between its capabilities and the characteristics of the RTA before making a commitment to provide assistance (Comment: Our study suggests that the number of situations in which particular TAG strategies are effective is limited; thus, a failure to assess the match between RTA needs and TAG capabilities makes dependency likely).

E-18. The TAG minimizes those instances in which it intervenes independently to do things for the RTA without RTA involvement.

E-21. The TAG develops and refines sophisticated formats for structures experiences that train RTAs in the most central aspects of the TAG's approach. (Comment: Conscious and well-planned efforts to transfer skills are a major contributor to independent RTA action).

E-22. The TAG makes RTAs conscious that they are acquiring new skills and making progress toward desired goals. (Comment: There is often a gap between the RTA's developing potential for independent action and their realization that they have this potential).

E-30. The facilitators develop personal relationships with RTAs, but do not allow personal obligations to pressure them into violating key limits of the facilitator role. (Comment: The growth of personal relationships between RTA and facilitator exerts a major pressure for the facilitator to act in ways that increase dependency).

E-33. The TAG has a strong skill development and training orientation in its work with RTAs (Comment: See E-21).

E-36. The TAG helps the RTAs themselves become trainers of other members of the school community. (Comment: See E-21).

E-41. The TAG helps RTAs internalize a standard for what it means to carry out the TAG's approach effectively. (Comment: in cases where this happens, it motivates independent action by the RTA in which the TAG plays no part at all).

E-32. The TAG consistently emphasizes the need for independent action by the RTA. (Comment: Experienced TAGs underscore this point continually, from the first contact. Helping this independence occur in practice draws on the other critical activities citied above).

Once again, we hope that this discussion of a specific problem of technical assistance (encouraging independent action by the RTA) is helpful in illuminating the interelated critical activities that influence this problem and the potential of this type of analysis in thinking in a helpful way about TAG effectiveness.

ATTACHMENTS

List of Critical Activities

Below is the list of critical activities drawn from the cross-site analysis. They are listed in terms of the five major areas of activity described in the analysis of similarities and differences between TAGs. Some activities are critical in more than one area and thus are listed two or more times.

A. Forming the technical assistance group (FORMATION).

A-1. The TAG draws on existing change movements and traditions consistent with their values as a source of legitimacy, ideas, mutual support, potential staff members, and funding leads. (Also appears as B-1, C-1, and D-1).

A-2. The TAG develops strong organizational leadership that initially organizes resources around the stated strategy. (Also appears as B-2).

A-3. The TAG develops a contact/resource network to provide legitimacy, ideas, mutual support, potential staff members, and funding leads. (Also appears as B-3, C-2, and D-2).

A-4. The founding leaders develop an initial plan for a change strategy. This initial formulation generally includes an analysis of what is deficient in current education, how things could be better, what role groups should receive assistance to make these improvements, what subsystems of the school community are priorities for the change effort, and what the role of the facilitator should be. (Also appears as D-3).

A-5. The leadership obtains sufficient funding for a period of about three years to allow an initial strategy development process to take place. (Also appears as C-3).

A-6. The founding leaders form a core staff that subscribes to the basic assumptions of the strategy formulation and who have had sufficient experience in the settings in which assistance is going to be provided to develop creative but realistic notions of how the strategy can be refined. (Also appears as B-4 and D-4).

A-7. The TAG successfully develops relationships with an initial set of RTAs, often building on opportunities that result from their identification with a particular educational movement or change tradition.

B. Establishing and maintaining effective internal management (MANAGEMENT).

B-1. The TAG draws on existing change movements and traditions consistent with their values as a source of legitimacy, ideas, mutual support, potential staff members and funding leads. (Also appears as A-1, C-1, and D-1).

B-2. The TAG develops strong organizational leadership that initially organizes resources around the stated strategy. (Also appears as A-2).

[illegible]-3. The TAG develops a contact/resource network to provide legitimacy, ideas, mutual support, potential staff members, and funding leads. (Also appears as A-3, C-2, and D-2)

B-4. The founding leaders form a core staff that subscribes to the basic assumptions of the initial strategy formulation and who have had sufficient experience in the settings in which assistance is to be provided to develop creative but realistic notions of how the strategy can be refined. (Also appears as A-6 and D-4).

B-5. The leadership establishes itself as the legitimate interpreter of the nature of the TAG strategy and of the limits it implies, while facilitating the adaptation of the strategy based on the analysis of TAG experience. (Also appears as D-5).

B-6. The leadership creates and maintains internal operating units that function in overall harmony with TAG goals, but develops the skills of key staff through conscious training so that these units operate independent of constant leadership intervention.

B-7. Leadership acquires management skills that correspond with the increasing complexity of the organization, changing from an initial perception of themselves primarily as activists or program developers.

B-8. The leadership adapts its leadership style to the values of TAG staff and RTAs.

B-9. The TAG socializes staff members through a conscious program of direct experience in the TAG's work, analysis of that experience, planned training sessions, and written materials.

B-10. The TAG makes frequent use of project teams consisting of about seven persons and subteams to work on specific tasks consisting of two to three persons.

B-11. The TAG clarifies job responsibilities in writing and/or through clear shared understanding among TAG members.

B-12. The TAG integrates a set of decision-making and problem-solving procedures it has found useful (e.g. brainstorming, active listening) into its on-going operation.

B-13. The TAG seeks funding proportional to the projects they agree to carry out or renegotiates commitments to bring them in line with available funds. (Also appears as C-13).

B-14. The TAG increases administrative support roles or the responsibility of people in those roles to relieve overload on program staff as it expands.

B-15. The TAG carefully examines the impact of multiple roles and responsibilities.

B-16. The TAG establishes regular procedures for supervision and monitoring of work.

B-17. The TAG regularizes personnel policies and procedures.

B-18. The TAG specifies more precisely what "participation in decision-making" means by specifying who participates in what kinds of internal decisions.

B-19. The TAG distinguishes those tasks for which close intercoordination of teams and projects is desirable and should be encouraged by frequent communication, coordination, and role overlap from those tasks that can be performed with less interdependence by specialists.

B-20. The TAG carefully analyzes the question of TAG size and seeks to attain or maintain a size most appropriate for achieving its purposes.

B-21. The TAG develops functional procedures for allocating decision-making responsibility to the three levels of program staff within the organization: top leadership, middle level leadership, and other program staff.

B-22. The TAG employs mechanisms for consulting staff members about important decisions that affect their work.

B-23. The TAG exercises social control through feedback that a person is or is not adhering to the group's ideology, through including people in the TAG as a social group (the TAG family), through the prestige of being associated with the group, and through other mechnaisms appropriate for the group.

B-24. The TAG perfects a set of communication mechanisms appropriate to the group, capitalizing on the strengths and minimizing the weaknesses of the mechansism chosen. The TAG relies heavily on face-to-face effective communications.

B-25. The TAG adjusts communication mechanisms appropriately as it increases in size.

B-26. The TAG develops regular mechanisms for communicating with geographically dispersed sites, including the effective use of the telephone, written communications, and on-site visits.

B-27. The TAG regularizes day-to-day clerical and administrative activities.

B-28. The TAG develops a high quality of specialized technical capabilities (either on staff or through subcontracts) in such areas as fiscal control, media, and writing.

C. Obtaining and maintaining funds (FUNDING)

C-1. The TAG draws on existing change movements and traditions consistent with their values as a source of legitimacy, ideas, mutual support, potential staff members, and funding leads. (Also appears as A-1, B-1 and D-1).

C-2. The TAG develops a contact/resource network to provide legitimacy, ideas, mutual support, potential staff members, and funding leads.

C-3. The leadership obtains sufficient funding for a period of about three years to allow an initial strategy development process to take place. (Also appears as A-5).

C-4. The TAG devotes regular energy to the analysis of funding possibilities and to cultivating relationships with funders.

C-5. The TAG convinces funders that their assistance work is appropriate for support under their funding categories.

C-6. The TAG develops technical proposal and report-writing skills.

C-7. The TAG includes realistic time-tables and specific realistic objectives in funding proposals.

C-8. The TAG plans the ends of funding cycles to coincide with natural benchmarks in the process of the TAG's work.

C-9. The TAG presses for long-term rather than short-term funding.

C-10. The TAG minimizes the effects of funder demands on TAG time and energy.

C-11. The TAG documents its work to establish what services were delivered and what effects they had.

C-12. The TAG obtains funding for an additional period of about three years in which to field test and modify an initial detailed formulation of the strategy.

C-13. The TAG seeks funding proportional to the projects they agree to carry out or renegotiates commitments to bring them in line with available funds. (Also appears as B-13)

D. Developing assistance strategies (STRATEGY DEVELOPMENT).

D-1. The TAG draws on existing change movements and traditions consistent with their values as a source of legitimacy, ideas, mutual support, potential staff members, and funding leads. (Also appears as A-1, B-1, and C-1).

D-2. The TAG develops a contact-resource network to provide legitimacy, ideas, mutual support, potential staff members, and funding leads.

D-3. The Founding leaders develop an initial plan for a change strategy. This initial formulation generally includes an analysis of what is deficient in current education, how things could be better, what role groups should receive effective assistance to make these improvements, what subsystems of the school community are priorities for the change effort, and what the role of the facilitator should be. (Also appears as A-4).

D-4. The Founding leaders form a core staff that subscribes to the basic assumptions of the initial strategy formulation and who have had sufficient experience in the settings in which assistance is going to be provided to develop creative but realistic notions of how the strategy can be refined. (Also appears as A-6 and and B-4).

D-5. The leadership establishes itself as the legitimate interpreter of the nature of the

TAG strategy and of the limits it implies, while facilitating the adaptation of the strategy based on the analysis of TAG experience. (Also appears as B-5).

D-6. The TAG carries out roughly a three year period of intensive assistance to RTAs, coupled with the regular analysis of these assistance efforts.

D-7. After an initial period of about three years, the TAG specifies a consciously-shared strategy whose implications for facilitator action in specific situations are clearly understood and consistently acted on by the TAG staff.

D-8. The TAG carries out an additional period of assistance of about three years in which they field test and modify the initial detailed formulation of the strategy.

D-9. The TAG develops and deepens an analysis of the school community as a social system whose interdependent social structures and processes must be understood to carry out their change strategy.

D-10. The TAG develops regularized mechanisms for analysis of their direct assistance activities.

D-11. The TAG teams its facilitators and/or develops other effective mechanisms for information-sharing and joint analysis that avoid the danger of facilitator isolation.

D-12. The TAG develops a clear language and method of communication for key terms and concepts that is understood by RTA's.

D-13. The TAG develops flexible systems of materials to aid the direct assistance process that are consistent in format, but made up of separate items dealing with specific topics of concern to RTAs at various points in the assistance process.

D-14. The TAG uses research and evaluation results to legitimate its approach with RTAs and funders.

D-15. If the TAG collects research data, it is focused on providing useful information about program process as well as results.

D-16. The TAG employs effective formats for feeding back to its staff and RTAs any research information it collects, beyond merely distributing written reports or briefly discussing research findings.

D-17. If conflict tactics are used, the TAG uses them in a focused way and projects an alternative idea of what education could be as well as opposing present practices.

D-18. The TAG makes those subsystems of school community functioning that they most want to change the focus of detailed plans for improvement, detailed strategy and tactics, and a significant percentage of facilitator effort.

E. Carrying out specific assistance efforts (ASSISTANCE).

E-1. The TAG builds on strengths and minimizes the weaknesses of its relation to RTA's on the internal-external dimension.

E-2. The TAG develops strategies appropriate to its geographical relationship with respect to RTAs.

E-3. The TAG develops a facilitator role that supports the mutual adaptation of TAG strategy, facilitator characteristics, and setting characteristics.

E-4. The TAG identifies facilitators with appropriate philosophy, racial or ethnic background, experience, and ability to cope with the stresses of the facilitator role.

E.5. Facilitators constantly clarify their role with members of the school community.

E-6. Facilitators consider effects of the entry process on all major actors and subgroups within the school community before and during the entry process.

E-7. TAG and facilitators establish credibility with RTA's by building on the RTA's personal identification with the facilitator; the TAG's legitimacy through recommendations of persons respected by the RTA; the TAG's ability to demonstrate that the facilitators can be of concrete practical help; the TAG's ability to demonstrate that their approach is a comprehensive one; the TAG's ability to establish that a major priority for them is to help the RTA, as opposed to some hidden agenda; and additional tactics appropriate to the individual TAG approaches.

E-8. Facilitators gather extensive knowledge about the history of the school community early in the entry process.

E-9. Facilitators consciously control the formats for interaction with RTA's (e.g. group meeting vs. individual interview) during the entry process.

E-10. The facilitator effectively communicates in the entry process the nature of the TAG's strategy, the values it involves, and limits on the nature and amount of assistance available.

E-11. The TAG obtains specific commitments during the entry process for the RTA's responsibilities in the assistance process.

E-12. The TAG makes realistic assessments of the match between its capabilities and the characteristics of the RTA before making a commitment to provide assistance.

E-14. The TAG develops strategies in light of the central position of the school principal in almost any change process.

E-15. The TAG seeks to develop a critical mass of support so that its efforts lead to changes in norms, roles, and subsystems rather than in individuals.

E-16. The TAG seeks to develop a permanent network for the support of local facilitators.

E-17. The TAG uses a comprehensive strategy employing the following major types of techniques: structured experiences, over-the-shoulder assistance, and modeling and provision of materials.

E-18. The TAG minimizes those instances in which it intervenes independently to do things for the RTA without RTA involvement.

E-19. The TAG strongly emphasizes concrete assistance on immediate problems as a major aspect of its assistance efforts.

E-20. The TAG employs formats for assistance that combine communication of substantive information with the use of group process techniques.

E-21. The TAG develops and refines sophisticated formats for structured experiences that train RTA's in the most central aspects of the TAG's approach.

E-22. The TAG makes RTAs conscious that they are acquiring new skills and making progress toward desired goals.

E-23. The TAG employs techniques refined through TAG experience in assessing the needs and readiness of RTAs.

E-24. The TAG actively involves RTAs in all aspects of needs assessment.

E-25. The TAG helps RTAs legitimate their needs for decision-makers by using the results of formal needs assessments.

E-26. The TAG has built into its approach mechanisms that allow it to be responsive to local needs and conditions.

E-27. The TAG hires facilitators and carries out analytical procedures that allow it to be sensitive to local school and community culture and to make appropriate adjustments. This includes adjustments to the constraints of local situations.

E-28. The TAG develops strategies for minimizing the impact of major crises that are beyond the control of the school community, such as teacher transfers and budgets cuts.

E-29. The TAG and RTA become increasingly competent in predicting the effect of their actions on all segments of the school community and on important aspects of its environment.

E-30. The facilitators develop personal relationships with RTA's, but do not allow personal obligations to pressure them into violating key limits of the facilitator role.

E-31. The TAG develops effective means for documenting and communicating TAG and RTA accomplishments for both internal and external audiences.

E-32. The TAG consistently emphasizes the needs for independent action by the RTA.

E-33. The TAG has a strong skill development and training orientation in its work with the RTA.

E-34. The TAG focuses on central rather than peripheral aspects of school community functioning in its change effort.

E-35. The TAG helps RTAs build a network of support within the school hierarchy and in the broader community.

E-36. The TAG helps the RTA themselves become trainers of other members of the school community.

E-37. The TAG helps the RTA to internalize a cycle of analysis and action.

E-38. The TAG helps the RTA obtain significant financing for change efforts from the local school system at as early a stage as possible.

E-39. The TAG develops broad-based leadership among RTA's.

E-40. The TAG employs mechanisms that sustain the feeling that RTAs are part of a larger social or educational movement.

E-41. The TAG helps RTAs internalize a standard for what it means to carry out the TAG's approach effectively.

E-42. The TAG develops mechanisms of support and collaboration among peers on school staffs.

E-43. The TAG analyzes the school as an integral part of a larger community.

E-44. In working with parents, the TAG helps them develop confidence to press for their own ideas on an equal basis with school staff, develop detailed knowledge of the functioning of the school, and develop knowledge of the rights of parents and children.

E-45. In working with parents, the TAG creates a variety of channels for involvement in the school.

E-46. In working with parents, the TAG encourages parents to develop a regular presence in the school that comes to be expected and accepted by school staff.

E-47. In working with parents, the TAG helps them develop mechanisms for sustaining parent involvement on a regular non-crisis-oriented basis.

FOOTNOTES

1. Center for New Schools. *A Multi-method Study of the Development and Effects of an Alternative High School Learning Environment (4 Vols.)* Report on National Institute of Education Research Grant No. NEG-6-00-3-0094. Chicago: Author, 1975.

2. Center for New Schools. *Legal Accountability of Public School Educators for Providing a Minimum Standard of Professional Services.* National Institute of Education Research Grant No. NE-G-00-3-0145. In progress.

3. John Flavell. *The Developmental Psychology of Jean Piaget*. New York: Van Nostrand, 1973. See also, Walter Buckley. *Sociology and Modern Systems Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1967.

4. Paul Berman and Milbrey McLaughlin. *Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change*. Santa Monica: Rand Corp., 1974.

5. Ibid.

CHAPTER 9. SUMMARY: SOME PATTERNS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

Drawing on the patterns analyzed in the preceding chapter, we briefly summarize some of our key results and discuss their implications in this chapter. First, we discuss, some patterns and implications for viewing the process of change in school communities. Second, we discuss some patterns and implications for viewing the process of technical assistance to school community change. Third, we discuss issues raised by the study that should be of special concern to (1) those engaged in providing technical assistance, (2) those who are interested in studying the processes of educational change and technical assistance, and (3) those concerned with policy-formation with respect to educational change and technical assistance.

The Nature of Educational Change.

There appear to be several implications of our study for the way in which the process of educational change is viewed.

1. Changes in Social Structure and Process as a Criteria for Change. It has been customary to study the process of educational change by judging it against a common student outcome measure, usually student achievement scores in the basic skills. Our research suggests that this strategy is unproductive for several reasons. First, even in the work of TAG groups with a record of accomplishment in changing the functioning of one or more schools, the level of assistance and the effect of local conditions on nature of the assistance provided leads to such variability in the "treatment" being applied, that attempts to study student outcomes without detailed analysis of the process intended to produce certain outcomes is virtually useless.

Second, each TAG group we studied has developed a distinctive focus in terms of those aspects of educational practice they wish to change, the role groups they see as the major agents of this change, and the subsystems of school community functioning on which they focus their change efforts. Thus, it is inappropriate to relate these varied thrust for change to any common metric of effectiveness. Much more can be learned by determining whether the major aspects of the school community system that a TAG or other agent attempts to alter are in fact changed and whether these changes persist. For example, if an advocacy group attempts to alter the way students are treated in disciplinary situations both in the classroom and in the principal's office, it is important to understand whether the advocacy group's strategies in fact bring about systematic changes in the relevant organizational routines of the school.

Such an approach to viewing the issue of change suggests that the criterion for the effectiveness of change should be the effectiveness of the strategy in altering the social structure and process of the school community in some intended way, with social structure and process being analyzed in terms of such concepts as norms, roles, subsystems, organizational routines, interest group relationships, etc. Such a sociological/anthropological approach to specifying the intended focus of change can facilitate the clarification of differences in focus of varying change strategies, in a way that accurately depicts the particular strategies, yet avoids such unproductive distinctions as "process" versus "content", and the like.

2. The Lack of "Ripple Effects." The approach suggested above becomes even more useful when one considers a second major observation about the change process that grows from our study: While TAGs generally make claims that they are intervening at a strategic point in the functioning of the school community system and that their particular focus of intervention will lead to wide ripple effects through other aspects of the system, we did not observe such patterns occurring. Our observations suggest that those aspects of school community functioning change that are the focus of highly detailed strategies for change and a high percentage of facilitator effort. Our observations reinforce the notion that the school community is a system that is "loosely coupled" or has a "low degree of interdependence" in the sense that changes in one subsystem do not ripple over in terms of changes in another subsystem.

If there was any one strategic point in the school community system that consistently influences the effectiveness of a wide variety of different change strategies, it was the role of the school principal. The school principal can play a key role in initiating changes (as in effective IGE schools) or in supporting or opposing the initiatives of parents or teachers. In responding to the initiatives of parents or teachers, the principal can adopt an attitude of unrelenting resistance, can "give ground" in proportion to the strength and resoluteness or the initiating group, or can positively internalize and support the initiative. The nature of strategies developed for dealing with the principal and the nature of the principal's response is a critical influence on the course of the change effort. It should be emphasized, however, that although the principal is a key actor in most change strategies, even the most resolute principal cannot change the social functioning of school community subsystems that involve parents and/or teachers without great effort. At P.S. 152, for example, the principal was strongly supportive of experiential education, but it took three years with considerable outside help before the basic social functioning of the school at the classroom level was fundamentally affected by his philosophy.

3. Limits Imposed on Change Strategies by Characteristics of the Setting. The above discussion of the principal suggests a third general pattern we observed in the school community change process: the limits imposed by particular school community settings in determining the possibilities for change. One can see these limits, for example, in the two AFRAM projects we studied; in these two settings the contrast in economic conditions of Black parents and the positions of Black school professionals in the school system were decisive in shaping the degree in which AFRAM was able to reach its overall goals. In the /I/D/E/A/ case examples, one can see how the extent of IGE implementation is influenced by the degree to which the IGE philosophy is consistent with the existing educational philosophy

of the principal.

This observation concerning the decisive impact of local setting on the success of the change strategy further suggests that the nurturing of a variety of change strategies is appropriate--strategies that take into account varying conditions. The notion that one single all-purpose or "best" strategy can be developed is inappropriate. One specific implication of this observation is that there are many instances in which conflict-oriented tactics aimed at changing the nature of the organizational coalition that impacts the school are a necessary step in the change process, while strategies for other situations with more progressive school staff or an already active parent constituency may entail other types of supportive help.

4. Central Role of Values in Change Efforts. Another reason for pursuing a variety of change strategies rather than envisioning that one "best" strategy can be developed is the repeated evidence we encountered that values play a decisive role in shaping the process of educational change. Strongly held value commitments and beliefs were at the heart of the educational change and technical assistance processes we observed. Local change efforts and those who assist such efforts draw on philosophies or ideologies that allow them to choose from the myriad possibilities they might pursue with a degree of conviction that seems critical in holding a change effort together. It may be that in the future a broadened base of

scientific knowledge will decrease the importance of values and strongly held beliefs somewhat. However, as we argued in Chapter 8, it appears that value considerations will always occupy a central position in the change process. For example, AFRAM explicitly asks through its work whether the partnership of parents in school decision-making is a fundamental right (as they believe) or a "treatment" that should be evaluated based on its impact on student achievement. Such issues are essentially value issues that will not be settled by empirical evidence.

5. The Time Frame Needed In Change. A fifth general observation about the change process that we have already alluded to is the time frame required for change in the school community. If lasting changes are changes in social structure and process, the time frame for local change generally observed in our study (three or four years) must be anticipated by those either involved in or funding change efforts. Within shorter time frames, our study suggests that some intermediate indicators can be used to assess movement toward basic change in social structure and process (e.g. the initial clarification of mutual responsibilities in a change effort and the initiation of action based on these commitments). However, expectations about the time frame for basic change must be adjusted, so that potentially promising change efforts are not prematurely branded failures.

The Nature of Technical Assistance.

The critical activities at the end of the last chapter constitute a detailed summary of some of the patterns we have identified as key determinants of the effectiveness of technical assistance. Below, we single out briefly some of the over-riding patterns from the detailed analysis in Chapter 8.

1. Critical Role of the Groups' Founding. The founding of the technical assistance group (or in some cases its basic reformation under new leadership) is the most critical single influence in shaping subsequent internal activities and patterns of assistance. The typical pattern of TAG group formation is one in which a strong leader (or small leadership group) draws on a tradition of change to propose a strategy for direct assistance to improve the schools. This strategy includes an analysis of what is deficient in current education, how things could be better, what role groups should receive assistance to make these improvements, what subsystems of the school community should be priorities for the change effort, and what the role should be of a facilitator who works directly to assist change. These initial assumptions become the basis for a pattern of subsequent TAG development that makes certain lines of activity seem self-evident. The pivotal importance of a change tradition (e.g. community control, open education, individualized instruction, Puerto Rican nationalism) should be emphasized as a key determinant in shaping this initial formulation of the change strategy, although the TAG leadership often makes creative adaptations of the change tradition or traditions on which they draw.

2. The Interdependence of Internal TAG Functioning and the Delivery of Assistance. Following their early formative process, effective TAGs focus on four interdependent areas of activity: establishing and maintaining effective TAG internal management, obtaining and maintaining funds, developing assistance strategies, and carrying out specific assistance efforts. The case studies and the comparative analysis in Chapter 8 provide numerous illustrations of a critical pattern we consistently observed, i.e. the close interdependence of these four areas of activity and the ways in which internal activity affects the delivery of technical assistance. For example, poor coordination of materials development processes results in materials that are useless in the field. Failure to effectively delegate responsibility means that key leadership is overwhelmed by a variety of internal and external demands. Sporadic fund-raising on a crisis basis drains the talents of persons throughout the organization and undercuts the effectiveness of assistance efforts. Unclear development of the limits of a change strategy increases the chances that facilitators will be drawn into doing things for RTAs, rather than helping RTAs do things for themselves. Primarily because of this pervasive pattern of interrelationship, we spend a significant amount of effort analyzing issues of internal functioning that have impact on the delivery of technical assistance.

3. The Critical Role of Strong Leadership. The leader acts

as an "entrepreneur," drawing together the necessary staff, funding, and initial RTAs necessary for starting and sustaining the organization. The role of strong leadership, viewed as legitimate by TAG staff and RTAs, is critical if the resulting organization is going to develop effective assistance efforts. Leaders vary widely in their styles, responsive to the characteristics of their TAGs and RTAs, but they have a common characteristic of being willing to project a direction and set limits. They retain final decision-making authority in areas that affect the basic ideology of the organization, making sure that basic changes in ideology are the result of thorough analysis and not a response to short-term pressure.

4. Complexity and Interdependence of the TAG. The TAG organization that is being created (unlike the the schools the TAG is trying to change) requires a high degree of interdependence among staff members in performing a variety of complex tasks whose procedures are almost all in the process of development rather than being well worked out (assistance strategies, funding strategies, development of materials). Further, the TAG exists in an uncertain environment where the pressing and often conflicting demands of multiple constituencies have to be satisfied (e.g. RTAs, funders, larger organizations of which the TAG is a part). Thus, the formation of a TAG thrusts on leadership and staff a set of complex managerial tasks, even though the primary experience of the leadership and staff may have previously been in

direct action or program development. Adjustment to these internal and external pressures that threaten the viability of the organization are critical; program leadership must accept this managerial responsibility or face an unending cycle of problems.

The difficulties of managing such a complex organization have resulted in various organizations in the development of a variety of procedures for improving internal operations, such as distinguishing those activities for which close intercoordination of work groups is necessary from those that can be carried out with relative independence, developing clear shared understanding of the job responsibilities of persons playing various roles in the organization, and improving internal ability to make realistic time estimates for the completion of tasks. A critical skill of TAG leadership is the ability to play a role in developing a particular function or project within the organization while training others to take over its operation, so that the function or project can proceed without constant leadership intervention.

5. Mutual Adaptation as a Key to TAG Development. A notion we have found consistently useful in analyzing both the internal functioning of TAGs and the process of providing assistance is the concept of mutual adaptation. In the process of socializing new TAG staff members, of blending the work of various TAG subunits or of adjusting the TAG strategy to a local situation, a process of mutual adaptation seems best to describe effective

action. However, the TAG that is effective is not merely one that is "flexible;" on the contrary, adjustments are made gradually and after careful analysis of experience. The effective TAG clearly "stands for something," a core of beliefs, strategies, and tactics that it projects to its RTAs; and these beliefs, strategies, and tactics both change the RTA systems with which they come into contact and are changed by these systems.

6. Staff Selection and Socialization. A key ingredient of successful TAG functioning is the effective selection and socialization of staff. Effective staff selection seems generally to entail identifying persons who (1) accept the basic philosophical assumptions of the TAG and (2) have had relevant experience in carrying them out. Thus, TAG staff can develop creative but realistic elaborations of the TAG philosophy. Once staff are selected, effective TAGs consciously socialize new members into the TAG's methods of doing things. Haphazard on-the-job training does not prove sufficient in this process. Effective socialization includes direct supervised experience in the TAG's work, analysis of that experience, planned training sessions, and supportive written materials. In the effective TAG, the staff socialization process merges with on-going mechanisms for social control, including the monitoring of work. The effective TAG constantly gives feedback that one is or is not living up to the TAG's ideology and uses inclusion in the TAG as a social group (the TAG family or work team) as a major mechanism in

internal control. An attempt to briefly summarize these mechanisms of socialization and control may make them sound heavy-handed, but in the effectively functioning TAG, the spirit is one of making a positive contribution to a competent team, whose basic values one shares.

7. Decision-Making. Another key problem in effective TAG functioning is the resolution of internal decision-making issues. One can usually distinguish three levels of program staff in a TAG: the top leadership, a "middle management" group whose authority is generally unclear, and those program staff members who do not have supervisory responsibility and are often the persons acting as facilitators of the technical assistance process. Constant conflict between these three levels of staff concerning their prerogatives in decision-making can paralyze the organization. It is risky to suggest that any one pattern of resolving these conflicting claims is optimal for a wide variety of TAGs. One effective resolution of these decision-making issues seems to have the following ingredients:

1. Top leadership is accepted as the legitimate interpreter of questions about basic philosophy and is accepted as the decision-maker in crisis situations, but is open to arguments for changes in basic ideas that grow from analysis of experience.

2. Middle level leadership has clear areas of authority that are not constantly undermined by top leadership.

3. Other program staff have considerable flexibility in carrying out their work in light of the TAG's overall philosophy, but do so in an atmosphere of constant joint analysis among TAG staff.

8. Obtaining and Maintaining Funds. A major issue faced by the TAG is obtaining and maintaining adequate funds. In the history of the TAGs under study, the opportunities for obtaining funds to support sustained assistance work have been highly uncertain. Thus much organizational energy goes into searching for funds, reconciling TAG work with the priorities of funders who only partly share the TAG's perspective, writing proposals and reports for funders, and maintaining relationships with them. This process of fund-raising and maintenance absorbs a significant amount of the time of key leadership, often drawing them away from assistance efforts or strategy development. Those TAGs most effective in fund-raising approach it as an on-going necessity and are constantly searching for funds through cultivating relationships with funders, seeking information about funding available, etc.

Critical to successful fund-raising and to a number of other internal TAG activities (such as identifying new ideas to incorporate into one's strategy) is the process of building a resource network. Effective TAG leadership and other key staff build a broad network of persons (often drawn from the change tradition or movement with which the TAG identifies) who are called on to provide information on funding, to provide funds, to provide legitimation and political support, to provide new program ideas, to advise and critique the TAG's work, etc.).

A major issue related to funding is the time frame for which funding can be obtained to develop an assistance strategy. Based on an analysis of the groups we studied, it appears that the full development of a TAG strategy with related techniques and materials takes about five to seven years, falling roughly into two phases. In the first, the TAG tries out elements of its approach and analyzes this experience, which results in a mixed history of success and failure and also in a sense of how they would carry out their strategy ideally. The second period involves the refinement of this strategy, again through a process of assistance and analysis. This second period can also be a time when the TAG perfects methods for training other groups to become facilitators for their strategy. However, it is difficult to obtain funding for such a sustained period of development; development funds are often limited to a period of two or three years. Thus, just when a group is gaining some closure on the elements of an effective strategy, they are often forced by the needs of funding to move into a new field of acitivity. We are not suggesting that the role of funders is merely to turn a group loose for seven years and not ask any questions; our analysis in Chapter 8 suggests some appropriate expectations that a funder might have for TAG progress over time in the development of a coherent strategy.

9. Strains of Expansion and Geographical Dispersion. A major issue facing the leadership of a TAG, which is closely related to the TAG's effectiveness in fund-raising, is the

issue of size. Successful fund-raising often places two strains the TAG which we consistently found to create major organizational problems. The first is growth in size. A program staff with about seven members seems optimal in allowing decision-making, problem-solving, communication, and monitoring of work to occur through face-to-face discussions and without highly codified managerial procedures. If a TAG is funded to carry out a new project and must expand its staff to a total of 15-20 members, the management procedures needed to operate such an organization shift qualitatively; a whole new set of structures involving, for example, codification of personnel procedures and the development of a formal middle level management group needs to put in place. Characteristically, when a group receives funding that requires such expansion, the pressures of developing a new program, training new staff, and initiating a new style of internal organization place enormous strains on the TAG.

Expansion is often accompanied by a second stressful experience: the need to serve geographically dispersed sites. Typically, a TAG that has developed a strategy in one location with its staff involved in constant face-to-face communication is expected to serve several geographically separate sites, where it is necessary to hire local staff members who have only periodic contact with the "main office." Such geographical dispersion raises complex issues of staff socialization, communication, and monitoring of work that the TAG has not previously encountered.

2

Major stabilizing elements in dealing with both staff expansion and geographical dispersion of sites are the managerial skills of leadership in adapting the character of the organization to these new circumstances and the existence of a well-formulated assistance strategy and related materials that can be used to socialize new staff members.

10. Strategy Development and the Analysis-Assistance Cycle. One important indicator of the effectiveness of a TAG group is a movement over time toward the development of a technical assistance strategy that has increasing coherence and is stated concretely enough to have implications for action in specific situations. This development of a coherent strategy should be reflected in the beliefs and actions of the group as a whole, rather than in the theorizing of an isolated subgroup within the organization.

Absolutely essential to the process of strategy development is long-term direct involvement in attempts to assist specific school communities. Without such involvement, strategies for change will not take into account the day-to-day realities with which RTAs have to deal. This direct involvement in assistance efforts was a characteristic that distinguished the work of TAGs studied from those employing the research, development, and the dissemination change strategy, which has minimized the importance of such local contact.

However, immersion in the realities of local school communities is in itself insufficient to develop an effective technical assistance strategy. Given the immediate demands on the time of TAG staff members, effective TAGs must internalize regular mechanisms for the analysis of their assistance efforts, rather than carrying out such analysis on a sporadic basis. Evidence of a regular cycle of analysis and assistance is a strong predictor of TAG effectiveness. Groups as different as /I/D/E/A/ and the United Bronx Parents have developed such regularized internal mechanisms for analysis and, in differing ways, have moved toward the development of a strategy that has specific implications for assistance activities which is widely shared within their respective staffs. The key concepts in an effective strategy must be stated in terms that not only TAG staff but also RTAs can clearly understand; potentially useful concepts for assistance that are not communicated clearly and simply are regarded as useless theorizing by many RTAs.

As stated earlier in this chapter, those aspects of school community functioning are changed by TAG assistance efforts on which the TAG focuses its primary energy, in terms of developing highly detailed tactics for change and concentrating a high percentage of the facilitator's effort. Thus, one important characteristic of a TAG strategy for change is that those aspects of the school community system that the TAG most wants to change are the subject of highly focused strategy development.

11. The Social Systems Perspective/Effective Mapping. A key element in the development of a specific strategy might be

termed the deepening analysis of "the school community as a social system", although this analysis might be expressed in terminology that doesn't have the sociological overtones of the phrase "social system." The TAGs we studied have developed an increasingly sophisticated analysis of the nature of all major role groups and subsystems in the school community and its environment and are increasingly able to predict how their actions will affect each entity within this social system. Parent oriented strategies anticipate the reactions of principals (including possible evasive tactics) and pinpoint persons on the central staffs of school systems who have the power to make particular types of decisions. Teachers advisors consider the possible negative effects on the whole staff of a school if the advisors focus their help on young initially enthusiastic teachers. Another way of stating this point is that TAGs become increasingly sophisticated at "mapping" the social systems they are trying to change.

12. Materials Development. Despite the assumption of the groups under study that face-to-face assistance is the most effective way to bring about change, we consistently found that well-prepared written and audio-visual materials were extremely important tools in the assistance process. They serve to communicate key concepts of the TAG's approach in a clear and consistent way, to provide detailed information on topics of special interest at different points in the change process, and to aid the process

of orienting the TAG's own staff. Several TAGs with different charge strategies have successfully developed and employed sets of materials which have similar underlying characteristics. Four examples are the AFRAM stimulators, the REP training materials, the UBP handouts, and the IGE materials developed by /I/D/E/A/. The two common characteristics of these sets of materials are (1) they consist of a number of specific short handouts, booklets, filmstrips, etc. each of which can be used to address an immediate problem and (2) they are technically well-produced in a format consistently identified with the TAG.

13. The TAG's Relationship with the RTA on the Internal-External Dimension: The TAG may be an integral part of the school, school system, or community it assists or (at the other extreme) may be a professional organization assisting people several thousand miles away. We did not find that an internal or external relationship to the RTA was a clear predictor of effectiveness. Rather we found that TAGs were successful to the extent that they adapted to the relative strengths and weaknesses of their position in relation to the RTA on an internal-external dimension. For example, close integration with the community one assists can increase credibility by assuring ready access to the TAG when RTAs need help; on the other hand ready availability can place so many demands on the TAG that its efforts become unfocused. TAGs who are from outside the RTA school or community have the advantage, for example, of lacking past involvements that might

create enemies for them; on the other, they may be able to interact with the RTAs only in formal settings and at planned times and thus minimize their ability to respond to unexpected local problems and crises. Thus, we found that TAGs were most effective who made a realistic assessment of the implications of their position on the internal-external dimension and tried to maximize its strengths and minimize its weaknesses.

14. The Need for Focused Assistance. One possible model for providing assistance is for the TAG to raise funds to support a number of facilitators who are then "turned loose" to aid local schools and communities. This model has not worked well, and groups under study have developed an approach to providing assistance that emphasizes the importance of the collective effort to refine facilitator strategies, definite limits on the range of activities in which facilitators can become involved, and the development of a clear focus of facilitator effort on those aspects of school community functioning viewed as priorities for change. There are many reasons cited by TAGs for the rejection of an individualistic model of technical assistance, which are cited throughout the case studies and the comparison of groups. A major rationale for a more focused approach is that facilitators operating largely on their own instincts often are drawn into active roles with the RTA which build an unhealthy dependence on the facilitator. Another is that there are many lessons about the complex task of being an effective facilitator that are

embodied in collective experience of the TAG, and there is no reason for the TAG to allow its facilitators to repeat obviously ineffective techniques.

Given the need for focused and coordinated facilitator efforts, we found that TAG effectiveness was associated with various strategies for avoiding the isolation of facilitators, including the teaming of facilitators working on specific sites, regular supervision of facilitators by people who had previously been effective facilitators themselves, and the use of formats for regular de-briefing and analysis involving both facilitators and other TAG members. These methods bring multiple perspectives and accumulated TAG knowledge to bear on analyzing a local situation and help the facilitator maintain any limits of his role as defined by the TAG strategy.

15. Selecting Facilitators. Selecting staff to play the delicate role of facilitator is, of course, a critical decision. Effective facilitators tend to be those who accept the basic philosophical assumptions and the strategies of the TAG and have personal characteristics, training, and experience that both serve to build their credibility with RTAs and prepare the facilitator to carry out the specific tasks envisioned for their role by the TAG.

16. The Entry and Relationship-Building Process. The initial contact with RTAs is a critical step in the assistance process, since patterns set during this period are very difficult to change.

Thus, a careful plan for relationship-building steps is a critical determinant of TAG effectiveness. Overall, effective TAGs are highly conscious of developing an accurate "map" of the school community and its environment. They also decide carefully in what contexts and about what topics they hope to interact with TAGs. Three main tasks are accomplished by effective TAGs during the entry and relationship building process. First, they establish their credibility with RTAs, most often by hiring and training facilitators whom the RTAs identify with, by receiving endorsements from persons respected by the RTAs, by demonstrating that they can be of practical help, and by demonstrating that the TAG's approach is well thought out and comprehensive. Second, TAGs develop a set of mutual expectations with the RTA about what the TAG can provide in terms of assistance and what will be expected of the RTA as part of this process. TAGs clearly communicate what they stand for and where they can be of help, how much time the facilitator can be expected to spend on site, and what some key things are that the facilitators won't do. Ideally, the entry process yields some clear and mutually shared agreements that form the basis for subsequent TAG-RTA contact. Failure to reach such agreements can result in endless misunderstandings. Third, the TAG assesses realistically whether it can be helpful to the RTA, recognizing the point made earlier in this chapter that TAG effectiveness is fundamentally shaped and limited by the local context. For example, Creative Teaching Workshop does not feel its strategy can be effective without active support from the principal, and they won't become involved in schools where they do not have this support.

As part of the entry process or as an early step in assistance, all TAGs use some form of needs assessment, and they usually seek to involve RTAs in conducting the needs assessment process. Needs assessment strategies serve to provide useful information about the school community, build the commitment of the RTAs to take action on problems identified, and legitimate the problems identified in the eyes of decision-makers who must approve RTA and TAG plans for dealing with them.

17. Specific Techniques of Assistance. Once the assistance process is underway, we can identify five major types of techniques that are used to assist RTAs. These include (1) structured experiences (e.g. workshops to teach specific skills, conflict resolution exercises, or TAG-led discussions), (2) over-the-shoulder assistance (e.g. commentary on the effectiveness of group process in an RTA meeting, advice on strategy as part of a parent group planning session), (3) modeling (e.g. demonstrating a new reading technique through working with a student leading parents in a confrontation with a principal), (4) provision of materials (e.g. giving teachers interested in improving their staff meetings a booklet on group process), and (5) independent intervention (e.g. writing a proposal for a community group).

Each of the five major techniques has characteristic strengths and weaknesses. For example, structured experiences are a highly efficient way to impart information or teach skills if they are appropriate to the situation, but run the danger of being viewed as irrelevant to the needs of the people involved. Over-the-shoulder assistance can be closely integrated into immediate problem situations that RTAs confront, but may pull the facilitator into a leadership role that builds RTA dependency.

Given the complementary strengths and weaknesses of the various techniques, it appears that effective TAG assistance results from the thoughtful combination of the first four techniques (structured experiences, over-the-shoulder assistance, modeling, and provision of materials). Effective TAGs minimize independent intervention on behalf of the RTA because it tends to create a permanent dependency on the TAG and fails to build RTA knowledge and skills.

18. Mutual Adaptation between the TAG and Local Setting. We have mentioned previously the desirability of processes of mutual adaptation in several areas of TAG internal and external functioning, and the relationship between the TAG and the RTA is one such area. TAG strategies appear most effective when they provide a coherent underlying philosophy and guidelines for action in specific situations, but allow for flexibility to meet local conditions. Each of the strategies we studied has a number of buildt-in features to allow this flexibility to occur.

One major area in which adaptation is necessary is adaptation to school community culture. Thus, for example, AFRAM and UBP are strong in projecting certain principles, but insistent on letting specific priorities emerge from the concerns of local parents. /I/D/E/A/ specifies a social organization for the school and a process for individualizing instruction, but strongly maintains that the development of specific educational content and curriculum is a local matter. Common mechanisms for adaptation to local school community situations include (1) the hiring of persons whose background, training, or professional experience make them sensitive to such issues and (2) the use of regular procedures for reflecting on the assistance process, so that discontinuities between the TAG's plans and local culture can be identified before they cause major problems. Adjustment to local situations includes adjusting to contraints that make initial TAG plans unrealistic (such as the increasing difficulty of arranging released time for teacher workshops) and adjustment to the crises (budget crises, massive teacher transfers, tec.) that have become almost commonplace in many school systems.

19. Encouraging Independent Initiative. A central and constant concern for experienced TAGs is a desire to carry out their assistance in such a way that they encourage independent initiative on the part of the RTAs and discourage dependency. This concern is manifested in many ways in the assistance process. Effective TAGs, as mentioned earlier, attempt to build in clear

RTA responsibilities as part of their initial working agreement to provide assistance. And from the earliest contacts, facilitators emphasize that the TAG can only be of limited help--that the RTAs must do things for themselves. As mentioned earlier, effective TAGs minimize the extent to which they will do things for people. Further, they seek to design and carry out assistance efforts in such a way that there will be a constant transfer of skills and knowledge from TAG members to RTAs.

20. Changes that Last--Changes in Social Structure and Process. Each of the six TAGs studied has made concerted attempts to promote the longer term incorporation of the changes they have helped initiate. They seek to provide assistance in such a way that changes will persist after TAG services have been terminated, decreased to a minimum, or shifted to some other TAG. Each of the TAGs studied has experienced a pattern of successes and failures in this regard. Chapter 8 specifies a number of specific techniques that TAGs employ in the assistance process that appear to be associated with the persistence of the changes they attempt to initiate. Again, although TAGs do not necessarily use the terminology of social science, it seems that many of the techniques and priorities they adopt to promote lasting change can be analyzed in terms of the TAG's emphasis on changing the social structure and process of the school community and key aspects of its environment. We briefly summarize some of these techniques below.

First, as mentioned earlier, TAGs become increasingly more effective in mapping the school community and its environment, in predicting the effects of actions in one part of the system on other parts, and in proceeding based on this analysis. They are particularly anxious, for example, to build up a critical mass of teachers or parents who adopt their approach, and to avoid short-term actions that will, in the longer term, cut them off from larger constituencies they hope to win over. As mentioned earlier, they increasingly recognize the critical role of the school principal in supporting or blocking desired changes, and they develop strategies for dealing with him. If they use conflict tactics, they target them carefully, considering the goals they hope to achieve through a specific conflict and the likely reactions to confrontation in all parts of the school community.

Second, TAGs focus on central rather than peripherial social processes and structures in their change efforts. Rural Education Program, for example, attempts to change basic decision-making patterns within the school community; /I/D/E/A/ the social organization of the school and the instructional process; and AFRAM the patterns of contact between the school and the families it serves.

Third, TAGs attempt to develop supports for the changes they espouse in significant parts of the school community's environment. This support includes commitment or at least tolerance for the changes the TAG is promoting among the higher level administrators within the school district. It also includes pressing for local school district financial investment in the changes advocated by the TAG as early in the change process as possbile. Finally, it often includes the development of a permanent support network of facilitators who can aid local change after the services of the TAG are withdrawn; particularly impressive in this light are the accomplishments of I/D/E/A/ in enlisting Intermediate Agencies to act as facilitators for IGE and the initial work of Rural Education Program in building a similar support network.

Fourth, as mentioned earlier, the TAG adopts a consistent skill-building and knowledge-transfer orientation in its assistance efforts, so that specific skills and knowledge that support desired changes in social structures and process will be internalized by the RTA after the TAG withdraws. Key among those skills that TAGs seek to transfer are the skills of mapping and analyzing the environment that the effective TAG members constantly use themselves, a cycle of analysis and action similar to the one that the TAG employs in its own strategy development, and the methods for training that the TAG employs with RTAs (so that these methods can in turn be used by RTAs who have worked with the TAG to train other RTAs).

Fifth, the TAG emphasizes the incorporation among the RTAs of a new set of attitudes--an ideology, a picture of the world--that is supportive of the changes in social structure and process the TAG espouses. Several devices are commonly used to accomplish this purpose. In presenting themselves to RTAs, TAG members project a core set of beliefs about the ways that school communities should function, a gestalt that either alters the beliefs of receptive RTAs or systematizes their existing beliefs. Included in the initial projection of the TAG's ideology and subsequent assistance efforts is the attempt to develop among RTAs an internalized standard for action that is consistent with the TAG ideology (e.g. Are we really an IGE school? Am I really an open classroom teacher?). Another common TAG approach is to develop among RTAs the attitude that they are part of a larger social movement; that they are not alone. This feeling of being tied to similar efforts elsewhere is reinforced, for example, by the development of a League of Cooperating Schools in IGE and of the concept of "AFRAM family" among AFRAM sites. Finally TAG members seek to make RTAs aware on a cognitive level of the progress they are making in acquiring new skills, changing school community functioning, and reaching desired goals; this includes the effort to document RTA accomplishments in ways that clarify such progress.

21. Critical Activities as a Way of Analyzing TAG Functioning. As discussed in Chapter 8, we believe that a profitable way to analyze the characteristics of technical assistance summarized in this chapter is through the specification of an initial list of "critical activities" for TAG functioning. In the study of TAGs, critical activities are those activities carried out by a

TAG that are, based on our data, most important in establishing and maintaining the TAG as a viable organization and in enabling them to provide appropriate technical assistance services to RTAs. We believe the initial list of critical activities identified in Chapter 8 and the approach reflected in the development of this list will be helpful to those engaged in providing technical assistance, those studying technical educational change and assistance, and those developing policy related to educational change and technical assistance. These points are among those discussed in the next section.

Some Implications for Technical Assistance, Research, and Policy

In Chapter 1, we outlined our reasons for conducting this study. First, when we proposed the study, we saw technical assistance as a promising avenue for bringing about locally-based educational change consistent with current knowledge about the change process. Second, we saw TAG groups who had been in existence for a number of years as a repository of valuable information about the dynamics of educational change. Third, given the potential we saw in the efforts of many TAGs, we wished to make a contribution to strengthening their operation. It seems critical to keep in mind both of our first two reasons for conducting the study when one thinks about the study's implications. One implication that we believe is supported by the study is that the particular types of independent TAGs who participated in the study deserve continued support, since they are developing a promising approach to educational change. Equally as important, however, as continued support and analysis of such independent organizations is the need to think about the implications of the techniques employed by the TAGs studied for the huge army of "helpers" who are currently functioning as part of local school systems, intermediate education agencies, universities, state education agencies, social service agencies involved in education, and independent community groups. For example, in a school district with approximately 35 schools which Center for New Schools is analyzing in another study in progress, there is by a conservative estimate staff time of 50 person-years available annually in the central office to organize and carry out strategies for teacher staff development. Thus, the findings of the TAG study should also be thought about in terms of redirecting the work of large numbers of people already being paid to provide assistance to local school communities. The success of /I/D/E/A/ in recruiting Intermediate Agencies to act as facilitators for IGE is one indication of the potential of this approach.

Viewing the TAGs studied then both as (1) developing a promising approach to educational change that deserves additional support and analysis and (2) possessing experience and skills that can be employed by a wide variety of helping groups and individuals already charged with aiding local school communities, we discuss below some implications of the study for those engaged in technical assistance, for researchers, and for policy-makers.

Implications for Individuals and Groups Engaged in Providing Technical Assistance. We have completed case studies of individual TAGs with widely differing philosophies of educational change because we found almost no such case studies in existence. We see the individual case studies to be of particular use to persons engaging in or planning to engage in technical assistance activities employing similar approaches to the groups studied. For example, those involved in aiding schools through an open education or experiential education philosophy should be particularly interested in the case study of Creative Teaching Workshop. Those involved in aiding parents in the process of educational change should be particularly interested in the case studies of AFRAM and United Bronx Parents and aspects of studies of Rural Education Program and Center for New Schools. It has been our expereince in carrying out previous case studies that those engaged in activities highly similar to those analyzed in the case studies will be able to compare their own experience to that of the group studied and reflect profitably on specific similarities and differences. We feel that the case studies will be particularly valuable to groups and persons engaged in technical assistance because we analyzed both internal and external TAG activities and their interrelationship.

The second major value of this study for those engaged in providing technical assistance will come through comparing the nature of the technical assistance processes in which a given group is engaged with the critical activities and accompanying analysis in Chapter 8. We have organized our comparative analysis of TAGs around the analysis of critical activities that TAGs actually carry out because we feel that this is the most direct way to provide useful information for TAG staffs. We are not suggesting that the list of critical activities we have generated is a complete or final one--it is an initial list in need of refinement. However, because we have found common patterns of activity associated with effective TAG functioning in groups as diverse as the six TAGs under study, we have some confidence that this list will be a useful stimulus for other TAGs. We would suggest that TAGs compare their own patterns of activity with those identified by the study and see what contrasts emerge. If these contrasts are perceived by the TAG as pinpointing areas of needed improvement, then the analysis in Chapter 8 and the specific examples in the case studies that explicate particular issues should constitute a resource for improvement. We hope that in the future we can refine the critical activities list through studying other TAGs and receiving feedback from them and through gathering additional information relevant to the performance of specific critical activities.

Implications for Research. Our thoughts about the implications of the study for continued research on the assistance process and on technical assistance groups in many ways parallel our thinking about the value of the study for those engaged in technical assistance. Our research strategy was based on our assessment that there was a lack of concrete documentation of the functioning of TAGs and that we should therefore (1) carry out case studies touching on a fairly large number of topics concerning the internal and external functioning of TAGs and (2) analyze patterns of similarities and differences between groups in this same broad-ranging way. We were thus seeking to carry out a documentary and exploratory study, rather than to focus our work in a concentrated way on a few preformed hypotheses or on a few topics that began to seem particularly enticing as we carried out our data collection. Further, our decision to focus the comparative analysis in Chapter 8 around the concept of critical activities suggests a way of orienting research that maximizes its direct application to strengthening assistance efforts. If subsequent research follows up on some of the key issues we have uncovered and is framed in a way that maximizes the generation of directly useful knowledge for those involved in change efforts, we feel that this research approach will prove extremely useful to school improvement. Below, we list a few examples of the types of general issues our research has highlighted that should be followed up through subsequent research:

1. It is clear that the process of forming a TAG profoundly affects its future development. Our studies of these processes were retrospective. It would be extremely useful to carry out analyses of TAGs in the process of formation to understand in more detail the interplay of the various "ingredients" we have identified for TAG formation and the role of leadership in bringing them together.

2. We have identified some qualities of strong organizational leadership needed to sustain a TAG. A more detailed focus on how such leaders establish their legitimacy and plan long-term strategy would be particularly useful.

3. Regular processes for analyzing direct experience have proved critical to the development of coherent TAG strategies. Much more detailed information about the nature of such processes and the ways they are institutionalized within TAGs would be extremely useful.

4. The stresses of TAG expansion need to be understood more fully so that a refined analysis of the implications of setting up a TAG with a program staff of a given size can be anticipated.

5. The mapping of social systems that the TAG is trying to change is critical to TAG effectiveness. More detailed analysis needs to be done about the aspects of the environment that various TAGs attempt to map and the implications of failures to map parts of the environment.

6. It is apparent that wide-ranging resource networks are important to the development of TAGs. The systematic study of the nature and uses of such networks by various TAGs would be extremely helpful.

7. The entry and relationship-building process is critical to assistance. More detail is needed on the effects of strategies developed by TAGs for carrying out this process.

8. The planning of TAG actions in a way that increases independent action by the RTA and avoids dependence is a central concern of experienced TAGs. Processes of technical assistance should be analyzed in more detail to assess these processes from the standpoint of the independence/dependence issue.

9. The tension between the TAG's effort to develop a focused strategy and the facilitator's need to respond to local conditions is a subject of ongoing controversy in many TAGs. The dynamics of this issue needs further study.

The above examples should illustrate the potential we see in this study in laying the groundwork for subsequent research that will be useful in understanding and aiding the process of school change.

In addition to understanding issues of technical assistance process of the type described above, we recognize the importance of assessing the impact of technical assistance strategies and have described a rationale for such analysis that focuses on changes in school community social structure and process. The present study can merely suggest a direction for future assessment of impact that seems reasonable; it does not constitute an attempt to make such assessments, except with reference to the effects of specific practices in specific types of situations. As we stated earlier, we see the technical assistance approach as an infant technology in a formative stage and want to guard against its being killed by premature summative evaluation. At the same time, we recognize the need in the longer term for assessments of effectiveness and feel that this longer range need can most profitably be pursued by multi-method studies of the impact of assistance strategies on the social structure and process of the school community and key aspects of its environment.

A final research implication of our work is that it should be integrated with other recent attempts to carry out case studies of the educational change process that have employed the "grounded theory" approach. For example, conversations with Matthew Miles concerning his study of new school planning indicate that the process we have characterized as "analyzing the school community as a social system" or "effective mapping" is also critical in new school planning.[1] These and other correspondances between the results of recent case studies hold promise for a significant advance in the general understanding of educational change processes that can form the basis for more focused subsequent studies.

Implications for Policy-Makers. We recognize that a study at the level of detail presented in these volumes is of most immediate interest to practitioners or researchers immersed in such activities. We do, however, see some general conclusions that it seems appropriate to raise with those engaged in formulating policy related to educational change and technical assistance:

1. Lessons for Deploying Existing Resources. As emphasized earlier, there is a large group of persons in school districts, universities, intermediate school districts, state educational agencies, social service agencies interested in the schools, and independent community organizations who have the responsibility to help local school communities. These persons are already charged in various ways to provide technical assistance to local school communities or are considering the possibility of providing such assistance. Thus, the creation of an effective technical assistance network to support local school community improvement can be seen in large part as the redeployment of existing resources rather than as the support of enormous numbers of additional helpers.

2. Expanded Support of Technical Assistance as One Plausible Approach to Change. Those technical assistance groups with an effective past record of facilitating local school change (including the types of independent groups we have studied) are pursuing a strategy for school change that is consistent with some key principles of the change process that have become evident through recent research. The accomplishments of TAGs documented in this study further strengthen the argument for developing and analyzing the potential of technical assistance as one promising strategy for change. Thus, it would seem that (1) increased support of a variety of assistance strategies for periods sufficient to allow them to

develop their full potential and (2) continued study of their processes of assistance and of their impact is an important direction to pursue in a longer-range effort to improve educational practice. If existing TAGs who have made major strides toward developing change strategies are given such opportunities, there is a significant future benefit in terms of their becoming a resource to assist the large number of other existing helpers described above.

3. Importance of Developing Varied Strategies Responsive to Local Conditions and Values. The study highlights some key aspects of the process of educational change which were described earlier in this chapter. These include the key role of values in the change process, the strong influence of local settings on the course of change processes attempted by TAGs, and the lack of widespread ripple effects resulting from intervention in particular subsystems of the school community. The view of the change process that emerges from our analysis would seem to suggest that a variety of approaches to change need to be pursued--that public policy makers should emphasize the diversity of values and particular local conditions reflected in the American public education system, rather than pursuing the notion that a single scientifically-validated change approach will be developed at some future point.

4. Funding Patterns. We have argued elsewhere that current funding practices allow insufficient time frames for technical assistance strategies to be fully developed and often cut off or

divert strategy development at a time when it is beginning to reach its greatest potential for effectiveness and broader application. Thus, we would recommend that those supporting the development of TAG strategies expect to provide them with assistance for a period of five to seven years and that the critical activities related to TAG effectiveness **detailed** in Chapter 8 be used to develop reasonable criteria for assessing progress along the way.

5. Impact of Funding. We have extensively documented the impact of staff expansion and geographical dispersion of TAG efforts in Chapter 8 and in the case studies. This analysis should provide a basis for thinking about the implications of various plans for supporting or procuring TAG services as they will affect the TAG's internal functioning and external effectiveness. One possible implication for example, is that policy-makers may not want to create TAGs with a staff size that heightens the need for complex managerial arrangements. Another is that funders should be prepared to provide consultation to TAGs in dealing with the stresses that TAGs will experience in expanding to carry out new projects.

FOOTNOTES

1. M. Miles, *et al*. *Designing and Starting Innovative Schools: A Field Study in Social Architecture of Education*. NIE Prospectus No. 400109. 1974, in progress.

963

APPENDIX A. AGREEMENT WITH PARTICIPATING GROUPS*

---

*As indicated in Chapter 1, the CNS research team reached a standard written agreement with each participating technical assistance group that specified the responsibilities of CNS and of the TAG group during the course of the study.

Revised
1/13/75

AGREEMENT

Whereas, CENTER FOR NEW SCHOOLS (hereinafter called CNS), a not-for-profit, Illinois Corporation located in Chicago, Illinois, is carrying out a research study concerning the process of providing technical assistance to specific schools and communities; and ________

____

hereinafter called ____________________ wishes to participate in this research study;

THEREFORE, CNS and ____________ make the following agreement between them:

1. It is mutually agreed that the plan for the research study set forth in the document "Strategies of Five Technical Assistance Groups in Education" (hereinafter called the Work Plan) will be carried out with each group fulfilling its responsibilities as outlined. The Work Plan is attached hereto and made a part hereof. The initial working conference described on page 4 will be held from February 2-5, 1975 instead of in November, 1974.

2. It is further agreed that CNS will carry out the following specific responsibilities:

   a. CNS will pay __________ $1500 for completing its responsibilities for participation in the study, $1000 to be paid on the completion of the five weeks of site visitation to __________ described in the Work Plan and $500 on the completion of a written review by ______ of the Final draft of the Report prepared by CNS as described in the Work Plan.

   b. CNS will reimburse __________ for the travel of two persons from the ________ staff to two conferences in Chicago as described in the Work Plan. This reimbursement will be as follows: for each person attending, the round-trip coach-rate airfare from the staff member's

965

home city to Chicago and ground transportation associated with this air travel. CNS will also provide at these conferences room and board for all participants at a conference center in the Chicago area.

c. In connection with the effort to insure protection of human subjects in the study and to allow __________ viewpoints to be fully represented in the Final Report, CNS will:

   (1) Change names or details of fact to disguise the identity of any person described in the study in cases where either CNS or __________ feels that the description of this person might be harmful to him.

   (2) Change names or details of fact to disguise the identity of any specific project of __________ described in the study if such changes are requested by __________ in their reaction to the preliminary draft of the Final Report.

   (3) Change names or details to attempt to disguise the identity of __________ if such changes are requested by __________ in their reaction to the preliminary draft of the Final Report. It is recognized by both CNS and __________ that the distinctive nature of __________ may make it impossible to disguise the identity of __________ for readers who are knowledgable about technical assistance groups in education.

   (4) Provide __________ with the opportunity to prepare written reactions to the draft of the Final Report, which __________ can suggest either as elaborations of statements in the draft or as substitutions for statements in the draft. CNS will either accept a suggested substitution or include it as a reaction by __________ to be included in the Final Report. All elaborations by __________ will also be included in the Final Report.

d. CNS will carry out the following steps to feed back information to __________ concerning CNS' reactions to the work of __________:

   (1) Meet with the two members of __________ at the second conference described in the Work Plan to provide verbal elaboration on topics of interest to __________.

   (2) Provide __________ with five copies of the project's Final Report. __________ may reproduce all or part of the report in any way it wishes.

(3) Carry out a one or two-day seminar for __________ at their headquarters based on the findings of the Final Report and after the Final Report is completed if either (a) __________ will provide transportation expenses for CNS staff members involved or (b) CNS can carry out such a seminar when other CNS projects allow its staff members to travel to the headquarters city of __________.

3. It is further agreed that __________ will carry out the following specific responsibilities:

a. __________ will provide a Local Coordinator for the work of this project in relation to __________ who is mutually satisfactory to CNS and __________. __________ agrees that this person will devote up to 20 working days to this project between February 1, 1975 and December 31, 1975 to carry out the following activities: attending both conferences described in the Work Plan, setting up interviews and opportunities for observation for CNS research staff as described in the Work Plan, gathering information pertinent to the study, and preparing written reactions to the draft of the Final Report. The name of the Local Coordinator is __________.

b. __________ will provide a second person involved in __________ technical assistance projects to attend both project conferences.

c. __________ will allow its employees to be interviewed by CNS research staff in connection with the study's purposes and will allow CNS research staff to observe formal and informal activities of __________ related to the study's purposes.

d. __________ will allow CNS research staff to have access to files of material, reports, proposals, technical assistance materials, research notes, and other written and printed material belonging to __________ which is related to the study's purposes.

e. __________ will facilitate field visits by CNS research staff to clients of __________ who are chosen for study as described in the Work Plan.

f. __________ will provide written reactions to the draft of the Final Report prepared by CNS within one month of the date on which it is received by __________.

g. __________ agrees that CNS may use all information collected in this study for the preparation of a Final Report and for other CNS publications, provided that CNS follows procedures described herein for the protection of human subjects.

4. ________ has been selected for this study through a national search for qualified groups and approximately $15,000 in CNS staff time and other expenses will be invested in completing the case study of ________. In view of the irreparable harm to the study that would result from failure to complete the case study of ________, ________ agrees to continue in the study to its conclusion; provided that in no event shall ________ have any obligation to continue in the study after 4/30/76.

5. ________ acknowledges that the Final Report will indirectly or by implication involve some judgments about ________. P.2 c.(4) provides ________ with an opportunity to react to any of the Final Report's conclusions. ________ hereby waives any other rights it might have against CNS or any of its personnel as a result of any such judgments or conclusions.

6. It is mutually agreed that this instrument contains the entire agreement between the two parties. This contract may not be enlarged, modified, or altered except in writing signed by the parties and endorsed hereon.

Signature of authorized individual, Title

Center for New Schools

Date

Signature of authorized individual, Title

Date

939

APPENDIX B. SOME FORMS EMPLOYED IN DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS*

*This appendix contains the two major data collection and analysis forms employed in the study--tha Field Data Form and the Proposition Analysis Form. As explained in Chapter 1, the Field Data Form was used to record a narrative description of events we observed or interviews we conducted, with a column for an objective narrative and a column for comments. The Proposition Analysis Form was employed in the analysis phase of the study to record generalizations or patterns that we saw in the activities of a particular group (e.g. AFRAM emphasized that it works with families, not just parents, and tries to involve children as an integral part of the family in AFRAM-sponsored events). The form was used to state the proposition and then to cite supporting and conflicting evidence in the Field Data Forms.

PAGE INDEX

TAG GROUP

SPECIFIC PROJECT OR SITE

EVENT

DATE

OBSERVER

PLACE

OTHER IDENTIFYING COMMENT

PERSONS INVOLVED

Code	Chronology of Events	Observer Comments	Code

Code	Chronology of Events	Observer Comments	Code

TAG/SR/DATE____________________

PROPOSITION NUMBER________________

TAG ANALYSIS SHEET

1. PROPOSITION:

RELATED QUESTION NUMBERS:

2. NATURE OF SUPPORTING DATA:

3. INVENTORY OF SUPPORTING DATA BITS:

4. NATURE OF CONFLICTING DATA:

5. LIST OF CONFLICTING DATA BITS:

6. POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE PROPOSITIONS:

7. FURTHER DATA THAT IS NEEDED TO RESOLVE CHOICE BETWEEN FIRST PROPOSITION AND ALTERNATIVE PROPOSITIONS:

8. REACTION OF SECOND PERSON:

APPENDIX C. STRATEGY AND SPECIFIC QUESTIONS FOR SINGLE SITE ANALYSIS*

*As indicated in Chapter 1, the research team reviewed the Field Data Forms to identify key questions for data analysis and write-up of results. This appendix contains a memorandum describing the overall approach fo the study at that point and the specific questions that we had generated.

SOME KEY CONCEPTS UNIFYING THE SET OF QUESTIONS WE ARE ASKING IN THE TAG STUDY*

We are studying the process of long-term face-to-face technical assistance to specific school communities as it is provided by one or more technical assistance organizations (TAGs). Several of these terms require further definition. Long-term for our purposes means regular face-to-face assistance carried out for one year or more. Face-to-face assistance does not rule out the use of materials, but entails the requirement that members of the TAG involved interact on a regular basis face-to-face with members of the school community or parts of it.

The school community is defined as the set of teachers, administrators, other staff, parents, students, and other citizens involved in or affected by a particular public school. A TAG may be working with one or more of these role groups in providing assistance. The school communities may be provided assistance as isolated entities or they may be a part of a school community cluster which is receiving assistance. The school community cluster may be, for example, a set of school communities forming a neighborhood or town, a set of school communities whose schools feed into one another, or a set of school communities whose schools form an administrative subdistrict within a school system or comprise the entire school system. Because each TAG works with a different set of role groups in the school community, we have had to create a phrase which covers them all and does not contain any implications about the nature of their relationship with the TAG. This phrase is "receiver of technical assistance" (RTA).

By specifying that we are interested in assistance provided by technical assistance groups (TAGs), we are limiting our focus to corporate organizations existing at least partly for the purpose of providing the type of assistance described above. (This rules out, for example, informal assistance networks or individuals who provide assistance without a TAG base.)

The nature of our interest in studying technical assistance provided by such organizations is captured in three broad questions:

1. How is the TAG organized internally to provide technical assistance?
2. Through what process does the TAG provide assistance?
3. Under what circumstances is the TAG effective or ineffective in achieving its goals in providing assistance?

---

* This paper is designed to accompany the TAG Study Questions entitled Outline of TAG Single Site Analysis -- Key Questions.

These three broad questions have been refined as we have collected information, and we have developed a large number of subquestions related to them. (See listing entitled Outline of TAG Single Site Analysis -- Key Questions.) Below we present the framework of concepts into which these subquestions fit. Subquestion numbers from the the Outline of TAG Single Site Analysis are indicated in parentheses.

TAG Internal Functioning

Focusing first on the TAG, the organization carries out a variety of functions that are pertinent to its capability to provide technical assistance. Broadly, these can be divided into support functions and direct assistance functions. The total set of functions that we have identified that are most pertinent to the TAG's ability to provide assistance are as follows:

1. Development of TAG philosophies, strategies, and major program directions (Questions 1-6).
2. Definition of roles, subsysystems, and tasks. Allocation of human and other resources to activities/projects (Questions 7-15).
3. Staff selection, promotion, demotion, and termination (Questions 16-23).
4. Internal social control, monitoring, rewards, and sanctions (Questions 24-29).
5. Staff training, development and socialization (Questions 30-35).
6. Decision making (Questions 36-40).
7. Fund and resource maintenance (Questions 41-46).
8. Publicizing the organization, its approach, and the services it has available (Questions 47-51).
9. Providing leadership (emphasis on the affective aspect) to the organization (Questions 52-57).
10. Development of materials and techniques for technical assistance work and for other purposes (Questions 58-62).
11. Communications among those carrying out these functions (Questions 63-67).
12. Carrying out applied research, evaluation, formal analysis and/or informal analysis of the TAG's own work (Questions 68-72).

13. Understanding and analyzing theory, research, and experience of others for possible improvement of TAG's own approach (Questions 73-77).

14. Resolving internal conflicts (Questions 78-82).

15. Solving problems generated internally or externally that do not involve conflict primarily (Questions 83-87).

16. Day to day administrative procedures, such as personnel procedures, clerical work flow, equipment maintenance, etc. (Questions 88-92).

17. Maintenance of individual and interpersonal emotional health among TAG members (Questions 93-97).

18. Financial accounting and management (Questions 98-102).

19. Planning and management of physical space (Questions 103-108).

20. Clerical work (Questions 109-114).

21. Non-TAG functions (e.g. the operation of a day care center, the maintenance of a clipping service). Many of our TAGs are doing things that are not educational technical assistance but may have some effects on TAG work (Questions 115-121).

22. Direct assistance to school communities (Questions 192-202).

The first 21 functions fall into the support function grouping. Function 22 is the direct assistance function. Some TAGs carry out the support functions only and provide training and other support to persons in other organizations who carry out the direct assistance function. Other TAGs carry out both the support functions and the direct assistance function. For any given TAG, we study the whole chain leading from support to direct assistance.

With respect to the functions listed, several points should be made. First, they are not an exhaustive list of all functions within the TAG. They are merely those we consider most relevant to the group's capacity to provide assistance. Second, functions overlap in many instances. We find the distinctions we have made to be strategically useful in understanding technical assistance. And third, groups, of course, vary in the way they carry out specific functions and the importance of particular functions in their overall operation.

Concerning each function, we have asked five general questions:

1. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function?
2. What roles are involved in carrying out this function?
3. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function?
4. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today?
5. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function?

In addition, we have asked specific questions about particular functions or made notes that certain topics should be covered in answering the general questions. Because of the crucial role of the direct assistance function, we have dealt with it in a separate section, TAG/RTA Interaction.

There are several other areas of questioning about the TAG itself that we have established as useful in moving toward our major study objectives. They are as follows:

1. An inventory of the TAG's human and other resources, including an organizational chart, a description of the characteristics of persons carrying out various TAG activities, an inventory of major non-human resources, and an analysis of the allocation of money to various types of TAG functions (Questions 122-142).
2. A chronology of major events in the development of the TAG (Questions 143-148).
3. An inventory of all long-term technical assistance projects undertaken by the TAG and the patterns evident in this inventory (Questions 149-161).
4. Important aspects of the TAG's subculture such as style and tempo of the organization, staff morale, and key concepts and terms in the TAG's approach (Questions 162-165).
5. Key aspects of the TAG's environment (described in greater detail below) (Questions 166-171).
6. A statement concerning the TAG's philosophy about some key issues pertinent to providing technical assistance, including the relation of thought and analysis to action, educational philosophy, conflict and cooperation, interpersonal relations, authority and democracy, work style and commitment, and social change.

The TAG is seen as operating in an environment which has two types of entities within it. The first type of entity is directly involved in the linkages by which the group provides technical assistance to school communities. This type includes, in some cases, other entities that the group feels it is important to work with to support technical assistance to school communities (such as intermediate or state agencies). The major focus of our work in this area is on those entities which are links leading directly to assistance to school communities. These entities are dealt with under the section on TAG/RTA Interaction.

The second major aspect of the TAG's environment that we looked at is the set of entities not directly involved in their technical assistance efforts. The following entities were included: consultants, a larger organization of which the TAG is a part, funders, other TAGs not directly involved in the links that lead to the TAG's own technical assistance, and other important entities. For all of them, we asked how the nature of the TAG's relationship with them has implications for its capabilities in providing technical assistance (see Questions 166-171).

TAG/RTA Interaction

We now describe in much greater detail how we intend to analyze the TAG's approach to providing technical assistance. In viewing this issue, we at once become involved with the issue of ideal plans versus realities, both in general and in specific assistance efforts. To untangle these issues, we are interested in our analysis in the following levels of the ideal and the reality of the TAG's work:

1. Its most recent overall conceptualization of the goals and methods of technical assistance.
2. Its conceptualization of the goals and methods of technical assistance in two specific projects.
3. The realities of technical assistance practice in these two projects.
4. The generalized pattern of realities of technical assistance drawn from looking at these two projects and others.

As this paper unfolds, the reader will see how each one of these levels is woven into our analysis scheme.

First of all, we are interested in describing the overall ideal conception of the technical assistance approach in its most recent form. In doing so, we will deal with the following major topics:

1. Explicitness and degree of articulation of the technical assistance philosophy, goals, and strategy for educational change at this point (Question 172).

2. What are the philosophical and intellectual antecedents of the TAG's approach (Question 173)?

3. What is the TAG's idealized picture of the TAG's support functions (Question 188)?

4. What is the TAG's idealized picture of the TAG's direct assistance function (Question 185)?

*5. What is the set of idealized goals for the impact of its work on the school community (Questions 183 and 184)?

*6. What is the idealized plan for the technical assistance process as it affects the school community (Question 185)?

7. What are the idealized process and goals for work closely related to assistance to the school community (such as state agencies) (Question 189)?

8. What is the push or trend of the TAG's work and what is the philosophical underpinning of this trend? What role as an organization would it like to play in the long run (Question 190)?

Items 5 and 6 above (noted with an asterisk) require much more detailed explanation, using a set of concepts that will be employed in a number of ways in the rest of the analysis. With respect to the idealized goals and process of technical assistance, we ask the following:

1. Describe what roles, groups, subgroups, subsystems, skills, norms, and/or functions the TAG is attempting to change and describe as precisely as possible how they would like to see them different (Question 183).

2. Indicate the priorities among these goals for change and the sequencing of envisioned changes. What leads to what (Question 184)?

3. Indicate what process the TAG facilitator(s) plan to go through to achieve these changes, reviewing them point by point. For each part of the process specify what the facilitator is trying to change (the above analysis of goals), what types of actions the facilitator takes, and what are some of the major problems or difficulties that the facilitator expects to encounter. The description of the types of actions the facilitator takes should indicate the content or topic of his action and the types of methods or formats used in carrying it out (Question 185).

4. Indicate overall how the facilitator or direct assistance function is intended to be organized in terms of roles, relationships to the support functions, and relationships to school communities (Question 186).

5. Indicate how the technical assistance approach would vary in terms of different states of the school community system, according to the ideal (Question 187).

After answering these five questions concerning the overall technical assistance plan of the TAG, we move to the analysis of two specific projects, which we will refer to as Project A and Project B. In looking at Project A, we will first answer several questions about how the direct assistance function is supposed to be organized for this project (Questions 192-202) and then questions about the ideal plan for work with the RTA s in this project (Questions 203-208). If the idealized plan for this specific project is identical or close to the overall technical assistance plan of the TAG described above, then we need only indicate those areas in which the specific plan for this project differs from the TAG's general technical assistance plan. If the two plans differ significantly, we must expend greater effort on analyzing the plans for this specific project.

Moving from the ideal planned approach in Project A to the actual process of Project A, we seek to answer a series of questions about the actual process of technical assistance. First, we describe the set of key events in the chronology of the project, including for each event a brief narrative of what happened, persons/roles involved, date or dates, outcome, and key issues raised (Questions 209-213).

Second, we move to major characteristics of the setting (including the larger community, immediate community, school, and school system) that might have an important effect on the TAG's work. We don't have time to do an exhaustive analysis of the setting so that we limit ourselves to the following questions and with a constant focus on factors that influence the TAG's technical assistance effort (Questions 214-247).

Basic specified information about the larger community.

Basic specified information about the school, or other organizational entity receiving technical assistance.

Basic specified information about the immediate community the school serves.

Basic specified information about the school system.

What types of important power relationships or power groups in the larger community affect the TAG's work? How?

What types of important subgroups within the larger community affect the TAG's work? How?

What important historical events within the larger community affect the TAG's work?

What types of important power relationships or power groups in the school affect the TAG's work? How?

What types of important subgroups within the school affect the TAG's work? How?

What important historical events within the school affect the TAG's work? How?

What important power relationships or power groups in the immediate community the school serves affect the TAG's work? How?

What types of important subgroups within the immediate community the school serves affect the TAG's work? How?

What important historical events within the immediate community the school serves affect the TAG's work? How?

What important power relationships or power groups within the school system affect the TAG's work? How?

What important subgroups within the school system affect the TAG's work? How?

What important historical events within the school system affect the TAG's work? How?

What other characteristics of the setting affect the TAG's work? How?

Third, we describe the social organization of the TAG's direct assistance function with respect to this particular project and including its interfaces with the support functions of the TAG. As with other functions, questions here center on subsystems, roles, techniques, etc. However, we include a number of questions specific to the direct assistance function since we want to go into more detail (Questions 248-270).

Fourth, the TAG is seen as carrying out a series of interchanges with its RTAs around a set of themes that we have drawn from the field notes. There are certain themes on which you are to answer a set of questions for every TAG project, called required themes. There is another set of themes that may or may not be related to this specific project that are called optional themes. Develop propositions about them if you think they have relevance to this specific project. Note that themes have to do with the specific character of the interchanges between TAG and RTA. These interchanges can usually be described in terms of the roles and subsystems of the TAG direct assistance function, the method of interchange, the content of interchange, and the roles and subsystems of the RTA involved (Questions 271-350).

Now you have completed an analysis of the process of TAG/RTA interaction for Project A both in its ideal and realistic aspects. Next, you should complete the same analysis for Project B, noting those things that are similar or identical to Project A and those that are different.

Finally, you will complete a general analysis of these same characteristics of the TAG-RTA interface, drawing on patterns you discern in the two projects on which you focused specifically and also on other information that you have collected about the TAG. There will be a few additional questions introduced at this point that refer to general patterns of TAG-RTA interaction.

TAG Effectiveness

The third area in which we are focusing is TAG effectiveness. Notice that we are not seeking to make blanket judgments about effectiveness or ineffectivenesss, but rather to (1) judge patterns of effectiveness at a "micro" level in many instances and (2) to indicate the types of contexts in which certain TAG activities tend to be more or less successful. There are really only four major questions to answer about effectiveness. These should be answered with respect to Project A, Project B, and the TAG's work as a whole. They are as follows:

1. What are the patterns of observation concerning the effectiveness, success, and failures of the TAG's assistance work as viewed by TAG support staff, TAG field staff, various important subgroups of RTA (Question 352)?

2. What are the successes and failures of the TAG's work in terms of (a) originally planned objectives, (b) planned objectives that developed as the project was in process, and (c) unplanned or unintended outcomes? Criteria for success and failure are changes in organizational function, subsystems, subgroups, norms, and skills (Question 353).

3. Trace patterns of causal relationship leading to various successes and failures (Question 354).

4. In general, what can be said about the types of situations in which the TAG's approach is more or less successful (Question 355)?

DM/cd
1/76

OUTLINE OF TAG SINGLE SITE ANALYSIS (10/75)

I. INTERNAL FUNCTIONING - How is the TAG organized internally to provide technical assistance?

  A. Support Functions (21)

  B. Inventory of Human and Non-Human Resources

  C. Chronology of Major Events in the TAG's Development

  D. Inventory of Technical Assistance Projects (Efforts)

  E. Aspects of Subculture

  F. Key Aspects of TAG Environment

  G. Overall Philosophy or Plan for Technical Assistance

II. TAG/RTA INTERACTION - Through what process does the TAG provide assistance?

  A. For Project/Effort 'A' --

    1. Philosophy and plan for assistance

    2. Chronology of events

    3. Setting characteristics

    4. Organization of direct assistance function (reality)

    5. Nature of interchanges

  B. For Project/Effort 'B' (repeat 1.-5. above)

  C. For TAG's Overall Functioning (repeat 1. -5. above)

III. TAG EFFECTIVENESS - Under what circumstances is the TAG effective or ineffective in achieving its goals in providing assistance?

  A. For Project/Effort 'A' --

    1. Patterns of observations concerning successes and failures

    2. Inventory of successes and failures

    3. Patterns of causal relationships

  B. For Project /Effort 'B' (repeat 1.-3. above)

  C. For TAG Overall (repeat 1.-3. above)

OUTLINE OF TAG SINGLE SITE ANALYSIS -- key questions (10/15)

I. HOW IS THE TAG ORGANIZED INTERNALLY TO PROVIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE? (1)

A. Support Functions (direct assistance functions are dealt with under Section II)

1. Development of TAG philosophies, strategies, and major program directions.

a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (2)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (3)

c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (4)

d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (5)

e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (6)

2. Definition of roles, subsystems, and tasks. Allocation of human and other resources to activities/projects.

a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (7)

(I) How is the problem of work overload dealt with? (8)

(II) What are the characteristic patterns of work group organization (e.g. individuals, teams, etc.)? (9)

(III) How well defined are roles? (10)

(IV) How does the group attempt to deal with the problem of over-specialization and fragmentation, including support vs. field functions? (11)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (12)

c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (13)

d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (14)

e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (15)

I. A. 3. Staff selection, promotion, demotion, and termination.

- a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (16)
  - (I) What skills, abilities, and backgrounds are sought for people to work in the TAG? (17)
  - (II) What are characteristic patterns of promotion? (18)
  - (III) What are grounds for termination? (19)
- b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (20)
- c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (21)
- d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (22)
- e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (23)

4. Internal social control, monitoring, rewards, and sanctions.**

- a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (24)
  - (I) What are the major types of rewards and sanctions operating in the organization? (25)
- b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (26)
- c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (27)
- d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (28)
- e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (29)

**Note: includes mechanisms by which policies and decisions are followed up and enforced. A major topic of interest is the effort to have persons involved in direct assistance act consistent with TAG philosophy.

Some way must be found to keep people within the roles and role relationships necessary for the organization to function, internally and externally.

I. A. 5. Staff training, development, and socialization.**

a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (30)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (31)

c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (32)

d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (33)

e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (34)

(I) How successful is the TAG in carrying out the socialization of staff concerning the important norms of the TAG? (35)

6. Decision making.***

a. What subsystem(s) and/ or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (36)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (37)

c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (38)

d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (39)

e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (40)

*** Somehow the TAG has to take positions and make decisions as an organization rather than as an aggregate of individuals. This involves some sort of leadership/administrative/decision making setup.

Note: distinguish clearly between different types of decisions, which might entail quite different mechanisms.

** Somehow, people who are not working in the framework of a given TAG must be brought to the point where they are. Part of this involves some sort of staff socialization/training. Also, staff must be given continuing formal or informal opportunities to develop skills.

Note: consider both formal and informal mechanisms. The staff development function may be quite distinct from the others.

I. A. 7. Fund and resource maintenance.**

a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (41)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (42)

c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (43)

d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (44)

e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (45)

(I) How does the availability of funds shape the direction of the TAG's work? (46)

8. Publicizing the organization, its approach, and the services it has available.

a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroups are involved in carrying out this function? (47)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (48)

c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (49)

d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (50)

e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (51)

** To survive and work, a TAG needs funds and other resources. A major function consists of doing things to get and maintain those.

I. A. 9. Providing leadership (emphasis on the affective aspect) to the organization.**

a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (52)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (53)

c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (54)

d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (55)

e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (56)

(I) What is the leadership "style" of the organization? (57)

10. Development of materials and techniques for t.a. work and for other purposes (e.g. written reports for funders).

a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (58)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (59)

c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (60)

d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (61)

e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (62)

** Note: intended here are such things as inspiring and motivating people as opposed to leadership functions covered elsewhere, such as setting organizational goals.

A. 11. Communications among those carrying out these functions.**

a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (63)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (64)

c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (65)

d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (66)

e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (67)

12. Carrying out applied research, evaluation, formal analysis and/or informal analysis of the TAG's own work.

a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (68)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (69)

c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (70)

d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (71)

e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (72)

** There has to be a system which is a servo-system for all the above but which performs the function of getting messages across within the TAG and between the TAG and the outside world.

Note: some special emphasis on communication between support functions and assistance functions.

I. A. 13. Understanding and analyzing theory, research and experience of others for possible improvement of TAG's own approach.

- a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (73)
- b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (74)
- c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (75)
- d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (76)
- e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (77)

14. Resolving internal conflicts.**

- a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (78)
- b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (79)
- c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (80)
- d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (81)
- e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (82)

** In any complex organization, there is a problem of conflict between subgroups and individuals. TAG has to have some formal or informal way of resolving conflicts.

I. A. 15. Solving problems generated internally or externally that do not involve conflict primarily.

a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (83)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (84)

c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (85)

d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (86)

e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (87)

16. Day to day administrative procedures, such as personnel procedures, clerical work flow, equipment maintenance, etc.

a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (88)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (89)

c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (90)

d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (91)

e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (92)

I. A. 17. Maintenance of individual and interpersonal emotional health among TAG members.**

a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (93)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (94)

c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (95)

d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (96)

e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (97)

I. A. 18. Financial accounting and management.

a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (98)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (99)

c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying. out this function? (100)

d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (101)

e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (102)

**Note: Consider both formal and informal mechanisms.

I. A. 21. Non-TAG functions. Many of our TAG groups are doing things that are not educational technical assistance but may have some effects on TAG work.

a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function ? (115)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (116)

c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (117)

d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (118)

(I) Describe briefly the non-TAG functions carried out. (119)

e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (120)

(I) Analyze the influence of particular non-TAG functions on TAG functions, if this influence seems significant. (121)

I. A. 19. Planning and management of physical space.

a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (103)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (104)

c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (105)

d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (106)

(I) What is the nature of thinking and planning that has gone into the TAG's development of its physical space in light of the functions it performs? (107)

e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (108)

I. A. 20. Clerical work.**

a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out this function? (109)

(I) Are there instances in which clerical staff has been productively involved in non-clerical aspects of the TAG's functioning? (110)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out this function? (111)

c. What plans, operations, and techniques are used in carrying out this function? (112)

d. What has happened in the past to make this particular function what it is today (key influences)? (113)

e. What problems and issues have arisen in carrying out this function? (114)

**Note: TAG work involves paperwork, correspondence, etc. This must be taken care of by a subsystem and/or subgroup of the TAG.

I. B. Inventory of Human and Non-human Resources

Includes organizational hierarchy.

1. Prepare a current organizational chart of the TAG's staff. Include fieldwork , management, clerical, research /evaluation, planning/development/strategy, consultant, volunteer, communications/media, and other components. (122)

2. In the above nine categories, indicate the following distributions precisely. If a person works in more than one area, count them in both when figuring distributions:

   a. Number of full-time employees (or equivalent thereof) (123)
   b. Salary (124)
   c. Years in the organization (125)
   d. Sex (126)
   e. Age (127)
   f. Ethnic, linguistic, and cultural composition (128)
   g. Educational level (129)
   h. Work experience (130)
   i. Disciplinary affiliations, if any (131)
   j. Physical home-base (132)
   k. Marital status (133)

3. What diversity of individual skills, styles, and values do individual staff bring to the TAG? (134)

4. What types of previous life experiences cause the TAG's staff members to become predisposed to and involved in TAG work? (135)

5. Does the TAG use interns or volunteers? (136)

6. For the past three years, how does the annual budget of the TAG break down in the following categories:

   a. Salaries and benefits? (137)
   b. Direct costs? (138)
   c. Overhead? (139)

   Answer these three questions for each of the nine role/function categories.

7. What were the sources of TAG funds for the past three years? (140)

8. What is the nature of major non-human resources of the TAG other than standard office space and equipment? (141)

9. What is the nature of the geographical location of the TAG and the significance in terms of its work? (142)

I. C. Chronology of Major Events in the TAG's Development

1. What is the chronology of important events in the development of the TAG overall? (143)

2. For each event, specify the following:

   a. Brief narrative of what happened. (144)
   b. Persons/roles involved. (145)
   c. Date or dates. (146)
   d. Outcome. (147)
   e. Key issues raised. (148)

D. Inventory of Technical Assistance Projects (Efforts)

1. What is the total inventory of face-to-face assistance projects that have lasted or are projected to last for at least one year? (149)

2. For each project specify the following:

   a. Name of project. (150)
   b. RTA or RTA's. Describe in terms of:
      (I) Type of RTA. (151)
      (II) Race or ethnic group. (152)
      (III) Urban or rural. (153)
      (IV) Economic level. (154)
      (V) Other important information. (155)
   c. How was the project initiated? (156)
   d. What was the purpose of the project, including your objectives and those of the RTA? (157)
   e. What specific activities have you engaged in in helping the RTA? (158)
   f. What is the approximate commitment of staff time and other resources to this project? (159)
   g. What major problems have you encountered in carrying out the project? (Limit to three or four.) (160)

3. Summarize trends that are apparent in looking at the answer to each subquestion above. (161)

E. Aspects of Subculture

1. What are the outstanding features of the style, tempo, atmosphere or emotional tone of the organization? (162)

2. To what extent are staff members personal, social, and professional lives interrelated? (163)

3. How has the morale of staff varied over time? (164)

4. What are some key terms or concepts involved in the TAG's approach? (165)

I. F. Key Aspects of TAG Environment

1. Environmental entities involved in technical assistance links to schools and communities (dealt with under Section II)

2. Environmental entities not directly involved in technical assistance

   What is the nature of the TAG's relationship with these aspects of its environment that has important implications for its capabilities in providing technical assistance? (166)

   a. Consultants? (167)
   b. A larger organization of which it is a part? (168)
   c. Funders? (169)
   d. Other TAGs? (170)
   e. Other important entities? (171)

G. Overall Philosophy or Plan for Technical Assistance

1. What degree of explicitness and articulation is there of the philosophy, goals, and techniques for educational change? (172)

2. What are the philosophical and intellectual antecedents of the group? (173)

3. What is the group's philosophy about the following issues, noting both dominant ideas and any significant alternative viewpoints? (174)
   (Relate this to earlier questions about the group's function of "development of TAG philosophy, strategy, and major program directions." If there is no dominant philosophy or it is not highly developed make this clear.)

   a. Philosophy about the relation of analysis, planning, and evaluation to direct assistance efforts? (175)
   b. Philosophy about direct underlying goals and desirable types of practices in education? (176)
   c. Philosophy about the relationship of authority to democratic participation? (177)
   d. Philosophy toward broader social change in the society? (178)
   e. Philosophy about what constitutes desirable characteristics of interpersonal relationships? (179)
   f. Philosophy about conflict and cooperation as strategies for achieving educational change? (180)
   g. What is the TAG's philosophy about internal workstyle and commitment? (181)

I. G, 4. What are the TAG's idealized objectives for the impact of its work on the school community and planned methods for reaching those goals? (182)

- a. Describe what roles, groups, subgroups, subsystems, skills, and/or functions the TAG is attempting to change and how they would like to see them different. (183)
- b. Indicate what the priorities among these goals for change are and the sequencing of envisioned changes. What leads to what? (184)
- c. Indicate what process the TAG facilitator(s) plan to go through to achieve these changes reviewing them point by point. For each part of the process, specify what the facilitator is trying to change (the above analysis of goals), what types of actions the facilitator is supposed to take, and what are some of the major problems or difficulties the facilitator expects to encounter. The description of the types of actions the facilitator takes should indicate the content or topic of his action and the types of methods or formats used in carrying it out. (185)
- d. Indicate overall how the facilitator or direct assistance function is intended to be organized in terms of roles, relationships to clients, and relationships to support functions. (186)
- e. Indicate how the technical assistance approach would vary in terms of different states of the school community system, according to the ideal. (187)

5. What is the TAG's idealized picture of the TAG's support functions? (188)

6. What are the idealized goals and process for work closely related to assistance to the school community (such as state agencies)? (189)

7. What is the push or trend of the TAG's work and what is the philosophical underpinning of this trend? What role would the organization like to play in the long run? (190)

II. THROUGH WHAT PROCESS DOES THE TAG PROVIDE ASSISTANCE? (191)

A. For Project/Effort 'A'

1. Philosophy and plan for assistance

   a. Direct assistance function, ideal (with respect to the TAG's ideal)

      (I) What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out the facilitator function? (192)
      (II) What role(s) are involved in carrying out the facilitator function? (193)
         (A) What is the scope of the facilitator's responsibilities (i.e. how many school communities)? (194)
         (B) What are the facilitator's duties? (195)
         (C) What is the position of the facilitator with respect to the school community (an outsider, a former member, a present member)? (196)
      (III) What is the nature of interfaces with support functions and with other facilitators, including communication, decision-making, and the extent to which the strategy is lab-developed vs. field-developed? (197)
      (IV) What types of persons with what skills and experiences are sought out by the TAG to become facilitators? (198)
      (V) How are persons involved in direct assistance trained? (199)
      (VI) By what criteria would a facilitator be judged effective or ineffective? (200)
      (VII) What skills are needed to be an effective facilitator? (201)
      (VIII) What problems or issues will arise in carrying out this function? (202)

   b. Plan for assistance (in a specific project/effort)

      What are the TAG's idealized objectives for impact of its work on the school community and planned methods for reaching those goals? -- (203)
      (I) Describe what roles, groups, subgroups, subsystems, skills, and/or functions the TAG is attempting to change and how they would like to see them different. Include major shifts, if any, in the group's plan. (204)
      (II) Indicate what priorities among the goals for change are and the sequencing of envisioned changes. What leads to what? Include major shifts in the group's plans. (205)
      (III) Indicate what process the TAG facilitator(s) plan to go through to achieve these changes reviewing them point by point. For each part of the process, specify what the facilitator is trying to change (the above analysis of goals), what types of actions the facilitator is supposed to take, and what are some of the major problems or difficulties the facilitator expects to encounter. The descriptions of actions the facilitator takes should indicate the content or topic of his action and the types of methods or formats used in carrying it out. (206)

II. A. 1. b. (IV) Indicate overall how the facilitator or direct assistance function is intended to be organized in terms of roles, relationships to support functions, and relationships to clients. (207)

(V) Indicate how the technical assistance approach is planned in advance to be modified in terms of the characteristics of this particular school community. (208)

2. Chronology of events (project/effort history)

For each of the major events in the history of the project, specify the following --

a. Brief narrative of what happened. (209)
b. Persons/roles involved. (210)
c. Date or dates. (211)
d. Outcome. (212)
e. Key issues raised. (213)

3. Setting characteristics

a. Factual information about the immediate community the school serves --
    (I) Distribution of income. (214)
    (II) Proportions of Anglo, Latino, and Black residents. (215)
    (III) Nature of housing and other buildings in the area. (216)
    (IV) Economic base. (217)
b. Factual information about the larger community (specify what it is) --
    (I) Distribution of income. (218)
    (II) Proportions of Anglo, Latino and Black residents, residential patterns. (219)
    (III) Urban, suburban, rural; characterize in more detail. (220)
    (IV) Major industrial or economic base. (221)
c. Factual information about important community group(s) involved in the school community. Specify them. For each one, provide the following --
    (I) Nature and number of active participants. (222)
    (II) Length of existence. (223)
    (III) Focus of their work. (224)
d. Factual information about the school --
    (I) Student body size. (225)
    (II) Student racial breakdown. (226)
    (III) Student economic breakdown. (227)
    (IV) Teaching staff size. (228)
    (V) Teacher racial breakdown. (229)
    (VI) School administration and overall organization. (230)
e. Factual information about the school system --
    (I) Number of students served. (231)
    (II) Racial composition of students (232)
    (III) Socioeconomic composition of students. (233)
    (IV) Administrative structure. (234)

II. A. 3. f. What types of important power relationships or power groups in the larger community affect the TAG's work? How? (235)

g. What types of important subgroups within the larger community affect the TAG's work? How? (236)

h. What important historical events within the larger community affect the TAG's work? How? (237)

i. What important power relationships or power groups in the immediate community (including those involving parent or community groups) affect the TAG's work? How? (238)

j. What types of important subgroups within the immediate community (including those involving community or parent groups) affect the TAG's work? How? (239)

k. What important historical events within the immediate community the school serves (including those involving parent community groups) affect the TAG's work? How? (240)

l. What types of important power relationships or power groups in the school affect the TAG's work? How? (241)

m. What types of important subgroups within the school affect the TAG's work? How? (242)

n. What important historical events within the school affect the TAG's work? How? (243)

o. What important power relationships or power groups within the school system affect the TAG's work? How? (244)

p. What types of important subgroups within the school system affect the TAG's work? How? (245)

q. What important historical events within the school system affect the TAG's work? How? (246)

r. What other characteristics of the setting affect the TAG's work in important ways? How? (247)

4. Organization of direct assistance function (with respect to the reality of direct assistance)

a. What subsystem(s) and/or subgroup(s) are involved in carrying out the facilitator function? (248)

b. What roles are involved in carrying out the facilitator function? (249)

(I) What is the scope of the facilitator's responsibilities (*i.e.* how many school communities)? (250)

(II) What is the physical location of the facilitator with respect to the RTA and the geographical dispersion of RTA's? How do these factors affect the work? (251)

(III) What are the facilitator's duties? (252)

(IV) In what types of activities does the facilitator spend their time? (253)

(V) What is the position of the facilitator with respect to the school community (an outsider, a former member, a present member)? (254)

II. A. 4. c. What types of persons with what types of skills and experiences are sought out by the TAG to become facilitators? (255)

d. By what process are TAG facilitators recruited and selected? (256)

e. What are the characteristics (see inventory of human resources, Section I, B) of facilitators? (257)

f. Who employs the facilitator? If employed in an organization other than the TAG, what influence does this have on his/her work as a facilitator? (258)

g. How are persons involved in direct assistance trained? (259)

h. By what criteria would a facilitator be judged effective or ineffective? (260)

i. What kinds of skills do front-line facilitators in the TAG have? (261)

j. What is the nature of communication links between facilitators and the support staff? (262)

k. What is the nature of communication between facilitators in different projects? (263)

l. What is the relationship between lab-development and field-development in the TAG's strategy? (264)

m. By what means does the TAG exert social control to keep the facilitator with his/her role? (265)

n. How are important decisions made pertaining to the facilitator function including taking on of a project, strategies as the project develops, internal decisions, termination? (266)

o. How do support staff people view front-line facilitators and vice versa? (267)

p. What skills are needed to be an effective facilitator? (268)

q. What has happened in the past to make the facilitator function what it is today? (269)

r. What problems or issues have arisen in carrying out this function, including those arising out of any of the areas covered by the previous questions? (270)

5. Nature of interchanges in a specific project/effort

a. Review the plan for assistance outlined earlier for Project/Effort 'A' (to be repeated for 'B'). Review the specific sub-questions there and analyze these same issues with respect to the manner in which technical assistance is actually carried out. (271)

b. For each of the following themes, comment on the questions below --

   (I) What are the patterns of activity in this project with respect to this theme? Include structure of the direct assistance function involved, structure of the school community involved, topics involved in the interchange, mediums involved in the interchange. (272)

   (II) What implications does this pattern of activity have for the process of providing technical assistance, including issues and problems? (273)

II. A. 5. c. Themes

'R' themes are required. They must be commented on for each project. 'O' themes are optional. They should be commented on if you feel they are particularily relevant in some way to this project.

(I) The duration of the TAG's work with this site (R) (274)
(II) The level of effort in terms of services provided per year (R) (275)
(III) The cost of the TAG effort per year broken down in as much specific detail as seems relevant (R) (276)
(IV) Any timetable that the TAG had initially or developed along the way for its work with the RTA. The extent to which this timetable has been kept (R) (277)
(V) Major stages or phases in the TAG's work, either initially planned or growing out of the experience (R) (278)
(VI) Modes of contact with RTAs including characteristic methods and settings (e.g. skill training workshops during teacher's scheduled in-service, advice on tactics at informal gatherings of group leadership) (R) (279)
(VII) Important topics about which the TAG seeks to transmit knowledge to RTA (O) (280)
(VIII) The skills that the TAG seeks to teach people they work with (R) (281)
(IX) The exchange of any goods (e.g. training materials, curriculum materials, equipment) between TAG and RTA or vice versa (R) (282)
(X) The nature of the exchange of any monetary resources between TAG and RTA or vice versa (R) (283)
(XI) Exchange of resources other than money or goods (including consulting services) (R) (284)
(XII) Means by which the TAG projects its goals and strategies for change to RTA (O) (285)
(XIII) Methods by which TAG seeks to communicate important content or knowledge to RTAs (O) (286)
(XIX) Formats and techniques employed in structured workshops and other focused training (O) (287)
(XX) The methods the TAG employs in teaching skills to the people they work with (O) (288)
(XXI) Factors that predispose an RTA to become involved with this TAG, beginning with factors that might influence how they heard about the TAG in the first place (R) (289)
(XXII) The entry process in which TAG introduces itself to potential RTA and clarifies the type of assistance it might be able to provide (ongoing) (R) (290)
(XXIII) Building agreements between the TAG and RTA (R) (291)
(XXIV) Assessing the needs and readiness of RTAs (R) (292)
(XXV) Ways in which the explicit or implicit contract between TAG and RTAs gets (or does not get) reviewed (R) (293)
(XXVI) Obtaining approval from gatekeepers (R) (294)
(XXVII) TAG's methods (either formal or informal) for assessing its work with the RTA (R) (295)
(XXVIII) Termination of the TAG/RTA relationship (R) (296)

II. A. 5. c. (XXIX) Continuity beyond the termination of the formal relationship between TAG and RTA (R) (297)

(XXX) The ways in which the TAG modifies its approach in light of experience working with this particular RTA (R) (298)

(XXXI) Means by which the TAG builds (or fails to build) trust in the RTA group (R) (299)

(XXXII) Developing leadership in the RTA system (R) (300)

(XXXIII) TAG's action that build or fail to build credibility (R) (301)

(XXXIV) Handling of RTA's attempts to build "global" and personal relationships with TAG members (R) (302)

(XXXV) Decision making in TAG/RTA relations (R) (304)

(XXXVI) Carrying out research for or with the RTA for the RTA's benefit (O) (305)

(XXXVII) Feedback of research information to the RTA (O) (306)

(XXXVIII) TAG's modes of public relations in the school community (O) (307)

(XXXIX) Role of TAG in community politics (O) (308)

(XL) Crisis situations encountered by RTAs in relation to their own school community (O) (309)

(XLI) TAG's role in assisting community organizing (O) (310)

(XLII) Nature of tactics used or advised in conflict situations (O) (311)

(XLIII) Role in case advocacy (O) (312)

(XLIV) Getting people to meetings (O) (313)

(XLV) TAG acting as intermediary with other groups (e.g. funders) (O) (314)

(XLVI) Building networks that facilitate contact between RTA groups (O) (315)

(XLVII) The regular modes of communication (narrowly defined) between TAG and RTA (O) (316)

(XLVIII) Creating new subgroups (O) (317)

(XLIX) TAG's role in providing leadership and inspiration (O) (318)

(L) Assistance with funding (O) (319)

(LI) Building new subsystems or relationships within the school community (O) (320)

(LII) Building group interfaces within the school community (O) (321)

(LIII) Nature of limits in terms of TAG's assistance (what they won't do) and ways in which limits are dealt with in work with RTAs (R) (322)

(LIV) Use of materials in direct assistance (R) (323)

(LV) Barriers or problems in TAG/RTA relationships (R) (324)

(LVI) Dealing with cultural groups and subgroups in the school community (R) (325)

(LVII) Incentives and disincentives for subgroups in the school community to work with the TAG (R) (326)

(LVIII) Avoiding RTA dependence on TAG (R) (327)

(LIX) The extent to which and ways in which the TAG encourages the school community to use its own ideas and resources (R) (328)

(LX) Influences of geographical location of RTAs on TAG work (R) (329)

(LXI) Accountability of facilitator (O) (330)

(LXII) Conflict and identification with one group versus cooperation (R) (331)

II. A. 5. c. (LXIII)	Nature and effects of TAG's "image" in the assistance process (O)	(332)
(LXIV)	RTA images of the TAG (O)	(333)
(LXV)	Disagreement with RTA action by TAG (O)	(334)
(LXVI)	Major factors in school community's evaluation of TAG (O)	(335)
(LXVII)	Relation of TAG approach to people beyond the immediate school community (O)	(336)
(LXVIII)	Ownership or identification of RTA with TAG approach (O)	(337)
(LXIX)	Work with secondary change targets (e.g. with principals if primary focus is on teachers) (O)	(338)
(LXX)	Modeling skills for RTAs (O)	(339)
(LXXI)	The nature of any written or implicit contracts between TAG and RTA (O)	(340)
(LXXII)	Accessibility or availability of TAG staff to RTAs (O)	(341)
(LXXIII)	Local initiative and plan versus TAG initiative and plan (O)	(342)
(LXXIV)	Problems and crises in the TAG/RTA relationship (how handled) (R)	(343)
(LXXV)	Mutual understanding. Growing to (or failing to) speak a common language (O)	(344)
(LXXVI)	Dealing with key contact people in RTA system (R)	(345)
(LXXVII)	Dealing with people who respond positively to the TAG's work (R)	(346)
(LXXVIII)	Dealing with uninvolved or indifferent people in the school community (R)	(347)
(LXXIX)	Dealing with key opponents of the TAG work (R)	(348)
(LXXX)	Friends in the enemy camp in conflict situations (O)	(349)
(LXXXI)	Any other themes that seem important in the TAG/RTA interfaces	(350)

B. For Project/Effort 'B'

Repeat 1. through 5. above.

C. For TAG's Overall Functioning

Repeat 1. through 5. above.

III. UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES IS THE TAG EFFECTIVE OR INEFFECTIVE IN ACHIEVING ITS GOALS IN PROVIDING ASSISTANCE? (351)

A. For Project/Effort 'A'

1. What are the patterns of observation concerning the effectiveness, successes, and failures of the TAG's assistance work as viewed by TAG support staff, TAG field staff, various important subgroups of RTA? (352)

2. What are the successes and failures of the TAG's work in terms of (a) originally planned objectives, (b) planned objectives that developed as the project was in process, and (c) unplanned or unintended outcomes? Criteria for success and failure are changes in organizational function, subsystems, subgroups, norms, and skills. (353)

3. Trace patterns of causal relationship leading to various successes and failures. (354)

4. In general, what can be said about the types of situations in which the TAG's approach is more or less successful? (355)

B. For Project/Effort 'B'

Repeat 1. through 4. above.

C. For TAG Overall

Repeat 1. through 4. above.

APPENDIX D. CROSS-SITE ANALYSIS QUESTIONS AND CROSS-SITE ANALYSIS FORM*

---

*As indicated in Chapter 1, the research team, after completing the individual case studies developed a set of questions for analyzing similarities and differences among the six TAGs. This appendix contains the cross-site analysis questions and the form that was employed to record summaries of the answers to facilitate comparisions of the groups.

QUESTIONS FOR THE CROSS-SITE ANALYSIS

Framework for TAG Cross-Site Analysis Questions

For each question, unless obviously inappropriate, the following sub-questions are to be asked in the cross-site analysis.

1. What is the current pattern of TAG activity with respect to this topic? What present situational factors lead to the maintenance of this pattern?

2. What are the social-historical reasons for this? That is, what interaction of forces in the past has led up to the situation described in the response to the question?

3. What are the implications of this? That is, what further effects can be noted that stem from the situation described in response to the question, and what future course of events can we predict?

I. The Questions

A. A COMPARISON OF THE SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE TAGS: WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENT WAYS IN WHICH THE ORGANIZATIONS AS THEY NOW EXIST CAME INTO BEING DEVELOPED?

1. What are the general national and international level social forces that led to the founding of the TAGs and the development of their approaches?

2. What are the social forces in the local setting that led to the founding of the different TAGs and the development of their approaches?

3. What kind of people were involved in the founding of the different TAGs and the development of different TA approaches in terms of race, class, training, previous experience and social philosophy?

4. What was the structural setting of other organizations and entities which led to the founding of the different TAGs and the development of their different approaches?

B. A COMPARISON OF SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SETTINGS WITHIN WHICH THE DIFFERENT TAGS NOW OPERATE

1. What ways do relationships to funders and other bureaucratically linked structures differ among the TAGs, and how does this reflect itself in their structures, philosophies, activities and approaches?
    a. In terms of who they see as being their constituency
    b. In terms of their internal structure
    c. In terms of their approaches, techniques, strategies and philosophy

2. How do the different TAGs relate to the different community settings in which they work (e.g. local power structures, attitudes and beliefs in the community toward education, etc.)?
    a. What are the different community settings and what makes them different in terms of:
        (1) Class and economic structures
        (2) Ethnic and national features
        (3) Rural, urban and suburban distinction
        (4) Special local and regional patterns beyond this
        (5) The local educational picture in which the TAG is working
        (6) The degree of local organization and mobilization for change, who controls it, etc.
        (7) Local power structures, especially as regards the educational system
    b. What are the different school settings and what makes them different in terms of:
        (1) Class and economic structures, i.e. what are the origins of the kids?
        (2) Ethnic and national features and the ways the schools are dealing with this
        (3) Educational philosophies
        (4) Teacher background
        (5) Administrative power structure
        (6) Special programs and other internal features of the schools
    c. What are the limits seen by the TAG on who they work with?

C. COMPARISON OF PHILOSOPHIES, STRATEGIES AND PURPOSES OF THE TAGS

1.-3. Philosophies, strategies and purposes (role they see themselves playing): Answer for each:

- a. What are the philosophical bases of the different TAGs in terms of thinkers, schools of thought, etc.?
- b. What are the TAGs' different philosophies toward human relationships?
- c. What are the TAGs different philosophies toward schools and education?
- d. What are the TAGs different philosophies toward social change?
- e. What are the TAGs different philosophies toward the question of political action vs. technical work?
- f. What are the TAGs different philosophies toward conflict vs. cooperation?
- g. Other

D. COMPARISON OF TAG ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES

1. Staffing

- a. What is the variation among the different TAGs in the background features of their staffs, including class, race, ethnic group, training, experience, disciplinary affiliation, etc.?
- b. What is the variation among the different TAGs in the mechanisms for training, orientation and socialization of their staff?

2. Role structure

- a. What is the variation among the different TAGs in the degree of differentiation of role structure within the TAG?
- b. What is the variation among the different TAGs in the specifics of role differentiation within the TAG (i.e. what roles are there and how do they differ)?
- c. What is the variation among the different TAGs in the interrelationships among the roles held by the same, and different individuals (including role conflict)?
- d. What are the roles to which leadership accrues, and how do they vary from one TAG to another?
- e. What is the nature and definition of the facilitator and/or fieldworker role as it varies among the TAGs?
- f. What is the variation among TAGs in defining other special technical roles?

3. Subgroup structure

   a. How do the TAGs vary in the degree and specific manner in which they are subdivided into subgroups, work groups, task forces and subsystems?
   b. How do the TAGs vary in the way the different subdivisions are articulated to one another (including conflicts and problems)?

4. Authority, decision-making and problem-solving

   a. What is the variation among the different TAGs in the structure and definition of authority?
   b. What is the variation among the different TAGs in terms of procedures in decision-making and solution of problems?
   c. What is the nature of leadership among the different TAGs?
   d. How is authority legitimated, validated and maintained in the different TAGs?

5. Distribution of resources

   a. What are the differences among the TAGs in patterns of fundraising activities (including differences and problems)?
   b. What is the variation among TAGs in terms of conflict about distribution of funds, staff time, space, etc. and its means of resolution?
   c. What are the differences among the TAGs in patterns of internal distribution of funds between projects, subdivisions, etc. (also staff time, decision-making mechanisms, etc.)?

6. Rewards and sanctions--Response to all is combined

   a. What is the difference among the TAGs in the types of incentives they rely on in motivating staff to perform roles?
   b. What is the difference among the TAGs in their use of different positive and negative sanctions, including:

      (1) Salary raises and drops
      (2) Promotions, demotions and firing
      (3) Honors, praise, attention, love
      (4) Other

   c. What is the difference among the TAGs in general effectiveness of sanctions and degree of staff satisfaction and dissatisfaction?

7. Communications

   a. What are the different patterns of communication among staff of TAGs, including channels, mechanisms, problems, barriers, etc.?

8. Clerical and accounting work

   a. What is the variation among the different TAGs in the way needed clerical and accounting work is taken care of, including problems?

9. How do the TAGs vary in size and what are the effects of this variation?

10. What are the main internal problems?

E. COMPARISON OF TAG TA APPROACHES

1. How are the different TAGs similar and different in the way their TA practices were originally derived and developed?

2. How are the different TAGs similar and different in the way they have adapted and continue to adapt their TA techniques to circumstances?

3. How are the different TAGs similar and different in the scale and scope of their projects?

4. What is the variation in the definition of what the RTA is?

5. What is the variation in social relationships between TAG and RTA?

6. What things are the different TAGs trying to change, and how does this vary?

7. What is the priority or order of importance of the things in 6 above and how does this vary?

8. What is the TA doing in terms of existing situations of power and existing social structures, and how does this vary?

9. What is the TA doing in terms of existing knowledge, information, attitudes, beliefs and perceptions, and how does this vary?

10. What is the variation in planned steps or stages of TA work, including how explicit are such steps or stages? What stages are actually observed?

11. What is the variation in the mutual images and expectations of TAGs and RTAs?

12. What is the variation in the nature and functioning of the facilitator or related role?

13. What is the nature of variation in the duration and intensity of work in a particular setting?

14. What is the variation in knowledge and skills the TA is supposed to produce?

15. What is the variation in preparation and use of media and materials?

16. What is the variation of interpersonal techniques in TA?

17. What is the variation in the handling of the dependency problem?

18. What is variation in degree to which TA is seen as a political vs. technical activity?

19. What is the variation in the pattern of use of community organizing?

20. Of class and case advocacy?

21. Of network building?

22. Of OD techniques?

23. Of conflict resolution techniques?

24. Of leadership training, political education and the like?

25. Other specific activities?

F. COMPARISON OF STAFFS OF TAGS

1. What is the variation in socio-economic background of staffs?

2. Of professional and disciplinary background?

3. Of racial, ethnic, national and linguistic background?

4. Of past experience?

5. What is the variation in patterns of recruitment, termination, promotion, etc.?

G. COMPARISON OF RESULTS OF TA WORK

1. What is the variation among TAGS of the number of comparable structural units changed for a given period of time?

2. What is the variation among TAGS in the degree and permanece of change of structures within schools apparently achieved?

3. What is the variation among the TAGS of the degree and permanence of change of attitudes, knowledge, beliefs, etc. within the schools.

4. What is the variation among the TAGS of the nature, degree and permanence of changes produced in the total community, in terms of power structure?

5. What is the variation among the TAGS of the nature, degree and permanence of changes produced in the total community in terms of changed attitudes, beliefs, knowledge and skills?

6. What is the variation in RTA satisfaction with the work of TAG?

7. What can be said overall about the general effects of the total work of the TAGS on education in the U.S.?

8. What is the variation in overall intended impact on American education?

CROSS-SITE ANALYSIS FORM

Question No. ___ ______________________________

Group	Current Patterns	Socio-Historical Reasons	Implications
CTW			
/I/D/E/A/			
UBP			
AFRAM			
CNS			
REP			